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LENIN

COLLECTED WORKS

45

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PREFACE

Volume 45 contains letters, notes, telegrams and telephone messages written from November 1920 to March 1923. They are connected with Lenin's works which make up volumes 31, 32, 33, 35 and 36 of the present edition, and largely supplement them.

These documents cover the new historical period in the life of the Soviet state which began after the rout of the foreign armed intervention and domestic counter-revolution, a period of peaceful socialist construction.

This had to be carried on in the midst of economic dislocation, a shortage of food and a lack of fuel. The international situation was also complicated. The imperialists did their utmost in hampering the Soviet people's effort to heal the economic wounds and to establish ties with other countries. Faced with these serious internal and external political difficulties, Lenin did a vast amount of work in guiding the Communist Party and the Soviet state, socialist construction and foreign policy, charting the ways of transition from "War Communism" to the New Economic Policy (NEP), and directing the implementation of the measures mapped out by the Party to put NEP through.

A number of letters set out major propositions on the substance and importance of NEP, which, Lenin said, should be viewed in the context of the general tasks and prospects of socialist construction, and in the light of the GOELRO plan, which was designed to lay the economic foundation of the new society. He wrote that the "New Economic Policy *does not change* the single state economic plan, and *does not go beyond* its framework, but alters the *approach* to its realisation" (present edition, Vol. 35, p. 530).

The principal task of NEP was to ensure a strong alliance between the working class and the peasantry, as the highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the basis of the Soviet power. Socialist construction could not be a success unless all the toiling peasantry was involved. Elaborating NEP, Lenin marked out the concrete forms of the link-up between town and country, and the ways of rehabilitating all the branches of the national economy, and laying the foundation of a socialist society.

Lenin tackled this intricate task after making a thorough analysis of the political and economic state of the country, and a deep study of the state of the peasant economy. This volume contains a record of Lenin's talks with the peasants I. A. Chekunov and A. R. Shaposhnikov, and shows his concern for boosting agriculture. Thus, in a letter to I. A. Teodorovich, Lenin says that the combating of the drought was a great task before the whole state (see p. 134 of this volume). It was he who initiated the decree of the Council of Labour and Defence (C.L.D.) recognising the efforts to combat the drought as "an undertaking of primary importance for the country's agricultural life, and measures taken in that direction, as being of great urgency".

The documents contained in this volume shed light on the activity of Lenin, the Party and the Government in rehabilitating industry and transport, normalising the operation of the Donets coal-fields (Donbas), developing metallurgy, etc. They also show Lenin's concern for implementing the GOELRO plan, and his handling of various matters arising from the construction of the Kashira, Volkhov and other electric-power stations. Many of Lenin's telegrams and notes contain instructions for providing these early projects in the Soviet electrification drive with the necessary materials, equipment and foodstuffs.

One of the most complicated tasks in the first year of NEP was establishing normal economic ties and starting an exchange of goods between industry and agriculture. The documents in this volume reveal Lenin's role in solving the tasks of developing domestic and foreign trade, and creating a stable financial and monetary system on that basis. He wrote: "The important, the most important, the basic task is to make a *practical* start on this." It is the only

way to transform NEP into "a *base* for socialism, a base which, this being a peasant country, no power on earth can vanquish" (pp. 446, 477).

Lenin gave concrete instructions on measures to develop trade, called for information on the growth of trade, especially in the countryside, and welcomed the successes- of the co-operative movement. He devoted much attention to matters of financial policy, the need for regular stock-taking of commodities throughout the state, kept an eye on the state of the gold reserve, and urged its sparing use.

The crop failure of 1921 brought about starvation for millions of people in the country, especially in the Volga area. One of the urgent tasks of the Soviet state was to organise famine relief. Documents in this volume reflect the main measures taken by the Party and the Government to muster and correctly distribute the domestic foodstuff resources, create a stock of goods to be exchanged for grain, improve the supply of food from the grain-rich gubernias, and the purchase of foodstuffs abroad.

The Soviet Government resolutely opposed every attempt on the part of world imperialism to make use of the famine to put political pressure to bear on the Soviet Republic, and Lenin's letters show him exposing these imperialist manoeuvres. In a letter to the members of the Political Bureau, he wrote: "This game is an extremely intricate one. There is rank duplicity on the part of America, Hoover and the League of Nations Council" (p. 250).

Lenin devoted a great deal of attention to the working-class movement in the capitalist countries to provide assistance to the starving people of Russia.

A large section of the material deals with efforts to overcome the fuel crisis. Lenin headed the C.L.D.'s fuel commission, which took a number of urgent steps to increase the extraction of coal and oil, and to extend hydraulic peat-digging and firewood cutting.

The transition to NEP called for a restructuring of economic management, strict practice of the principle of democratic centralism, improvement in planning, development of local initiative, extension of the rights of enterprises, introduction of material incentives and economic

accounting, and operation of enterprises at a profit. All these matters are dealt with extensively in Lenin's letters.

The documents testify to Lenin's great emphasis on the organisation and style of work in Party, government and economic establishments, improvement of the state apparatus, reduction of staffs and running costs, and introduction of scientific principles in all its work. Lenin urged that a struggle against bureaucracy and red tape should be conducted "in a business-like manner, according to all the rules of warfare". Lenin insisted that malicious bureaucrats should be subjected to strict administrative penalties, removed from their posts and put on trial. Lenin repeatedly stressed that everything depended not on institutions, but on people and the verification of practical experience.

He called for the strict practice of the principle of collective leadership, observance of Party and state discipline, with personal responsibility for assignments. Lenin himself never adopted any decisions alone on matters which were subject to collective discussion, and took counsel with the members of the Party's Central Committee, the People's Commissars, and other leading workers on all matters of any importance.

Lenin marked out a programme for reconstructing the government and economic apparatus in his "Instructions of the Council of Labour and Defence to Local Soviet Bodies". A number of documents show the thoroughness with which Lenin prepared the Instructions, the draft of which was widely discussed.

Lenin devoted exceptional attention to the correct selection and appointment of personnel. This is clearly seen from his letter to Y. M. Yaroslavsky of December 24, 1921, concerning a prospective candidate for the post of People's Commissar for Agriculture. Lenin asked him to obtain answers to the following questions as regards this comrade: "Age? Experience? Respect of peasantry? Knowledge of economics? Strength of mind? Brains? Loyalty to the Soviet power?" (pp. 419-20). Lenin valued vigorous men, who had knowledge and displayed initiative. He sharply condemned "administration by fiat", the ordering of people about, and rudeness to colleagues and subordinates; he fought against

formalism, red tape, lack of punctuality, rashness and undue haste.

The Communist Party was implementing the programme of the country's transformation on socialist lines in sharp struggle against all sorts of oppositionists who were trying to undermine the unity of the Party's ranks. Lenin opposed everyone who tried to distort or to cast doubt on the correctness of the path charted by the Party. He believed it was necessary to give a resolute rebuff to bourgeois ideologists, Right-wing socialists and Mensheviks, who distorted the New Economic Policy of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), and to the Left-wing opportunists, who took the wrong view of NEP, notably of the role of "state capitalism" under the dictatorship of the working class. Lenin emphasised that "state capitalism in a state with proletarian power can exist only as limited in time and sphere of extension, and conditions of its application, mode of supervision over it, etc." (p. 444).

An important part of the volume consists of material dealing with the development of culture, science and technology, which Lenin viewed in the context of the country's economic construction tasks. He called attention to the need to co-ordinate the work of inventors throughout the whole country, and proposed regular procedures for examining and recording reported inventions. Of great interest is his letter entitled "To the Inventions Section of the Scientific and Technical Department of the Supreme Economic Council", which set before this body a number of concrete tasks in organising its work (pp. 50-51). These documents show Lenin's vigorous support for every scientific discovery and technical improvement whose application in practice he believed to be an important factor in raising labour productivity. He attached great importance to the regular flow of information on scientific and technical achievements abroad, and the use in this country of the best foreign technical experience.

A number of letters and notes in this volume deal with improving the work of the People's Commissariat for Education, and secondary and higher schools, the wiping out of illiteracy, and other cultural problems (protection of art values, publication of a dictionary of modern Russian

and a school atlas). Lenin supported the realistic trend in art, and warned artists against being carried away by futurism. In a letter to M. N. Pokrovsky, Lenin wrote: "I request you to help us fight futurism, etc.... Could you find some reliable *anti*-futurists?" (p. 139).

In the NEP period, with some growth of the capitalist elements, the Party's ideological, political and educational work, the propaganda of Marxism and resolute struggle against bourgeois ideology had an especially big role to play. Great importance attaches to Lenin's instructions on developing the social sciences. He proposed collecting all the published works and photostatic copies of documents of the founders of Marxism, and this helped to set up the Marx and Engels Institute; he edited a collection of their selected letters, and made remarks on Béla Kun's pamphlet, *From Revolution to Revolution* (p. 66), which are of fundamental importance to historical science.

Socialist construction is inseparably bound up with the correct solution of the national question. Lenin's correspondence reveals his guidance in the implementation of the national policy. Lenin advised Communists in the non-Russian republics to take account of local conditions and specifics in effecting NEP in the construction of socialism. He said the correct solution of the national question in the Soviet East was of tremendous importance, and wrote: "This is a world-wide question, and that is no exaggeration. There you must be especially strict. It will have an effect on India and the East; it is no joke, it calls for exceptional caution" (p. 298). A number of documents reflect Lenin's concern for all the peoples of the Land of Soviets, for their unity, friendship and cooperation, and his resolute struggle against Great-Power chauvinism and local nationalism.

A major question dealt with in this volume is the foreign policy activity of the Soviet state: the work of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, and the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade, preparations for the Genoa Conference, establishment of relations with various countries, extension of trade between the Soviet Republic and capitalist states, and negotiations on concessions. The documents reflect the Soviet Government's steadfast strug-

gle to implement its peaceable foreign policy, basing itself on the principles of peaceful coexistence, and working to establish business relations with all countries. Some documents show Lenin's resolute defence of the foreign trade monopoly. He warned against the possibility of another armed intervention by the foreign imperialists against the Soviet state. In view of such a danger, he wrote to G. V. Chicherin in October 1921 that "nothing can be done to prevent this except strengthening our defence capacity" (p. 355).

Lenin devoted much attention to the establishment of friendly relations with the countries of the East. The treaties of peace and friendship concluded in 1921 between Soviet Russia, Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey offered examples of good interstate relations based on trust and mutual respect.

A number of letters deal with the international communist and working-class movement. The documents show that Lenin was consistent in working to strengthen the Communist Parties, the monolithic unity of their ranks, the unity of the international communist movement, and the practice of the principle of proletarian internationalism. In several letters and notes he makes some important propositions on the activity of the Communist International and the Red International of Trade Unions.

A large part of the documents are biographic; many letters and notes show Lenin's exceptional modesty, his touching concern for his comrades, the health and living conditions of Party and government workers and leaders of the international communist movement.

Volume 45 completes the publication of the additional volumes to the Fourth (Russian) Edition of the *Collected Works* of V. I. Lenin.

Institute of Marxism-Leninism
of the C.C., C.P.S.U.

November-December 1920

1

TO S. P. SEREDA

6.XI.1920

Comrade Sereda:

I consider the articles by Michelson, which you have sent me, of exceptional importance.[1]

It is necessary:

1) To send them over at once to *Izvestia* and *Pravda* (having corrected the style, put them together into one article and edited).

2) To supply an afterword by *you*: conclusions (*practical conclusions*).

3) To send a concise extract to *ROSTA** for circulation in Russia.

4) To include all this without fail α) in your printed report to the Congress of Soviets on 20.XII, β) in your oral report (the gist and *practical* conclusions).

All this should be prepared in advance, and the specialists must be made to perform all the works preparatory to your report *in good time*.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

---

* Telegraph Agency of Russia.—*Ed.*

2

TO THE NARROW COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS

To the Narrow Council:

Bryukhanov does not agree.

It is not right to decree *such* things without Bryukhanov's specific *written* consent in each separate case.[2]

6/XI *Lenin*

Written on November 6, 1920
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from the original

3

TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE SOUTHERN FRONT

Code
Direct line

R.M.C. Southern Front
Copy to Trotsky

I have just learned about your surrender offer to Wrangel.[3] Extremely surprised at the excessively accommodating terms. If the enemy accepts them, make sure of taking over the fleet and not letting out a single ship; if the enemy rejects these terms, I think they must not be repeated, and the enemy dealt with ruthlessly.

Lenin

Written on November 12, 1920
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from a text written in E. M. Sklyansky's hand and signed by Lenin

4

TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV, P. I. POPOV, V. A. AVANESOV AND M. F. VLADIMIRSKY*

Comrades Bryukhanov
Popov
Avanesov
Vladimirsky

* At the top of the letter, Lenin wrote to his secretary: "Have this typed, and return to me for signature."—*Ed.*

Perhaps we could establish the following order concerning the *number* of workers' supply rations:

1) Establish the minimum number of rations in numerical order, say:

ration No. 1 ordinary, minimum
" No. 2 so much higher
" No. 3
. . . . . .

etc., up to No. 10, the highest ration, if the total number of rations could be confined to 10.

2) Determine *monthly* how many consumers (industrial or office workers *plus* members of their families) are receiving *under each ration*.

If we managed to do this, we could first find out exactly how many ration groups there are;

Second, we could easily switch separate groups from one ration to another;

And third, we should always know how much *has actually been issued* and to how many workers.

12/XI. *Lenin*

Written on November 12, 1920
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the original

5

TO M. I. KALININ

Comrade Kalinin:

I am sending you the *draft* resolutions on the Siberian concessions which have been passed by the committee (these drafts will be submitted to the *Council of People's Commissars* for approval possibly next week[4]). One other question, namely, that of *food concessions*, has still to be worked out in sufficient detail.

Will you press forward with this matter on the lines we discussed today.

12/XI. *Lenin*

Written on November 12, 1920
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the original

6

TO THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE LEATHER INDUSTRY UNDER THE SUPREME ECONOMIC COUNCIL

To Glavkozha

Please inform me at once about your conclusion on Baryshnikov's invention of a sole leather substitute, and what you are doing about it if you have found the invention useful.[5]

Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on November 12, 1920

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from a typewritten copy

7

*TO THE INVENTIONS SECTION OF THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE SUPREME ECONOMIC COUNCIL

Please answer the following questions:

1. How many claims to inventions have been examined since the section has been set up, and how many are outstanding at present?
2. How many 1) have been recognised as useful, 2) applied in practice (list the major ones)?
3. What is the order and time allotted to the examination of every invention and the further dispatch of the claim?
4. Is it possible for any institution to put through an invention without the conclusion of the Inventions Section of the Scientific and Technical Department?
5. Does the Inventions Section of the Scientific and Technical Department know about

---

* Here and elsewhere such an asterisk denotes headings given in the original.—*Ed.*

a) the invention of a sole leather substitute made by Baryshnikov; if yes, what has been done about it,

b) the invention*

Who is at the head of the Inventions Section?[6]

Lenin

13/XI-20 Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from a typewritten copy

8

TO THE R.C.P.(B.) CENTRAL COMMITTEE

I have accepted almost all of N. K.'s** corrections and suggest another one: an addition on *combining political* and *scientific* educational work. Zinoviev's draft can be adopted with these corrections and additions.[7]

Lenin

Written on November 14, 1920

First published in part in 1958 in the magazine *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 1 (Questions of CPSU History)

Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from the original

9

TO A. M. ANIKST

Comrade Anikst

In view of the statement by Comrade Korolyov, Chairman of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Gubernia Executive Committee, concerning the non-fulfilment of the C.L.D. decision of 5-X-20,[8] and in view of the extreme importance of the uninterrupted running of the textile mills in Ivanovo-Voznesensk Gubernia, which in six months can produce *2.88* million 60-arshin *piece-goods*, i.e., 172.8 million arshins—I hereby instruct you to organise not later than

* An apparent omission in the typewritten copy.—*Ed.*

** Nadezhda Krupskaya.—*Ed.*

tomorrow, 16-XI-20, under your chairmanship, a conference consisting of Comrade Korolyov and representatives:

on matters relating to each department respectively	from the People's Commissariat for Food Central Fuel Administration Central Oil Administration Central Peat Administration People's Commissariat for Defence People's Commissariat for Finance People's Commissariat for Railways

on the various questions raised by the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Gubernia Executive Committee, to work out *precise* decisions and to submit them to me for signature or to the C.L.D. at 6.00 p.m. sharp on Wednesday, 17-XI-20.[9]

15.XI.20

Chairman, Council of Labour and Defence

First published in 1933 in the book, A. M. Anikst, *Vospominaniya o Vladimire Ilyiche* (Reminiscences of Vladimir Ilyich), Moscow

Printed from a typewritten copy

10

S. P. SEREDA AND N. P. BRYUKEIANOV[10]

16.XI.1920

From Mosalsk Uyezd, Kaluga Gubernia.

1) At first requisition is said to have been in live cattle—this caused extreme dissatisfaction among the peasants. It was even said that they "were being robbed".

Later (in X. 1920) the requisition is said to have been switched from live cattle to meat (13 pounds per cow, 26 pounds per pig, 7 pounds per sheep, etc.). The peasants were highly satisfied with this change.

The requisition is now said to be again in live cattle: there is again dissatisfaction and bitterness among the peasants.

2) The former Baryatinsky estate (later owned by a German, something like Schalart) in Silkovo Volost, probably more than 1,000 dessiatines.

This has been taken over for a state farm, the land is lying waste, millions are said to be taken from the treasury, no more than 5 dessiatines ploughed up in 1920. Ten (out of about 100) horses and 30-40 (out of 200) cows remain. No one is working hard. The furniture has been pilfered, etc.

The peasants in the neighbourhood are *very much* in need of land and are highly disgruntled at not being given either meadow or land.

(Nikolai Semyonovich Bodyakov, *Silkovo* Volost, the village of *Filipkovo*, Mosalsk Uyezd, Kaluga Gubernia.)

I request Comrades Bryukhanov and Sereda to order a report and to let me have it, within *two* days, at the latest.

Can these needs be met? Or is there some obstacle?[11]

Lenin

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

11

TO V. A. AVANESOV

Comrade Avanesov,

Comrade Chutskayev has agreed, *by way of exception*, to issue here 36 million bank-notes (of those appropriated) for the People's Commissariat for Posts and Telegraphs to the Nizhni-Novgorod Radio Laboratory.*

I request you to give permission, because I believe this is a very important and urgent matter.

If you object, phone me *at once*.

17/XI. *Lenin*

Written on November 17, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from the original

12

*TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO A. M. LYUBOVICH

I am extremely surprised and indignant over the fact that, despite our telephone conversation of yesterday, you have failed to place before the Council of Labour and

* See also present edition, Vol. 35, Documents 236, 264; Vol. 44, Documents 519, 520, and the present volume, Document 132.—*Ed.*

Defence, on 17/XI, the question of the Nizhni-Novgorod radio station.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Labour and Defence

Written on November 17, 1920
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from a text written in Maria Glyasser's hand and signed by Lenin

13
TO G. V. CHICHERIN

Comrade Chicherin,

The news from Britain, especially from Krasin (and extracts from the newspapers), and particularly the news that America will at once join (a trade agreement between Russia and Britain) raises the urgent and extremely important issue of a trade agreement with Britain.[12]

If it is a question of peace or war,* it should be tied in with Batum and Georgia.[13]

Then, on the question of debts, we should be *absolutely sure* that we are not made to pay.

If there is a trade agreement *who* will have the right to sign the *final text*? Krasin alone? or the Council of People's Commissars?

This *question* must be urgently worked out *in all its* aspects.

With communist greetings,

19/XI. *Lenin*

Written on November 19, 1920
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

14
ASSIGNMENTS TO SECRETARY[14]

1

Request a report from the Supreme Economic Council on the electrification of Yaropolets Volost (or Yaropolets District), Volokolamsk Uyezd, Moscow Gubernia.[15]

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* In the original the last three words are in English.—*Ed.*

Copper is the main thing.

Engineer *Ringo*, who is in charge of the Moscow Gubernia Electrical Department, favours the starting of local electrical fittings factories (for instance, Vishnyakov's and Shamshin's in Moscow), with the raw materials, incidentally, available at the warehouse in **Raiovo** (artillery depot of Moscow Gubernia, nine versts away from Moscow: millions of poods of copper brought together from various parts, especially Poland during the war).

(Find out about Ringo)

(1) assist electrification

(2) public education

(3) flax growing.

2

Keep *secret*, and give me a reminder when Kirillin from Yaropolets (Volokolamsk Uyezd) comes to see me.

Written: 1st—November 19, 1920,
2nd—November 20, 1920

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

15

TO A. M. ANIKST

20/XI-20

Comrade Anikst,

Please arrange for tomorrow a conference with representatives of:

Working-garments supply organisation

Central Coal Administration

and Chuso* and Central Garments Administration to investigate (in accordance with Comrade Trotsky's telegram No. 69/5 of 20/XI-20) the reasons why the Council of Labour and Defence decision on supply to Donbas[16] has not been fulfilled, and to take urgent measures for the earliest fulfilment of the assignment.[17]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of Labour and Defence

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from a typewritten copy

* Chusosnabarm—Extraordinary Representative of the Council of Defence for Red Army and Navy Supplies.—*Ed.*

16

TO THE NARROW COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS[18]

To the Narrow Council

I think an article (or footnote) should be added:
the rules stated in § 4 must be worked out within a *stated* (brief) period and reported to the Narrow Council.

NB:
(1) Fundamentals of political knowledge
(2) and communist propaganda

} must be included in the syllabus.

NB:
What control.

Lenin

Written in November, not before the 20th, 1920

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

17

TO THE STATE PUBLISHERS

Please publish *without fail* by the deadline and notify me *at once*.[19]

26/XI. *Lenin*

Written on November 26, 1920

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

18

TO G. V. CHICHERIN

Comrade Chicherin:

The underscored is absolutely intolerable.[20] The People's Commissar is duty bound *precisely* to carry out the C.P.C. *decision winding up* the Groman commission. You failed to protest the decision in the C.C., the decision of 7.IX, and are inventing some kind of "friction" (where? whose? why talk of "friction", when there is a *mandatory* decision?

You yourself are creating it). How the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs can hope to "get it going" contrary to the Council of People's Commissars is inconceivable. This is chaos and disorganisation. You are the one who is impeding the C.P.C decisions, and that is absolutely intolerable.

29/XI. *Lenin*

Written on November 29, 1920
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52
Printed from the original

19

TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY

Copies to Comrades Litkens, Solovyov, Krestinsky

29/XI.

Comrade Lunacharsky:

Comrade Litkens and I had a detailed talk yesterday. I find his and Comrade Solovyov's drafts artificial.[21] Naturally, the C.C. will decide. My own preliminary considerations are as follows:

1) Set up the office of Assistant People's Commissar to handle *all* the administrative side.

2) Turn the "organisational sector" into an "organisational centre" (with a member of the collegium in charge). This centre is to handle the administrative, organisational, supply and other sides of *all* the sectors.

3) Eliminate Glavprofobr*, merging it with the *secondary schools*, *provided*: (α) general knowledge and political subjects are extended in the secondary schools and (β) the switch from trade and technical to polytechnical education is, as far as possible, ensured.

4) Revive the "G.U.S." (State Academic Council) and regulate it as an organ for discussion of all scientific and pedagogical matters.

---

* The Central Administration for Vocational Training under the People's Commissariat for Education.—*Ed.*

Composition = all members of the collegium + the best *specialists*, even if bourgeois.

5) Set up the following sectors: (1) pre-school; (2) primary school; (3) secondary school (= Glavprofobr); (4) extramural (= Chief Committee for Political Education); (5) higher school; (6) art.

6) Leave the art sector as a single one, appointing "*political commissars*" *from among the Communists* to all central and governing bodies in the sector.

29/XI. *Lenin*

Written on November 29, 1920
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the original

20

TO S. Y. CHUTSKAYEV

Comrade Chutskayev
Commission for Abolishing Cash Taxes[22]

More thought must be given to the conditions of the transition epoch (and the relevant *facts* studied in greater detail).

There is no doubt about switching from money to the exchange of products without money.

To make the switch a success, there must be an *exchange of products* (not *exchange of commodities*).

So long as *we are unable* to carry on the exchange of commodities, i.e., to give the peasants industrial products, the peasantry *has* to make do with the *remnants* of commodity (and consequently of *money*) circulation, with a substitute for it.

It is *economically* wrong to abolish the substitute (money) before the peasantry has been given that which eliminates the need of a substitute.

This must be given *very* serious thought.

30/XI. *Lenin*

Written on November 30, 1920
First published in 1924 in the magazine *Vestnik Finansov* No. 1
Printed from a typewritten copy

21

TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV

30.XI.1920

Comrade Bryukhanov,

Kindly inform me whether you have received the Politbureau resolution on 100 per cent food supplies to Baku and on the changes in the food supply policy in Azerbaijan,[23] and what instructions you have given to Comrade Frumkin in connection with the resolution (please let me have a copy of your telegram to Frumkin).*

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of Labour and Defence

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from a typewritten text
with Lenin's additions
and signature

22

TO A. M. AMOSOV

Comrade Amosov,

After you left last night, I was told that the All-Russia Central Trade Union Council had adopted its decision.[24] My advice is to submit to it, and concentrate entirely on thoughtful execution (swift, firm preparation for the congress).

That is only a piece of advice.

However, if all of you still disagree, there remains one way: appeal the All-Russia Central T.U.C. decision with the Central Committee (the Politbureau or the Plenum).

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of Labour and Defence

Written on December 12, 1920

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from
a typewritten copy

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* The words "and on the changes in the food supply policy in Azerbaijan", "your", "to Frumkin" are in Lenin's hand.—*Ed.*

23
TO A. D. TSYURUPA

14.XII.1920

Comrade Tsyurupa:

I have already had occasion to point out in the Council of People's Commissars that the organisation of work at the Distribution Department of the Commissariat for Food is not entirely satisfactory: they have failed to make a serious estimate of *how many* rations we have and how many persons are receiving under each ration.

They must be made to do this.

Of course, there must be no disruption of the special purpose supply. The workers must come first.

Do you think it possible to set up a commission inside the Commissariat for Food to make improvements in this respect? If there is a commission, give it such an assignment. More workers (from the trade unions) who had worked in the Commissariat for Food (or possibly from among those workers who have some experience in food supply work locally) should be recruited to the commission.

Show this letter to Comrade Krestinsky. If he gives his own consent (and that of the other members of the Politbureau) we shall make this a C.C. directive.

Yours,
Lenin

FROM MARX TO MAO
RIGHT TO COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

24
TO A. D. TSYURUPA

Dear Comrade Tsyurupa:

The Plenary Meeting decision is the result of long and old dissatisfactions with Svidersky.[25]

The workers' statement *and*, *what is important*, *its support by the trade unions*, was the last straw.

I personally could not help admitting that the workers' desire was right and that its satisfaction was an *absolute political necessity*.

I realise that you find this painful. But political interest (and the Party decision) unquestionably calls for subordination. You can very well make use of Svidersky otherwise than as a member of the collegium. We must tackle this business of getting more workers; I realise that, being swamped with work, you have been unable to give all your attention to the question of recruiting more workers. I realise that, with all this work and your illness, you have been unable to keep altogether in touch with the Party political side either.

Is that so surprising?

Don't let your nerves go. You should try to live down the painful feeling. The C.C. decision must be accepted and put through.

I can't come: there is a meeting on.

Yours,
Lenin

Written on December 14, 1920

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

25
TO M. I. FRUMKIN

14.XII.1920

Comrade Frumkin,

I am writing you about your exclusion (and Svidersky's) from the collegium. I believe that it was necessary to put through the All-Russia Central Executive Committee's decision on such members in a pedantic manner—and that is how the C.C. has decided.[26] Political conditions demand particular circumspection in this matter, as in the matter of recruiting workers. I hope you will fully understand that the political considerations, which the C.C. has approved, must not and cannot in any sense be interpreted as signifying a lack of personal confidence, an underestimation of personal qualities, etc. (even if there were gossipy attempts to do so).

The new composition of the collegium without yourself must be accepted as a political necessity, and the mistrust

and suspicion (of the unwillingness to "recruit workers", unwillingness to have more democracy, etc.) should be dispelled *by hard work* (I personally am sure that you and Svidersky will do this quite easily, and that this will come about of itself through a continuation of your work). The whole point is to have your *work*, without the official high rank (member of the collegium), refute all the slanders, all the apprehensions of the workers and the trade unions. I repeat I am sure that you and Svidersky will understand this and will easily do it. There and there *alone* lies the gist of the matter.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

26

TO G. V. CHICHERIN

14/XII.

Comrade Chicherin,

Yesterday Ter-Gabrielyan came to see me and he also spoke of the terrible danger of a pogrom.

(1) 600,000 Armenian refugees are said to be in danger of losing their lives.

(2) Without Kars, Baku is said to be threatened.[27]

I think we should separate No. (1) from No. (2) and do *everything* to help in No. (1).

What is your opinion? and what are you doing on No. (1)?

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on December 14, 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from the original

27

TELEGRAM TO THE 1ST LABOUR ARMY COUNCIL, URALS REGIONAL BUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C., YEKATERINBURG GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, URALS UNIVERSITY

Yekaterinburg, 1st Labour Army Council, Regional Bureau of R.C.P. C.C., Gubernia Executive, Urals University

I order that you should at once vacate the premises set aside for the Urals University and forthwith refrain from disrupting the work of the University arbitrarily, with the warning that the guilty persons will be brought to trial.

Lenin
17/XII-20 Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

28

TO THE COMMANDANT OF THE BOLSHOI THEATRE[28]

I request you not to hinder or stop the work of artist Rodionov, engineer Smirnov and the electricians who are preparing, on my assignment, maps of electrification on the premises of the Bolshoi Theatre for the Eighth Congress of Soviets.[29] They will be through on Sunday. Do not expel them in any case.*

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on December 18, 1920

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from a typewritten text with Lenin's additions and signature

* The last two sentences are in Lenin's hand.—*Ed.*

29

TO THE MANAGING DEPARTMENT OF THE C.P.C.

Please have this map hung up here and on the premises of the Narrow Council and (the rest- of the copies) distributed *to workers' clubs in Moscow*,[30] but before doing so ask N. P. Gorbunov whether it is possible to have the present boundaries **additionally drawn** *on this map* at least in *green* lines and *green shading*:

(α) Western "front" (Finland, Estland, Latvia, Poland and Rumania)
(β) Crimea
(γ) Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia
(δ) Central Asia, Bukhara
(ε) Far-Eastern Republic
(ζ) boundaries of the Far East
all these as they are at present.

Lenin

Written on December 21, 1920
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the original

30

TELEGRAM TO L. B. KRASIN AND N. K. KLYSHKO

Krasin and Klyshko:

You are strongly requested to buy and bring over here a complete set of British and American popular manuals on practical electrical engineering. I support the request.

*Lenin**

Written on December 31, 1920
Sent to London
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52
Printed from the original

* Below Lenin made this addition: "Comrade Chicherin, will you please have this telegram sent off today, 31/XII. Yours, *Lenin*."—*Ed.*

31

TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV*

31.XII.1920

Comrade Bryukhanov,

Comrade Narimanov has raised the pressing question about the urgent need to issue a certain quantity of piece-goods to Azerbaijan.

Please, call a conference on this *tomorrow* with Comrades Narimanov, Rykov and Stalin.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

32

TO V. D. BONCH-BRUYEVICH

Have you received Semashko's order?[31]

I beg you *to do your utmost* and to report to me every week on the actual results, *what has been done*.

Written in December 1920

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

33

TO E. M. SKLYANSKY

Legal proceedings should be started (by way of example) against one or two persons for *spreading rumours*.[32]

Written in 1920

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

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* In the upper part of the note, Lenin appears to have made this later addition: "Bryukhanov has agreed with Narimanov."—*Ed*.

34

RE: BÉLA KUN'S PAMPHLET[33]

The good thing in the pamphlet is the author's strength of revolutionary convictions and his unbending faith in the revolution. His remarks about the party as it should be are good. His criticism of Social-Democrats is good.

But a *glaring* shortcoming is the total absence of any facts. This makes the pamphlet weak. I should say that of the 55 pages 40 ought to be filled with precise facts (the history of the Social-Democratic Party and the revolution, and also of the counter-revolution in Hungary), giving a summary of the facts and leaving 15 pages for evaluation.

Unless it is rewritten in this way, the pamphlet is extremely weak and not fit for use.

Written in 1920

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from the original

35

TO E. M. SKLYANSKY

The Commander-in-Chief* and Frunze** should be daily goaded and spurred on (whipped and flayed) to get them to *rout* and *catch* Antonov and Makhno.

Written in late 1920-early 1921

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

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* Commander-in-Chief of the R.S.F.S.R. Armed Forces, S. S. Kamenev.—*Ed.*

** M. V. Frunze, who was appointed commander of the troops in the Ukraine and the Crimea after the rout of Wrangel, was in charge of mopping-up operations against the Makhno and other bandit groups in the Ukraine.—*Ed.*

1921

36

TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Once again to Comrade N. P. Gorbunov

Comrade Gorbunov:

Will you contact Semashko and M. N. Pokrovsky. This is a scandalous business. My reply should be drafted by agreement with *both* and sent to me.[34]

2/I.1921. *Lenin*

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from the original

37

TO G. V. CHICHERIN

Comrade Chicherin:

I think, even 30 is too much. After all, Joffe promised *not to give any gold* but only concessions.

I think we should not give them even *30*.[35]

Lenin

Written in January, not before the 3rd, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from the original

38

TO G. V. CHICHERIN

Comrade Chicherin:

Of course, it is all right in principle. But is it worth while? Hardly. It comes to nothing in practice. It is not worth while "offending" Béla Kun and the other comrades for nothing. We shall probably gain by *only* exchanging the hostages for the People's Commissars.[36]

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written in January, not before the 4th, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from the original

39

TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Comrade *Gorbunov*:

All of this is from the village of Modenovo (p.t.o.). Examine this and *help them*. They are asking for a reduction of their surplus-products deliveries (p.t.o.). Inquire at the People's Commissariat for Food and let me know.[37]

{ The comrade with whom I spoke is a member of the *Volost Labour Committee*, **Pyotr Kozlov*** }

Modenovo

The village of *Modenovo*, Bogorodsk Volost, **Vereya** Uyezd, Moscow Gubernia.

They have fulfilled these surplus-products deliveries:

hay	*2000*	*200*
straw	200	200
spring straw	110	— —

* Lenin wrote the whole note on the envelope of the letter he received. The text that follows is written on the other side of the envelope.—*Ed.*

corn	*244—43*	**Delivered**
oats	540—19	*voluntarily...*
potatoes	115 (circ.)—115	
poultry	in full	
eggs	in full	
meat	78 poods—78 poods	

Request: reduce the obligatory deliveries of hay and corn (fearful of detachments).

Written on January 6, 1921

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV* Printed from the original

40
TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Comrade *Gorbunov*:

It is necessary.

1) to have this translated into (*good*) German,

2) find out (from Semashko and M. N. Pokrovsky or *through* them) whether we could add

that Pavlov has not applied to leave (is it true that he would not like to go?),

that he has been given the specified privileges.

Since my letter may be published, the addition of this *is highly desirable*.

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. Please return *all* these documents to me.

Written on January 6, 1921

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV* Printed from the original

41
TO N. P. GORBUNOV

12/I.1921.

Comrade *Gorbunov:*

I *most* earnestly request you to telephone the Electrical Department of the (Moscow) Gubernia Economic Council

at once and to speed up this matter in every possible way, *taking it to the end*, to its completion. Please inform me of any delay.

Lenin

For my part, I enclose an engineer's estimate (at the Gorki state farm) of what is required.

If this is not available at the Moscow Gubernia Economic Council (the Electrical Department), *send them a copy*.

We should check up on whether their request is not excessive.[38]

Lenin

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

42

TELEPHONE MESSAGE LUNACHARSKY AND Y. A. LITKENS

Please confirm by telephone message that the resolutions of the recent conference of Party workers in education, resolutions relating to the reorganisation of the People's Commissariat, are not being implemented, in conformity with the C.C. decision, pending the examination of these resolutions by the Party C.C.[39]

Lenin

Written on January 14, 1921

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from a copy
in Maria Glyasser's hand

43

TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Comrade Gorbunov,

1) Concerning your note on the secretariat. Let's discuss it when we meet. Don't start for the time being.

2) I enclose *Shklovskaya*'s letter. Request: read and telephone the C.C. (secretaries) and the People's Commis-

sariat for Foreign Affairs, saying that *I ask them to meet her* request. I know the family, they *will not survive* in Russia at present.[40]

3) Concerning the electric lighting at Gorki*: I have also received an application from the *village of Siyanovo* (has it been passed on to you?). Let the person concerned have a look at it, although it is far. Are you speeding up the whole business?

4) Please find out, without taking any steps until we meet, whether anything is being done *anywhere* (C.C., Telegraph Agency of Russia, People's Commissariats, etc.)

α) regular press cuttings,

β) pasting up of cuttings for reference system.

If something is being done, have a look and tell me *how*.

If not, let us discuss how to start this business when we meet.

Regards,
Lenin

Written on January 18, 1921

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

44
TO DVOSYA SHKLOVSKAYA**

Dear D. Z.:

I quite understand you. When I spoke to your husband, I told him *right away*: wouldn't it be better to go abroad? For I clearly saw that you would *not be able to manage here* (*especially in Moscow*). I was very much surprised that he refused to recognise this obvious fact.

I am not in Moscow at present.[41] I have written to *Gorbunov* (a very good man), asking him on my behalf to talk both with the C.C. and the People's Commissariat for

---

* See Document 41 of this volume.—*Ed.*

** On the envelope Lenin wrote: "Comrade D. Z. *Shklovskaya*, 3/69 Sheremetyevsky pereulok; (please sign for letter) (from Lenin)."—*Ed.*

Foreign Affairs about meeting your request.* If need be, speak to Gorbunov (I enclose his telephone number) *without hesitation*: he is a very good man.

Best regards to the whole family, the children especially.

Lenin

Written on January 18, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from the original

45

TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Comrade N. P. Gorbunov:

Please give a closer reading to Comrade Eiduk's material[42] and *have a talk with him*,

to try to formulate the *practical proposals*

together with him.

Tell Comrade Eiduk that I am extremely interested in this most important matter, and very much regret that I am unable just now to take it up personally.

But once the practical proposals are there, I shall tackle it.

2) The Narrow Council business as designated.

Yours,

Lenin

Written on January 18, 1921

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

46

TO THE *PRAVDA* EDITORIAL BOARD[43]

I request the Editorial Board to publish Rudzutak's theses, which were adopted by the Fifth All-Russia Trade Union Conference held from November 2 to 6, 1920; they

* See previous document.—*Ed.*

are extremely necessary as material for discussion. I also append material on the debate which has started in Party circles concerning the origin of these theses.

N. Lenin

Written on January 18, 1921
Published on January 21, 1921 in *Pravda* No. 13

Printed from the newspaper text

47

*TO THE WORKERS, ARTISANS, OFFICE WORKERS, AND COMMUNIST PARTY CELL OF PROLETARSKAYA STATION, VLADIKAVKAZ RAILWAY

20.I.1921

Dear Comrades:

From the comrades you have sent, Lavrik, Malikov and Bykov, I learned with great satisfaction how you organised the dispatch of a gift to the working people of the city of Moscow. In accordance with the mandate of your general meeting, I received from your delegates Invoice No. 243 covering the cargo you dispatched: 2,002 poods of wheat, 1,869 poods 29 pounds of barley and 35 poods of flour, and also a detailed written report about how you carried out the procurement of salt by doing free overtime work, about your voluntary stints without pay on holidays in general, and about your cultural and educational work.

Instructions have been issued to have the cargo, delayed en route through no fault of the comrades you have sent, delivered to the People's Commissariat for Food, and all the foodstuffs you have sent will be handed over to the workers of the city of Moscow.

I advise you to give more attention to cultural and educational work and the schools. I hope that through a concerted effort you will succeed in eliminating all the difficulties which arise.

I was especially interested in the communist farming you have introduced. One of the most important tasks now facing the Republic is the development and boosting

of agriculture. I was happy to hear your report that this year you will be able to develop 2,200 dessiatines as ploughland, and 25 dessiatines as vegetable garden. You must see to it that your agriculture is organised on the right lines, as agronomic science requires, and I advise you to get a knowledgeable agronomist for that purpose.*

My special request to you is that your work in the commune should be so organised as to *help* peasants in the vicinity and maintain the best relations with them. Without this and without business-like practical economic success I have little faith in the communes, and am even somewhat apprehensive of them.

I send you all my comradely greetings.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)

I am very sorry that I was unable to see them personally and had to ask Comrade N. P. Gorbunov to do so.

First published on January 21, 1927 in the newspaper *Molot* No. 1641 (Rostov-on-Don)

Printed from a typewritten text with Lenin's additions and signature

48

TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Comrade Gorbunov:

A decision was adopted today to have you see to the execution of C.P.C. decisions.[44]

This business must be organised on the correct lines: you must always have a file or list of decisions which have *not been carried out* or require constant supervision (over execution).

25/I. *Lenin*

Written on January 25, 1921

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

* The following text is in Lenin's hand.—*Ed.*

49

TO A. I. RYKOV

Comrade Rykov:

I propose that the resignation should be rejected, and the "termination of the duties performed" *interdicted*. Larin is no good as chairman. This should be backed up through the C.C. today.[45]

26/I. *Lenin*

Written on January 26, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52
Printed from the original

50

TO N. P. GORBUNOV[46]

Comrade Gorbunov:

I have known the author for more than 20 years. A most loyal revolutionary. His sister (or two?) are working for us and, everyone says, are doing it selflessly and splendidly. I believe, he has quite deserved our help. I earnestly request you not to be angry over his nervousness (the man is *worn out*) and to **help** him in every possible way.

26/I. *Lenin*

Written on January 26, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

51

TO THE SORMOVO WORKS

The Sormovo Works is making a caterpillar crane for Gidrotorf, but this is being done much too slowly. In view of the need to test the crane in the coming summer season, I request that every effort be made to have the crane all ready in April to make its delivery possible to Electroperedacha Station in early May for all-round trials, so that,

once all the necessary improvements are ascertained, the mass production of cranes could be started on this model.[47]

Lenin

Written on January 26, 1921
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

52
TO V. P. MILYUTIN

27.I.21

Comrade Milyutin:

Please let me know what you have done to publish abroad the decree on concessions,[48] when the report was put out, and what exactly has been communicated abroad. In order to complete what has yet to be done in this respect, I propose that you make use of Comrade Kopp, who is now in Moscow.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

P.S. Please let me know the exact copies of the telegrams or letters sent abroad and dates of dispatch.

First published in 1959 in the book: *Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR* (Documents of the Foreign Policy of the U.S.S.R.), Moscow Vol. III
Printed from a typewritten copy

53
TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Comrade Gorbunov:

I have just spoken to you on the telephone about this draft. Request: speed up *all* this business, and all the many drafts, so as to have the lot go to the Narrow C.P.C., say, on Saturday.[49]

27.I.1921. *Lenin*

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

54

TO N. P. GORBUNOV

The estate is said to comprise *about* 30 dessiatines of ploughland, and 130 of forest. The Saratov Gubernia Executive Committee is said to be agreeable. I think this should be placed before the Narrow Council right away, and an *inquiry* and on-the-spot study appointed through the Narrow Council.[50]

27.I.1921. *Lenin*

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

55

TO M. N. POKROVSKY, Y. A. LITKENS AND O. Y. SCHMIDT

28.I.1921

To Comrades
1) M. N. Pokrovsky
2) Y. A. Litkens
3) O. Y Schmidt

Please let me have by 8.00 p.m. today:

1) the available *printed* material (in reports, articles, pamphlets, etc.) with the text of the laws *in force* (resolutions, instructions)
on primary schools
and secondary schools
2) ditto—technical schools
3) " trade "
4) on the number of primary and secondary schools and also of higher educational establishments;
5) on the number of schools, open or closed, or not working, and educational establishments of the various levels and types;
6) in addition, if there is no printed material—and if it is impossible to indicate- the issues of newspapers or

magazines carrying such materials—please send me *data* on the questions indicated which *have not been printed*, *if available*.[51]

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

56
TO M. A. KRUCHINSKY*

31.I.1921

Comrade Kruchinsky:

I have received your reports on the People's Commissariat for Agriculture.[52] I have read them and reported to the C.C. members.

By appointing Osinsky, we, the Central Committee, have done what we could. Osinsky saw me yesterday and told me that he was getting a number of local comrades, peasants, to join in the work.

Why are you dissatisfied with Osinsky? The whole R.C.P. group of the Eighth Congress of Soviets had a high opinion of him over the seed campaign.

Which Communist workers are dissatisfied with the work and why?

Please let me have concrete instructions and proposals. We in the C.C. believe that we have done everything possible *for the time being*; we are *waiting* to see the results of the work of the new Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture and think that they will be good.

With communist greetings,
N. Lenin

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from the original

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* On the envelope Lenin wrote: "To Mikh. Kruchinsky, member of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee (please sign for letter) (from Lenin)."—*Ed.*

57

TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Comrade Gorbunov:

We should make inquiries and find out whether anything can be done in this case to help the mining industry. Take away what can be spared?[53]

31/I. *Lenin*

Written on January 31, 1921
First published on January 21, 1927 in *Pravda* No. 17

Printed from the original

58

TO M. I. FRUMKIN*

1/II-1921.

Comrade Frumkin:

We have been receiving (from inside and outside) more and more information about the absolutely intolerable "independence" of the Ukraine in matters of the People's Commissariat for Food.

You must *dig right down* to the *whole* truth, which is obviously being concealed from us (to some extent probably unwittingly, by conniving at those whose concealment is *deliberate*). This is a serious matter, and we shall not let it go at that; we shall find out the whole truth.

We shall fully expose the role of Peshekhonov (worse than any whiteguard), who had clearly been fooling the Ukrainian C.C. (we do not yet know through whom he had done that, but we shall find out).

But just now, and above all, you are *fully responsible* for finding out and getting at *all the facts*, and must see to it that you *are not* duped by Peshekhonov and those who have been deceived by the Peshekhonovs.[54]

Awaiting your reply,

With communist greetings,

Lenin

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from the original

* See Document 62 of this volume.—*Ed.*

59

TO D. B. RYAZANOV

Comrade Ryazanov:

Do you at the library have a *collection* of **all** the letters of Marx and Engels *from the newspapers*? from separate magazines?

For example, about materialism in *Leipzieger Volkszeitung*, 1894?

The one from *Vorwärts* about *Beesley**? (it may not be spelled quite that way: English professor, Comtist, who knew Marx?)

And similar other things.

Is there a *catalogue of all the letters* of Marx and Engels?

Could I have it to go over for about a week, i.e., the *catalogue*?

Yours,
Lenin

Written before February 2, 1921

First published in 1930 in the book *Na boyevom postu. Sbornik k shestidesyatiletiyu D. B. Ryazanova* (Collection for D. B. Ryazanova's Sixtieth Birthday), Moscow

Printed from the original

60

TO D. B. RYAZANOV

Comrade Ryazanov:

I have a great request:

Return the books.[55]

1) Do you, by any chance, know *where* the *underscored passages* in Engels's letters come *from*?

2) Has this ever been published in full and *where*?

3) If it has, can we find and get it?

4) Could we *buy* the letters of Marx and Engels, or photographs of them, from Scheidemann & Co. (you know, this dirty lot will sell anything)?

---

* Edward Spencer Beesly.—*Ed.*

5) Is there any hope of our collecting in Moscow **everything** published by Marx and Engels?

6) Is there a catalogue of *everything already collected here*?

7) Are we collecting the letters of Marx and Engels (or copies of them) or is that impossible?

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Written on February 2, 1921
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the original

61
TO A. G. GOIKHBARG

Comrade Goikhbarg:

About the reports by the People's Commissars, you (the Narrow Council) should pay particular *attention to the execution* of the most important decisions.[56]

The burning question today is flats in Moscow. Appoint check-ups, *with reports* in the Narrow Council *twice* a week: how many houses, flats, rooms have been *given* (you will recall that 10 houses have to be given).

Also check up on the allocation.

The population of Moscow is being inflated by the growing staffs. This should be verified; perhaps, we should adopt a decision.

A People's Commissariat increasing the number of its staffs without the permission of the Narrow Council should be subjected to various penalties (prohibition to increase even by one person).

Draw up a list of the People's Commissariats which are to reduce the number of their staffs weekly (People's Commissariat for Defence, the Supreme Economic Council, the People's Commissariat for Railways and certain others).

The rest may increase their staffs only with the permission of the Narrow Council.

Lenin

Written on February 2, 1921
First published in part on January 16, 1957 in the newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossiya* No. 13
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from a typewritten copy

62
TO V. N. MANTSEV

Comrade Mantsev:

Outrageous things are happening in the Ukraine.

The Politbureau directive (to have Peshekhonov and the *Peshekhonovites* removed from Kharkov) is being foiled.

Some of the Ukrainian C.C. members are allowing themselves to be deceived by Peshekhonov and the Peshekhonovites.

That is clear. We too shall not allow ourselves to be fooled any longer.

I authorise you, on your *personal* responsibility (on condition of secret and direct and regular communication with the Politbureau in Moscow) to:

(1) keep Peshekhonov under *full* observation;

(2) send the results here;

(3) similarly with all the other Peshekhonovites, a list of them;

(4) secure Peshekhonov's immediate resignation and his dispatch to Moscow.

The Ukrainian C.C. is in *complete* disarray. Let's see if you can do this *properly*.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

3/II.1921.

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52
Printed from the original

63

TO E. M. SKLYANSKY

6.II.1921

Comrade Sklyansky:

Let me have the telegram from the Saratov Gubernia military commissar, the "reply" to which from the Commander-in-Chief you sent me today.

The reply is stupid and here and there illiterate.

It is a bureaucratic handout, instead of a *business-like approach*: banditry must be *wiped out*, instead of being formally written about.

Let them give me, twice a week, *brief*, very brief *results of the fight* against banditry.

Also bring home to the field staff that they should work, instead of writing formal notes.

Who is this "field staff military commissar" Ilyushin, what is his record?

Lenin

First published in part in 1938
in the magazine *Bolshevik* No. 2

Published in full in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

64

TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY

4.II.1921

Comrade Lunacharsky
Copies to Comrade Pokrovsky
and Comrade Litkens

Please let me have a list of teachers with solid practical experience (a) in general teaching activity generally; (b) in vocational and technical education—briefly indicating literary works and length of Soviet service.

I have already asked for this *many times*. There should be no red tape in this matter.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

P.S. In particular, I request information about Sergei Pavlovich, director of the former Tenishevsky College in Petrograd.

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV* — Printed from the original

65

TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE 11TH ARMY[57]

The C.C. is inclined to permit the 11th Army to give active support to the uprising in Georgia and to occupy Tiflis, provided international rules are observed and all members of the 11th Army R.M.C. after a serious examination of all the data, vouch for success.[58] We warn that we have been left without grain because of transport, and will therefore not give a single train or a single car. We are forced to carry only grain and oil from the Caucasus. We demand an immediate reply by direct wire signed by all the 11th Army R.M.C. members and also by Smilga, Gittis, Trifonov and Frumkin. Until our reply to the telegrams from all these persons, do nothing drastic.*

14.II.

Written on February 14, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52 — Printed from the original

66

TELEGRAM TO THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COUNCIL OF THE 11TH ARMY[59]

The C.C. regards the operations of the 11th Army R.M.C. as local protection for insurgents in the neutral zone against their imminent destruction by the whiteguards.[60] Take account of this political character of your operation in

---

* Lenin then added the following: "On behalf of the C.C., Krestinsky." At the bottom of the telegram Lenin added this note, apparently addressed to the secretary: "No, better keep this top-secret for 2-3 months."—*Ed.*

all your public statements. Of course, we expect the 11th Army R.M.C. to take swift and vigorous action, not stopping short of the capture of Tiflis, if, for military considerations, this should be necessary for the actual defence of the neutral zone against a fresh attack. We expect you to reckon most seriously with our warnings. Inform us daily.*

Written on February 15, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from the original

67

TO A. G. GOIKHBARG

Comrade Goikhbarg,
Deputy Chairman of the Narrow C.P.C.

I enclose herewith:

1) Extracts from the minutes of the general meeting of the communist cell of the workers' department at the Moscow Higher Technical College dated 9/II.

2) The report from the commissar of the workers' department at the M.H.T.C. of 10/II.

3) Extracts from the minutes of the joint sitting of the presidiums of the communist cells of the Institute of Railways Engineers, the Petrovsko-Razumovskaya Agricultural Academy, and the bureau of the communist cell of the workers' department of the M.H.T.C. of 23/I.

4) A copy of the report from the instructor of the cultural department of the All-Russia Central Trade Union Council of 28/I.

I propose that the Narrow C.P.C. should deal specially with the question of the workers' departments, study its every aspect and secure the utmost improvement in the condition of the workers' departments.[61]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on February 15, 1921

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

* Lenin then wrote: "On behalf of the C.C., Krestinsky."—*Ed.*

68

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.C.P.(B.)

Litkens is proposing to the Organising Bureau a list of candidates for the *Academic Centre* (of the People's Commissariat for Education).[62] I request that it be referred to the Politbureau.

15/II. *Lenin*

Written on February 15, 1921
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV* Printed from the original

69

TO N. N. KRESTINSKY[63]

1

I have not seen the article, but relying on Kamenev (that he would not have recommended anything *harmful*) I cast my vote in favour of *publishing it tomorrow*.

Lenin

2

In that case, we should require
1) the reservation that the author or authors have written it as *private* writers and not as persons in office;
2) the reservation: the article is offered for discussion.

Written on February 16, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52 Printed from the original

70

TO N. I. MURALOV

Comrade Muralov:

Comrade Krzhizhanovsky is highly delighted with *Yesin*, worker and Communist, whom he says you know as well. In

the words of Krzhizhanovsky this is an outstanding worker, an electrician, and extremely useful (turned out to be useful in the work of the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia). So Krzhizhanovsky strongly recommends him for membership of the *General Planning Commission of the Council of Labour and Defence*.

I think this Commission should, as a general rule, consist of *specialists*, a *worker*, by way of exception.

I have told Osinsky as much and should like to know your opinion. I earnestly request you to send me (*with the same messenger*), in a few lines, your detailed opinion of Yesin, his record, his efficiency, etc.[64]

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on February 18, 1921

First published in part on April 22, 1957 in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* No. 96

Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from the original

71

TO V. R. MENZHINSKY

18.II.1921

Comrade Menzhinsky:

I highly recommend to you the bearer of this, Comrade Eino Rahja, whom I have known since before the October Revolution as a most loyal Finnish Bolshevik. He is now a member of the C.C. of Finland's Communist Party.

He must personally speak to you on a number of the *most secret* matters. Please, trust him fully and give him every possible assistance.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from the original

72

TO G. V. CHICHERIN

Comrade Chicherin:

I am not soliciting any high posts for Comrade Shklovsky. You know him by his work at the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.

But I ask you to speed up his departure abroad, because his wife fears that the children will not survive here. I have known the whole family since our stay abroad, and believe these fears to be weighty. This family cannot stand our conditions. They must be sent abroad.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written in February, not before the 21st, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from the original

73

TELEGRAM TO I. N. SMIRNOV

I am passing on to you Sklyansky's communication[65] in reply to your dispatches. Please keep me informed about the gangs, the food supply work, and the grain shipments.

Written on February 21 or 22, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from the original

74

*TO COMRADES I. M. GUBKIN, A. I. TSEVCHINSKY, I. N. STRIZHOV AND N. N. SMIRNOV[66]

23.II.1921

In view of the reports sent in to the Central Oil Administration on the question of the flooding of oil wells and the consequent threat of disaster, please let me have today, if possible, any material you may have at hand (books,

magazines, reports, etc.) on foreign laws or local regulations penalising oil industrialists for leaving wells uncovered, failing to provide cementation, its faulty application, *etc.*

Let me have either the laws themselves, or, if these are not immediately available, references to the corresponding books or magazine articles or handbooks, so that I could get them from the library.

Please reply by telephone today.

Lenin
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

75

TELEGRAM TO KH. G. RAKOVSKY*

To Rakovsky, **coded**

Rakovsky, Kharkov. Re: Your No. 672

In view of the extremely grave food supply situation at the centre, I propose: three-quarters to be brought down here, one-quarter left for the cities and workers of the Ukraine; the peasants must be rewarded at any cost, within the bounds of possibility, and if we have nothing, then by making purchases abroad for gold or oil. If you disagree with this, make another concession to the peasants, but bear in mind that the food crisis over here is desperate and downright dangerous.[67]

Lenin

Written on February 24, 1921

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

76

TO N. A. SEMASHKO

28.II.1921

Comrade Semashko
Nikolai Alexandrovich:

I now have with me Comrade Ivan Afanasyevich *Chekunov*, a very interesting toiling peasant, who is propagating communist principles in his own way.[68]

* At the top Lenin wrote and then crossed out: "Comrade Tsyurupa your opinion of my draft reply? 24.II. *Lenin*."—*Ed.*

He has lost his spectacles and paid 15,000 rubles for the *trash*! Could you help him to get good spectacles?

I earnestly request you to help and ask your secretary to let me know *whether you have managed to do so.*

Yours,
Lenin

First published in part
on January 30, 1924
in *Leningradskaya Pravda* No. 23

Published in full
on January 21, 1925
in *Izvestia* No. 17

Printed from the original

77
TO A. D. TSYURUPA

Comrade Tsyurupa:

Your figures show the stocks on 1.II to be 40.3 food+ 5.4 groats=45.7.[69]

The probable figure for 1.III is about *4 8.*

By 1.IV, probably, *not less than* 50.

From 1.IV to 1.IX is five months. 50 : 5=10.

This rough estimate shows that for Russia, for the R.S.F.S.R. (without the Ukraine), it is quite possible to abolish the surplus-requisition from 15.III or 1.IV, and *try out the new regime* until 1.IX or 15.VIII.

What do you think?

Written in February 1921

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

78
TO N. OSINSKY

1.III.1921

Comrade Osinsky:

Yesterday I saw Ivan Afanasyevich Chekunov. It turned out that he had already been to see me in 1919 on the question of a congress of toiling peasants. Now he says: it is better to start with *regional* ones.

He sympathises with the Communists, but will not join the Party, because he goes to church and is a Christian (he says he rejects the ritual but is a believer).

He has been improving his farm. He has toured Nizhni-Novgorod and Simbirsk gubernias. He says the peasants have lost confidence in the Soviet power. I asked him whether we could right things with a tax? He thinks we could. In his own uyezd, he has succeeded, with the help of the workers, to substitute a good Soviet authority for the bad one.

That is the kind of people we must *do our utmost* to hold on to, in order to restore the confidence of the peasant *mass*. This is the *main* political task and one which brooks no delay. My earnest request: see that the "apparatus" standpoint does not run away with you, and do not worry too much over it. Devote *more* attention to the political attitude towards the peasantry.

I think we must "capture" Chekunov immediately, i.e., involve him in *our* activity. How are we to do this? This needs thinking about. Perhaps we should set up right away (rather start) a "toiling peasant council" or a "*non-Party peasant council*" (perhaps, the latter name is more guarded for keeping out those whom Chekunov calls the "hissers", i.e., the downright kulaks and enemies of the Soviet power). Chekunov should be appointed right away as the authorised representative of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture to organise (or prepare) such an institution. He should be urgently sent to Simbirsk Gubernia (we need an adviser and a mediator from a gubernia with *surplus* grain, better two mediators) and be given this assignment: to bring us over here from Simbirsk Gubernia (where he knows various people) a **non-Party** Russian peasant, a man advanced in years and a farmer, who *favours the toiling peasants and the workers*, and is not a "hisser". Another one must also be found. Three would be best: Chekunov+the man from Simbirsk+another from a gubernia not growing grain. This trio of "old men" (it would be good for all of them to be *both* non-Party men **and** Christians) we will at once turn either into *non-voting* members of the collegium, or into the nucleus of a "non-Party peasant council", or a similar corporation.

This must be done speedily, at once (he intends to leave the day after tomorrow).

Strike while the iron's hot. Let me have your reply.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

79

TO L. D. TROTSKY

Comrade Trotsky:

I am sending this for your information.[70] These are very interesting things. I think the Ukrainian Communists are wrong. The conclusion to be drawn from the facts is not against a tax, but for intensified military measures for the *total* annihilation of Makhno, etc.

Lenin

Written on March 3, 1921

First published in 1932
in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

80

TO THE NARROW C.P.C.

I think we should allow *greater* quantities to be transported.[71]

Your fear of speculation is excessive.

Will it be so bad if they exchange individually for grain? The peasants will obtain footwear and clothing. What we should fear is *mass* speculation, and we cannot allow speculation on a *professional basis*. But we should not hamper but encourage *importation* into poverty-stricken Russia.

Please review.

3/III.1921.

Lenin

First published in 1932
in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

81

*TO THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) CENTRAL COMMITTEE

3.III.1921

In sending over the minutes (No. 55) of the sitting of the bureau of the All-Russia Central T.U.C. group of 3.III.1921, I propose that:

1)) point "**g**" **should be withdrawn** (in view of the Party Congress which is to meet *within a few days*, and the need to discuss this and similar other matters *there*),

2)) on point "**l**"

be it resolved:

"*To be referred to the Party Congress.*"[72]

I think it necessary to decide this *over the telephone*, for it is indisputable that decisions cannot be taken before the Party Congress or without it. We obviously cannot allow panic to be spread for no good reason.

Lenin

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI* — Printed from the original

82

TO M. N. POKROVSKY[73]

I very much doubt it and think it would be better to refer this to the C.C. Politbureau. (Also find out for which departments or subjects?)

Written in March, not before the 4th, 1921

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV* — Printed from the original

83

TO L. B. KAMENEV

5.III.1921

L.B.:

I think there is need for a (secret?) circular from the Moscow Committee on this matter against the slanderers who

refuse to go to the Control Commission, and keep hurling slanderous charges in the guise of "criticism".[74]

Lenin

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

84

TO G. V. CHICHERIN AND L. M. KARAKHAN[75]

Comrades Chicherin and Karakhan

Please let me know your opinion and return both documents to me.[76] I draw the attention of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to the fact that its *circumvention* of the C.P.C. decision (through a "parallel" apparatus or commission under *another* name or pretext) is *absolutely intolerable*. I have the suspicion that the P.C.F.A. is *actually circumventing* the C.P.C. decision. This is a warning. I request a *most precise* opinion, without evasions or suppression of the facts.

7/III. *Lenin*

Written on March 7, 1921
First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

85

TO A. D. TSYURUPA

Comrade Tsyurupa:

We shall probably call our commission tonight,[77] (we shall hardly have any time during the day, after the opening[78], although we shall try).

The question is pivoted on "*turnover*", free economic exchange for the peasantry.

You have not gone into the question deeply enough, since you were arguing against Rakovsky (I had no time for a rejoinder). The whole point is to be able to promote

commerce, exchange (both export abroad from the south and *exchange with the factories*). Otherwise, we shall collapse.

NB ||| *Think about this* and *find a formula* to insert this.

NB ||| 2) Ask for these figures right away: how much *grain* we *gave* in January 1921 and in *February* (if there are no figures for the whole of February, then for one-third or two-thirds of it) 1921. How much imported, and how much altogether.

Lenin

Written on March 8, 1921
First published in part in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52
Printed from the original

86

TO G. V. CHICHERIN

Comrade Chicherin:

I am extremely anxious about the Turks' putting off the signing of the agreement on Batum, playing for time while their troops are moving to Batum. We must not allow them such delays. Discuss the following measure: you will adjourn your conference for half an hour to have a talk with me, while Stalin will have a straightforward talk with the Turkish delegation to clear things up and have everything settled not later than today.[79]

Lenin

Written on March 9, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52
Printed from the original

87

TO L. B. KAMENEV AND J. V. STALIN

Kamenev and Stalin

Please pay attention to Dzerzhinsky's reports on Siberia. There is an extremely great and terrible danger that our men will not be able to get on with the Siberian peasants.

For all his good qualities, Chutskayev is unquestionably weak, has absolutely no military knowledge, and the slightest aggravation may threaten disaster there. I think we should discuss the question of sending Iv. N. Smirnov to Siberia not later than the beginning of the summer. He will, of course, very strongly object, but unless we have another candidate with a knowledge of Siberia and of military science, one who is sure not to lose his head in a difficult situation, I think that it will be absolutely inevitable for us to send Smirnov.[80]

9/III.1921. *Lenin*

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from Lydia Fotieva's notes

88

TO A. I. RYKOV

10.III.1921

Comrade Rykov
Copies to Comrade Tsyurupa and Comrade Rakovsky

I ask you to take advantage of Comrade Rakovsky's presence in Moscow to organise, together with him and Comrade Tsyurupa, a conference on the possibility and ways of getting the peasants, on the one hand, and the handicraftsmen and the factory population, on the other, to take a practical interest in the exchange (organised on state lines, as far as possible) of farm produce for industrial goods. This conference must be organised very urgently.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

89

TO A. G. GOIKHBARG

To the Narrow Council

Comrade Goikhbarg:

Read this letter from the representative of Soviet Georgia, especially what is *underscored* (p. 3).

It is necessary *immediately*

1) to put through an *injunction* on sending (without the permission of the Narrow Council), and to give permission with the *utmost circumspection*,[81]

2) to make *regular* check-ups on execution.

12/III. *Lenin*

Written on March 12, 1921

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

90

TO MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) CENTRAL COMMITTEE

I *propose*: to approve in principle and authorise the P.C.F.T. to continue negotiations[82] *with the proviso*, *however*, that (1) no final decision is taken without the Politbureau (which must remain free to make a *rejection*); and that (2) an effort is made to secure a *similar loan* on better terms with the other (Italian) *offerer*.

Lenin 13/III.

Written on March 13, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from the original

91

TO N. A. SEMASHKO

Comrade Semashko:

(1) I earnestly request you to appoint a special person (preferably a *well-known* physician, with a knowledge of *foreign countries* and **known abroad** for sending abroad, to Germany (of Tsyurupa, Krestinsky, Osinsky, Kurayev, *Gorky*, *Korolenko* and others). The *utmost skill* should be

employed in inquiring, requesting, persuading, and writing to Germany, to help the *sick*, etc.

Do this *most punctiliously*
(thoroughly).

(2) Send the *best* physician to *give* N. I. Bukharin *a medical examination* (the *heart*, among other things) and let me know the result.

Lenin

Written in March,
not before the 16th, 1921

First published in 1932
in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

92
TO WASHINGTON VANDERLIP

Moscow, March 17, 1921.

Mr. Washington B. Vanderlip

Dear Sir,

I thank you for your kind letter of the 14th, and am very glad to hear of President Harding's favourable views as to our trade with America. You know what value we attach to our future American business relations. We fully recognise the part played in this respect by your syndicate and also the great importance of your personal efforts.[83] Your new proposals are highly interesting and I have asked the Supreme Council of National Economy to report to me at short intervals about the progress of the negotiations. You can be sure that we will treat every reasonable suggestion with the greatest attention and care.* It is on production and trade that our efforts are principally concentrated and your help is to us of the greatest value.

If you have to complain of some officials please send your complaint to the respective People's Commissary who will investigate the matter and report if necessary. I have already ordered special investigation concerning the person you mention in your letter.

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* See Document 94 of this volume.—*Ed.*

The Congress of the Communist Party has taken so much of my time and forces that I am very tired and ill. Will you kindly excuse me if I am unable to have an interview with you just now. I will beg Comrade Chicherin to speak with you shortly.

Wishing you much success I remain.

Yours truly,

Wl. Oulianoff (*Lenin*)

First published in 1932
in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original
Written in English

93
TO A. A. JOFFE

17.III.1921

Dear Comrade Joffe:

I was highly distressed to read your deeply perturbed letter of 15/III.[84] I see that you have the most legitimate grounds for dissatisfaction and even indignation, but I assure you that you are wrong in seeking the causes of it.

First, you are wrong in saying (repeatedly) that "I am the C.C.". This could have been written only in a state of great nervous irritation and overwork. The old C.C. (1919-1920) defeated me on one of the vastly important questions, as you must know from the discussion.[85] I cannot say how many times I have been in a minority on organisational and personal matters. You must have seen this for yourself on many occasions as a member of the C.C.

You should not allow yourself to be so nervous as to write such an **absolutely impossible**, **absolutely impossible** thing that I am the C.C. This is overwork.

Second, I do not feel the slightest dissatisfaction with you or mistrust of you in any way. *Nor do the members of the C.C.*, as far as I know them, have spoken to them and seen their attitude towards you.

What then is the explanation of the matter? It is that you have been *tossed about by fate*. I have seen this happen to many workers. Take Stalin, as an example. You must know that he would have stood up for himself, in any case. But "fate" did *not* allow him, *a single time* in three and a half years, to be *either* People's Commissar for the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, *or* People's Commissar for Nationalities. That is a fact.

You, like rather many other leading workers, have been tossed about by fate. You are one of our first and best diplomatists. Our diplomacy has been working on and off. In the intervals, you have been "tried out" (W.P.I.), *without giving* you time to *finish things*. It is the fault (the misfortune?) of the whole C.C., which has tossed about many people *in this way*. If you give this some cool thought, you will see *that* this is true.

Failure to be elected to the All-Russia Central Executive Committee? Ask anyone, Trotsky, for instance, how often the C.C. has hesitated in its views of the principle and its decisions on this! This has happened many times! We were *forced* to make maximum renewals for considerations of "democracy".

(The new C.C. was constituted only yesterday and will take *some time* to "gear up".[86])

My *personal* opinion, which is quite frank, is: (1) you must have a good rest. It is harmful to fray oneself. We are badly in need of experienced, veteran, tested workers. Have a good rest. Perhaps, you will decide that it is better to go to a sanatorium, abroad. It is bad over here. Your health must be *completely* restored. (2) You have been and remain one of our leading and best diplomatists and politicians. Take Turkey? Turkestan? Can we do without you? Rumania? I'm afraid we cannot. I think we cannot.

Have a rest. Then come to Moscow, we shall have a talk.

With best wishes,

Yours,

Lenin

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

94

TO THE R.C.P.(B.) CENTRAL COMMITTEE[87]

Fully in favour.

Lenin

Authorise Chicherin to draw up a draft message and put it through at *this* very session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee.

Lenin

Written on March 18 or 19, 1921

First published in 1961 in the book, *Leninskiye idei zhivut i pobezhdayut* (Lenin's Ideas Are Alive and Triumphant), Moscow

Printed from the original

95

TELEGRAM TO L. B. KRASIN*

Code

Krasin

The Party Congress has approved the line I advocated on concessions in Grozny and in Baku.[88] Speed up negotiations on these as on all other concessions. Send information more often.

*Lenin***

Written on March 19, 1921

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

96

CERTIFICATE TO A. R. SHAPOSHNIKOV

This is to certify that Alexei Romanovich *Shaposhnikov*, peasant of Beketovo Village, Bulgakovo Volost, Ufa Uyezd, Ufa Gubernia, was summoned by me to Moscow

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* At the top Lenin added: "Comrade Chicherin: Please send in code, today if possible. 19/III. *Lenin*."—*Ed.*

** The telegram is also signed by G. V. Chicherin.—*Ed.*

for discussion of and consultation on an important matter relating to the peasant economy.[89]

In his explanations and replies, citizen *A. R. Shaposhnikov* has been honest and scrupulous.

All Soviet authorities of the R.S.F.S.R. are hereby requested to help citizen *A. R. Shaposhnikov* in every possible way to return to peaceful labour in his domicile.

*V. Ulyanov (Lenin)**
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on March 22, 1921
First published in 1941 in the magazine *Bolshevik* No. 9

Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

97

TO V. N. KAYUROV**

24.III.1921

Dear Comrade Kayurov:

I have received your letter of 1.III.21, concerning the tax.

In the meantime (while your letter was en route), the tax has already been passed by the Tenth Party Congress and by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. You must know about this from the papers.

Write me from time to time of your local impressions. How have the Siberian peasants met the tax? What are their other demands and feelings? How are things with the workers?

Best wishes,
Yours,
Lenin

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

* The certificate is also signed by C.P.C. secretary Lydia Fotieva.—*Ed.*

** On the envelope, the following is written in Lenin's hand: "*To Comrade V. Kayurov*. Kolchugino railway project. City of *Tomsk* (from Lenin)."—*Ed.*

98
TO L. B. KAMENEV

24.III.1921

Comrade Kamenev:

Badaich* has earnestly requested me to help them in having the old Yakunchikov estate and the Khodynski farmstead transferred to the M.C.C.**

He argues that they are close to Moscow. This would give Muscovites a vegetable garden and a farm.

He says that the Gubernia Land Department will handle the supplies itself.

Badaich refers to the good experience gained in Petrograd, where a farm was run on model lines.

In principle: the city's interest *should* have an effect on the "diligence". Badayev is right in principle.

Or we could do this: let Badaich have it, and give the Gubernia Land Department a *formal* order: you must *not lag behind* with *your* state farms, and make a comparison in the autumn.

Lenin

P.S. In general, press forward with the vegetable-garden campaign. Should we raise this in the Council of Labour and Defence? To provide the pressure?

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

99
TO A. D. TSYURUPA

Comrade Tsyurupa:

I have received your note concerning the postponement (membership of the Commission for Utilisation).[90] It is a

---

* A. Y. Badayev.—*Ed.*

** Moscow Consumers' Commune.—*Ed.*

great pity that you have handed it in *so late* (the day of the sitting). I refuse to lose a week.

The candidates: Kritsman, Smirnov, Holtzmann.

Your candidates, i.e., your list?

Lenin

Written on March 25, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52
Printed from the original

100
TO A. I. RYKOV

26.III.1921

Comrade Rykov:

This is to remind you of the promise you gave me over the phone yesterday: to ask Glavneft* for a *short* report for me on oil tank cars (the total number of sound tank cars for oil over the entire railway network, *minus* those engaged of necessity on other railways, for instance, from the Volga to Moscow, except the South-Eastern. The difference is the number of tank cars that *can and must* carry oil from Grozny (and Baku) to Moscow. *How many are actually carrying it?*).

It would be good (but not compulsory) to append a draft decision by the C.L.D. concerning the full and correct use of oil tank cars.[91]

When can I have it?

Lenin

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*
Printed from the original

101
TO A. D. TSYURUPA

Comrade Tsyurupa:

By tomorrow noon I need the following data:

1) The quantity of grain (and fodder grain) given to the population

* Central Oil Administration.—*Ed.*

monthly figures 1919-1920
1920-1921

Three columns		
food grain	potatoes	fodder grain

2) The quantity of grain *collected* (by the Commissariat for Food):

net surplus-requisition for grinding 1920-1921 *total* (for the available number of months)

3) The number of gubernias (and assessments for them) which have fulfilled deliveries (1920-1921)

100% for a given month
75% " " "

Tell Senin, or whoever is in charge of this, that I shall have him *arrested* unless I get the figures, *signed by the responsible person*, by noon.

Lenin

P.S. Two other things:

1) Perhaps there have been other collections of grain for "services" apart from the "spade-per-sack" for grinding?

2) Have you any data on the "free" price of *salt* (in terms of *grain*), etc.? (You will recall that I have been asking for this a long time ago.)

Written on March 27, 1921

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

102

TO F. E. DZERZHINSKY

27.III.1921

Comrade Dzerzhinsky:

Please write for me, or have your secretary write for me, a *short* (10-20 lines) note about the unsuccessful

purchase of 400 (instead of 1,000) poods of accessories for making boots (accessories whose selection was unsatisfactory, wrong).

I need this to issue instructions on what we are to avoid and how. How *similar* mistakes are to be avoided.[92]

Yours,
Lenin

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

103
TO Y. A. PREOBRAZHENSKY

27/III.

Comrade Preobrazhensky:

The "co-operative" circles, headed by Prokopovich, Kuskova & Co., are said to wish to make this proposal to the government:

> we shall help you to restore the currency, if you allow us to issue bonds secured by our (co-operative) commodity stocks.

This is ridiculous, because it is tantamount to the capitalists' proposal: we shall help you to restore the currency, if you let us have commodity stocks.

But apart from being ridiculous, it emphasises the gist of the matter: we must start *just now*, when the tax in kind and the exchange (for grain) are being introduced, to make systematic preparations to "improve" the currency through the issue of bonds *secured by commodities* (the commodity stocks, the grain stocks, etc.).

There must be no delay over this. This should be thought out, prepared and started, *without waiting* for the settlement of the silver issue.

Have you brought all this up for your commission, and **in** it?[93]

Drop me a couple of lines by 11 a.m. tomorrow (28).

We shall appoint you a member of the Collegium of the *People's Commissariat for Finance*. This will *not* take much time, but *will put you in touch* with the P.C.F.[94]

Give your attention to *Falkner* (him; "her"* brother). Perhaps he will move closer to us and join in the work?

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Written on March 27, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

104
TO A. I. RYKOV

Comrade Rykov:

I have gone over your material on the concession agreement, and am highly indignant.[95]

This is either sabotage or idiocy on the part of Dosser & Co.!

There is a host of useless and ridiculous details (prohibition to light fires, etc.), but *the important things have not been brought out.*

The serious matters have been swamped in bureaucratic litter.

There is no sign of *brains*, thinking *brains.*

What is Lomov doing?

You have wrecked the C.P.C. decision (2/II.1921),[96] requiring the working out of the *main principles within three weeks!!*

These principles must be worked out tomorrow (i.e., 28/III) at all costs, and they should be concise enough to be *telegraphed* to Krasin.

Show them to me *before that.*

I append *my own* draft, a rough and hasty outline: I take the important and the controversial items.[97] I think the rest is less important or indisputable.

Stop the sabotage and do the job *properly*, otherwise I shall fight it out in the C.C.

---

* Maria Smith-Falkner, S. A. Falkner's sister.—*Ed.*

Who is on your "concessions commission"? Its membership: reply before 11 a.m. tomorrow.

Lenin

Written on March 27, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

105

TO L. D. TROTSKY

Comrade Trotsky:

Have a look at this (it's interesting) and return to me.[98] I am going to speak with Kharkov this very day.

Don't you find the attitudes over the concessions amusing? There's the Baku and Donbas "patriotism".

It is nonetheless highly desirable to let the concessionaires have a quarter of Donbas (+Krivoi Rog).

What do you think?

Lenin

Written on March 28-29, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*
Printed from the original

106

TO A. I. YEMSHANOV*

P.C.R.
The People's Commissar for Railways

29.III.1921

Comrade Yemshanov:

Please let me know who at the P.C.R. is in charge of the allocation of tank cars (for oil) throughout the network and the carriage of oil along the railways.

1) Who is responsible for this?

2) What has the People's Commissariat done precisely in fulfilment of the C.L.D. decision on this matter (15 or 17.XII.1920)?[99]

3) Who adopted and when—and also who cancelled and when—the order attaching oil tank cars to the various railway lines?

4) How are the tank cars distributed throughout the network at this moment?

* At the top Lenin wrote: "Type out in three copies, let me sign, and send out."—*Ed.*

If what you say in the last column of the first table ("actually available" *on what date?*) of your "reference-report" (a paper without any date) (received on 29.III) is correct, how do you explain that there are (183+161+22+88+9+493+1,405+194=) *2,555* tank cars on 8 railway lines, although these lines have no "filling targets"?

5) Could I have fuller data on the availability and *operation* of tank cars, with the railway lines under three heads and *totals** for the three groups:

(a) (1) railway lines carrying oil from the Volga

(b) (2) " " " " from the Caucasus (Grozny and Baku)

(c) (3) railway lines *not carrying* oil?

6) Why is the speed of the petroleum trains taken at 6 versts an hour? Are there any *technical* obstacles (which exactly) for reaching the maximum speed (say, of the military trains)? What was our pre-war speed? What is our minimum and maximum speed in actual fact for 1920?

Please let me know which of the foregoing data you can give me right away, and which at the earliest possible date (when exactly?)?

With communist greetings,

Lenin

First published on January 21, 1931 in the newspaper *Za Industrializatsiyu* No. 21

Printed from the original

107

NOTE TO MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) CENTRAL COMMITTEE WITH A DRAFT TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE

I propose a reply in code by *direct line*

Orjonikidze

We have received a desperate telegram from Narimanov, Buniat-zade and Serebrovsky, stating with good reason that

* How much oil has been carried? monthly figures? number of tank cars?

it is absolutely impossible for the 11th Army to return to stripped and starving Azerbaijan. Take the most vigorous measures to have the Army stay in Georgia, and at all costs speed up the import of grain from abroad in exchange for concessions in Georgia, manganese, etc. Reply at once.

On behalf of Politbureau,
Lenin

Politbureau members voting
for *against*
*Lenin**

Written on March 29, 1921
First published in part in 1932
in *Lenin Miscellany XX*
Published in full in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from the original

108
TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE

Code

Orjonikidze

Earnestly request most serious attention to yesterday's question of the Army and concessions in Georgia. The Georgian Menshevik government has concluded a number of concessions. We must try to do our utmost to renew the old concessions and our best to conclude new ones as soon as possible, so as to get foodstuffs in exchange for the concessions. Show this to the Georgian Revolutionary Committee, and let me know their reply quickly.

30/III. *Lenin*

Written on March 30, 1921
First published in 1932
in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

* Others who signed "for" were: M. I. Kalinin, L. B. Kamenev and V. M. Molotov; L. D. Trotsky abstained.—*Ed*.

109

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO G. I. PETROVSKY AND M. V. FRUNZE

Telephone Message to *Kharkov*
Petrovsky and Frunze

Pyatakov has been strongly requesting my help in getting Sergei Syrtsov from Odessa as a secretary to Donbas. Pyatakov has accused the Ukrainian Communist Party C.C. of unwillingness to let him have Syrtsov only because of factional fears, since Syrtsov is said to be a Trotskyite. Pyatakov declares that both he and Syrtsov promise not to conduct any factional policies. I don't know Syrtsov. Please collect all information and reply to me.

30/III.1921. *Lenin*

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

110

TO G. V. CHICHERIN

Comrade Chicherin:

I fully agree with you.[100] *Draft* or have someone *draft* such a circular (could it include the whole of Narimanov's speech, or at least its recommendation—this is worse than the whole).

Motion this in the C.C.

It is necessary.

Lenin

Written on March 31, 1921

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

111

TELEGRAM TO L. B. KRASIN

Code

Krasin

I also fear that we shall spend the whole of our small gold stock on food or on trade, with nothing to show for it.

You are responsible for the economies. It is absolutely necessary to improve the condition of the workers and peasants. We must speedily obtain a definite stock of goods from abroad to exchange for grain; this is a political necessity; work on these lines and keep me informed.

Lenin

Written in March 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

112
TO A. P. SEREBROVSKY

2.IV.1921

Comrade Serebrovsky:

I am sending you some material on the oil concessions. I wanted to send it along with Comrade Kaminsky, but unfortunately, because of his grave illness, he had to be given treatment over here.

It is extremely important for the Baku comrades to adopt the *correct* view of the concessions (a view approved by the Tenth Party Congress, i.e., *binding* on all Party members). It is highly desirable to let the concessionaires have a quarter of Baku (or perhaps two-quarters) (on condition of assistance from abroad both in foodstuffs and equipment, *over and above* the concessionaires' own requirements*). *Only* then is there any hope of using the other three-quarters (or two-quarters) *to catch up with* (and then to forge ahead of) modern advanced capitalism. Any other view boils down to the most harmful attitude of a "walkover", "we'll manage on our own", and other such-like rubbish which presents an increasingly greater danger the more it is clad in "purely communist" attire.

* I had a telegram from Krasin yesterday in reply to the draft concession terms sent to him: "acceptable in the main." Krasin, let me add, *has a knowledge* of this business not from communist pamphlets!

Write me at once if there are still any traces (even the slightest) of these most harmful views and prejudices in Baku (among the workers and among the intellectuals): do you undertake to dispel these prejudices yourself and secure the *most loyal* implementation of the congress decision (for the concessions) or do you need my help? Make sure that you and everyone else realise that "the concessions are extremely desirable. There is nothing more harmful or fatal for communism than communist boasting—we'll manage on our own".

Now that we have Batum, we must do our utmost to arrange the speediest possible exchange of oil and kerosene for equipment abroad.

For this the Baku district needs some independence. If you do not have it, telegraph precisely, we shall let you have it.[101]

Formulate precise proposals—send them over to the C.L.D. by telegram and letter. There is need for a regional economic centre, responsible for Baku+Batum, etc., and conducting operations independently, swiftly, without red tape.

We cannot help you from over here, we are poor ourselves. You must help us by buying everything necessary from abroad in exchange for oil and oil products.

Awaiting your reply: a short one by telegram ("letter of 2/IV received, prejudices over concessions exist, hard (or easy) to overcome, concerning exchange of goods with foreign countries and the regional centre, will do or are-doing so-and-so") and give details, by mail.

There is an urgent necessity for *correct contacts with the C.L.D.*; that is the main thing.

Another question: is there a correct approach in Baku to the question of oil from the standpoint of co-ordinating the various aspects of the national economy? After all, the territory is very rich: forests, fertile land (given the irrigation), etc. We are pumping water (with oil) but not using the water for irrigation, which would yield great crops of hay, rice, cotton? Not making use of the "north wind" to run windmills? But, of course, foodstuffs and irrigation are the main things. Is it possible to develop

the oil industry without developing irrigation and farming around Baku? Is anyone thinking about this and working on it properly? What about the English irrigation plan?

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Sent to Baku

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

113

TO V. V. SCHMIDT, L. D. TROTSKY, A. D. TSYURUPA, A. I. RYKOV, M. P. TOMSKY, A. G. SHLYAPNIKOV

2.IV.1921

Comrade Schmidt, People's Commissar for Labour
Trotsky, People's Commissar for Defence
Tsyurupa, People's Commissar for Food
Rykov, Supreme Economic Council
Tomsky, All-Russia Central Trade Union Council
Comrade Shlyapnikov, the initiator of the present proposal

I request you to call a conference of the afore-mentioned People's Commissars (+ Chairman of the All-Russia Central T.U.C.) or persons specially authorised by them to deal with this question of

improving the factories and plants through a reduction in the number of mouths and workers (from among peasants, mobilised armymen, etc.) unproductively listed at the factories; for a definite period, the old quantity of foodstuffs should be made available to each enterprise in order to increase labour productivity.

The conference should end its deliberations as soon as possible, namely: it is desirable to place the matter before the C.C. Politbureau on Tuesday morning (by noon), 5/IV. 1921.

The convocation is up to Comrade Schmidt.[102]

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

114
TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE

Code

Orjonikidze

Your reply is neither full nor clear.[103] Please find out the details from the Georgian Revolutionary Committee. First, has the Soviet Government of Georgia confirmed the concession on the Tkvarcheli mines to the Italians, when, on what terms, reply briefly by telegram, details by letter? Second, about the Chiatura manganese mines: have the German owners been transferred to the status of lessees or concessionaires, when, on what terms. It is extremely important to have the speediest decisions on these and similar other matters. This is of tremendous importance both for Georgia and for Russia, because the concessions, especially to Italy and Germany, are absolutely necessary, as is the exchange of goods for oil, on a large scale with these countries, and subsequently, with others as well.

Please, keep me informed about the measures taken by the Georgian Revolutionary Committee.

5/IV. 1921. *Lenin*

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

115
TO A. I. RYKOV

Comrade Rykov, Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council

Please urgently settle the following Gidrotorf questions:

1. About bonuses in kind for factories making equipment for Gidrotorf (see Gidrotorf letter to the S.E.C. Presidium No. 1252 of 26/III);

2. On granting to Gidrotorf the right to appoint a contractor for preparatory work for Gidrotorf's establishment at the Electroperedacha Station, as has already been

sanctioned by the decision of the Council of Labour and Defence for the Electroperedacha Station (see Gidrotorf letter to the S.E.C. Presidium No. 1329 of 31/III);

3. About Gidrotorf's complaint against the decision by the Commission for supplying foodstuffs to responsible S.E.C. workers of 22/III, under which the 100 rations allowed to Gidrotorf by the People's Commissariat for Food for Gidrotorf's responsible workers were reduced by 27 rations (see Gidrotorf letter to the S.E.C. Presidium No. 1347 of 31/III);

in such a manner that, if required, they could be brought up at the Council of Labour and Defence at its April 6 sitting.[104]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on April 5, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*
Printed from a typewritten copy

116
TO A. I. RYKOV

To Comrade Rykov, Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council
Copy: *People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade*
Copy: *People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs*
Copy: *All-Russia Extraordinary Commission*
Copy: *Central Peat Administration* (*Glavtorf*)

Comrade *Radchenko* requests:

1) arrangements for a trip on behalf of Glavtorf by 10 staff members (with warranties from Comrade *Radchenko* and Comrade *Smilga*) to study peat extraction in Finland, Sweden, Denmark and Canada;

2) allocation of the necessary amount of money for this purpose;

3) organisation of the trip in such a way that three persons should leave by May 1, and the rest by June 1.

Please, have this business set in motion urgently, but

put Glavtorf under an obligation to submit a detailed report of the work done, after the trip is over.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

P.S. I insist on the need for the utmost speed in this business, and be sure to inform me of the *actual* fulfilment.

*Lenin**

Written on April 6, 1921

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from a typewritten text with Lenin's additions and signature

117
TO A. M. LEZHAVA

Comrade *Lezhava*, *People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade*
Copy: *Central Peat Administration*

Reaffirm instructions to our representatives in Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Germany and Britain to make immediate purchases of the latest** literature on the peat industry, and also all new publications, and to send it through the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade to Glavtorf addresses only.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on April 6, 1921

First published on November 24, 1963 in *Pravda* No. 328

Printed from a typewritten text with Lenin's additions and signature

118
TO D. I. ULYANOV

Dmitry Ilyich Ulyanov:

Gubkin (Glavneft) and Lomov (member of S.E.C. Presidium) ask me to support their request, which I hereby do:

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* The P.S. is in Lenin's hand.—*Ed.*
** The word "latest" is in Lenin's hand.—*Ed.*

Help geologist *Mushketov* (Director of the Petrograd Mining Institute) to get his mother back from the Crimea, where she is in great distress.

If necessary, telegraph to me, and I will send another telegram from here, as required.

Greetings,
V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

Written on April 6, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*
Printed from a typewritten copy

119
TO L. B. KAMENEV

Comrade Kamenev:

I send this for your information. I have not read it myself.[105]

NB: We have been **too** hasty, hasty to no purpose with the law on bonuses in kind in the form of factory products for exchange.[106] Mark my word: haste is harmful *in this matter*, and will lead to no good.

All possible **delays** and **limitations** of this measure could *still* and *should* be put through.

Otherwise, you will be very sorry (and you yourself, above all, because the workers will curse *you* for the "fraud").

Yours,
Lenin

Written in April, after the 6th, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

120
TELEGRAM TO V. V. VOROVSKY

Code

Vorovsky

I shall have to look into the affairs of the Italian socialists, but I still have no time to read everything. Please have the most important documents, in the original, of

all the parties put together, especially about the Turati people, and let me have them before the middle of May. Verify this personally.

Lenin

Written on April 8, 1921
Sent to Rome

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

121

TELEGRAM TO THE YAKUTSK CONFERENCE OF THE POOR[107]

Presidium of the Conference of the Poor,
Yakutsk

Comrade Lenin has asked me to convey his greetings to your conference. Comrade Lenin expresses the hope that the **toiling masses** [the poor] of Yakutia liberated from the tsarist oppression, and who are being emancipated from enslavement by the toyons,[108] will awaken, and with the help of the Russian workers and peasants will take the way of [communism] **full consolidation of the power of the working people themselves.**

*Ammosov**
Member of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee

I agree with the indicated corrections.**

Lenin

Written on April 9 or 10, 1921

First published in 1932
in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the text
in M. K. Ammosov's hand
with Lenin's corrections
and additions

122

TO V. M. MOLOTOV

Comrade Molotov:

Unless my memory fails me, I believe the newspapers carried a C.C. letter or circular about May Day, which

* Below that the following had been written by Lydia Fotieva and crossed out by Lenin: "Ammosov requests permission to send this telegram."—*Ed.*

** Lenin's corrections are in heavy Roman type.—*Ed.*

said: *expose the falsehood of religion*, or something to that effect.

That is not right. It is tactless. Just because it is the Easter holiday, we should recommend something *quite different*:

not to expose the falsehood,

but *absolutely to avoid any affront to religion.*

We should issue an additional letter or circular.[109] If the Secretariat does not agree, then in the Politbureau.

Lenin

Written between April 9 or 21, 1921

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

123
TO L. B. KAMENEV

14/IV.

Comrade Kamenev:

It is said that within three or four months the workers will demand the lifting of free trading. We do not want, they say, to see the bureaucrats eat buns.

Perhaps, we should take measures in advance:

1) at once press forward to the utmost with holiday homes. Increase their number during the summer and the autumn. Later, we shall also sometimes buy "buns" for the "holiday-makers" by turns;

2) think about other ways of taking *turns* in purchasing gifts for children or those awarded bonuses.

But the first thing is more important. Write me what you think and what is being done.

3) At Ivanovo-Voznesensk we should set up a *Sverdlov University* for 1,000-1,500 persons. Don't forget.

Salut! *Lenin*

Written on April 14, 1921

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

124
TO G. L. PYATAKOV

14/IV.

Comrade Pyatakov:

I am sending you (*secretly* and not for the press, by any means) material on the concessions. This is an answer to your questions.

You will see how we are conducting the concessions policy.

Concerning the Donbas we are *awaiting* the results of your work. I took the plus 10 per cent to mean *over and above 600* million, as a programme,[110] and not "over and above"... the earlier figure!

"If I had the grain, I would...." Aren't you ashamed to repeat these clichés? Of course, if someone *gave* it to you....

No, sir, you will have to hustle and get everything *yourself*: the salt, and grain *for the salt*, etc.

We need initiative, drive, local commerce, and not begging: if someone gave it to me.... Shame!

Salut! *Lenin*

Written on April 14, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

125
TO M. F. VLADIMIRSKY

Comrade Vladimirsky,
Deputy People's Commissar for Internal Affairs

I enclose herewith a petition to me from the citizens of the village of Golovniki, Zaborovskaya Volost, Peremyshl Uyezd, Kaluga Gubernia, and the decision of Zaborovskaya Village of the same volost.

I propose that the whole case should be investigated, the situation cleared up on the spot, the guilty persons brought to book, steps taken to remove the worthless persons from office, and real assistance held out to the peasants of the afore-mentioned village.[111]

Inform me of the results through C.P.C. business manager Comrade *Gorbunov*.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on April 14, 1921
First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

126

TELEGRAM TO M. I. FRUMKIN AND A. G. BELOBORODOV

Direct Line

Frumkin, Authorised Representative
of the People's Commissariat for Food.
Beloborodov, Labour Army Council
Rostov

Despite your No. 4960/R, the centre continues to receive information from various sources: from Orjonikidze in Tiflis, from Musabekov, Azerbaijan People's Commissar for Food in Baku, concerning inadequacy of the measures taken to supply Baku with foodstuffs, which threatens further complications. Put this question up for special discussion by Labour Army Council. Take resolute measures to supply Baku and simultaneously Georgia and Armenia, and, in accordance with No. 293, keep the centre regularly informed of actual supply measures. Reply immediately by telegram.*

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Labour and Defence

April 15, 1921

First published in 1932
in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from a typewritten text with Lenin's additions and signature

* The last sentence is in Lenin's hand.—*Ed.*

127
TO A. D. TSYURUPA[112]

Comrade Tsyurupa:

I think we should give him a reprimand. This is sheer whimpering and excuses. Before the decision of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee he should have called up by direct-line (and right away, in March, but not in April). Instead of whimpering, he should have requested the special All-Russia Central Executive Committee decision in good time. He is a silly whimpering old woman.

Lenin

Written on April 15, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*
Printed from the original

128
TO V. M. MOLOTOV

Comrade Molotov:

I have just learned from Rykov that the professors (of Moscow Higher Technical College) *do not yet know* about (yesterday's) decision.[113]

This is outrageous, and monstrously late. I shall raise the question of the C.C. apparatus in the Politbureau. **We can't have that sort of thing,** no indeed.

The draft statement by Lunacharsky *was ready* yesterday.[114] It should have been *made public* the same day.

You must give orders at once for everything to be done, and to *check up* whether it has been.

You must verify and spur things on.

Delay is intolerable.

Lenin

Written on April 15, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

129
TO CLARA ZETKIN AND PAUL LEVI*

16.4.1921.

Comrades Zetkin and Levi:

Thank you very much for your letters, dear Friends. Unfortunately, I have been so busy and so overworked in the last few weeks that I have had practically no opportunity to read the German press. The only thing I have seen is the Open Letter,[115] which I think is *perfectly correct* tactics (I have condemned the contrary opinion of our "Lefts" who were opposed to this letter). As for the recent strike movement and the action in Germany, I have read absolutely nothing about it.[116] I readily believe that the representative of the Executive Committee defended the silly tactics, which were too much to the left—to take immediate action "to help the Russians": this representative is very often too Left.[117] I think that in such cases you should not give in but should protest and immediately bring up this question officially at a plenary meeting of the Executive Bureau.

I consider your tactics in respect of Serrati erroneous. Any defence or even semi-defence of Serrati was a mistake. But to withdraw from the Central Committee!!?? That, in any case, was the biggest mistake! If we tolerate the practice of responsible members of the Central Committee withdrawing from it when they are left in a minority, the Communist Parties will never develop normally or become strong.[118] Instead of withdrawing, it would have been better to discuss the controversial question several times *jointly* with the Executive Committee. Now, Comrade Levi wants to write a pamphlet, i.e., to deepen the contradiction! What is the use of all this?? I am convinced that it is a big mistake.[119]

Why not wait? The congress opens here on June 1.[120] Why not have a private discussion here, *before* the congress?

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* On the copy, Lenin made the following remarks: "This is my reply to Levi and Zetkin, 16/4, 1921", "Keep in the archives. Make another *2* or *3 copies*", "**Return**", "received 17/V—1921".—*Ed.*

Without public polemics, without withdrawals, without pamphlets on differences. We are so short of tried and tested forces that I am really indignant when I hear comrades announcing their withdrawal, etc. There is need to do everything possible and a few things that are impossible to avoid withdrawals and aggravation of differences at all costs .

Our position in February and March was grave. This is a peasant country, with a peasant economy—the vast majority of the population. They vacillate, they are ruined and are disgruntled. But we should not be too pessimistic. We have made some timely concessions. And I am sure that we shall win.

Best regards and wishes.

Yours,
Lenin

First published in 1958
in the magazine
World Marxist Review No. 2

Printed from a typewritten copy
with Lenin's remarks
Translated from the German

130
TO V. M. MOLOTOV[121]

To Comrade *Molotov*:

Let all members of the Politbureau read this. We must raise it in the Politbureau. I think we should let *them* know the regulations and ask for *their* amendments. This is very important.

17/IV. *Lenin*

Written on April 17, 1921
First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

131
TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE

According to available information, the Georgian State Bank with full staffs of qualified employees and with deposits from foreign missions has remained in Georgia. If

this is true, the Bank should be maintained as a credit apparatus for foreign trade, and it should perhaps be turned into a bank for the whole Transcaucasus in view of the projected economic integration of the Transcaucasian republics.

There is fierce agitation against the R.S.F.S.R. abroad over the Sovietisation of Georgia, especially by Martov, Tsereteli and others. The Georgian Revolutionary Committee must start serious counter-agitation, which should note, first, the R.S.F.S.R.'s peace-making role, second, the active initiative by the Georgian workers, peasants and army masses, who overthrew the Georgian bourgeois government, and, third, the role of the Azerbaijan and Armenian Soviet governments, who gave support to the Armenian, Tatar and Georgian insurgents by way of self-defence against the aggressive steps taken by the Georgian bourgeois government, which set up an Azerbaijan and an Armenian bourgeois government at Tiflis for the purpose of subverting the Soviet regime in Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Make thorough collection of material against the Menshevik Georgian government and bring it along to Moscow for the plenary meeting.

Lenin

Written on April 18, 1921
Sent to Erivan

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from a copy
in Nadezhda Alliluyeva's hand

132

NOTE TO N. P. GORBUNOV AND REMARKS ON A. M. NIKOLAYEV'S LETTER

Comrade Gorbunov:

Help to improve this, and when it is brought up to ×, let me know.

Lenin

...A new photoelement has been invented which, coupled with an amplifier valve, makes it possible at some distance (20-30 metres) to record the emanation of radio (oscillation) energy. With the action of this photoelement, an amplifying device directed at a (black or white) object will throw its reflection on a screen with the aid of a

receiving radio station. With an improved instrument, the following results could be achieved: 1) with a radio telephone, a moving image of a speaking person could be seen on the screen, 2) an enemy squadron, moving hundreds of versts away, could be reflected on the screen.

...The invention has been made by a *Russian* engineer, Mikhail Alexandrovich Bonch-Bruyevich.

With comradely greetings,

A. Nikolayev

Written on April 18, 1921

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

133

TO J. V. STALIN[122]

Comrade Stalin:

I object to Fomin. We mustn't do it the "Russian way". We must do it the "Georgian" way.

We shall take it to the Politbureau.

Lenin

Written on April 18 or 19, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from the original

134

TO Y. A. PREOBRAZHENSKY

19/IV.

Comrade Preobrazhensky:

Some of your remarks today show that you think the Politbureau decision on the professors to be a mistake.[123]

I'm afraid there is here some misunderstanding. I'm afraid you have not interpreted the decision precisely.

I quite allow that Kalinnikov (that's his name, isn't it?) is a reactionary. There are also, unquestionably, malicious Cadets[124] among them. But they should be exposed *in a different way*. And exposed they should be on concrete occasions. Give such an assignment to Kozmin (but he is not too clever: watch your step with him): come up with an exposure over a precise fact, act or statement. Then we

can put him in jail for a month, or a year. That will be a lesson to him.

The same applies to a malicious Cadet.

The same, if class enemies have slandered Ignatov (? that's his name, isn't it? I do not know him).

We must prepare the material, verify it, expose the culprits and condemn them *in the full view of all*, and impose exemplary punishment.

The military specialist is caught out on treason. But the military specialists have all been recruited, and are working. Lunacharsky and Pokrovsky don't know how to "*catch out*" their own specialists and, being dissatisfied with themselves, are taking it out of everybody else.

That is Pokrovsky's mistake. In fact, you and I may not have all that many differences.

The worst thing about the People's Commissariat for Education is the lack of system, of self-control. Their communist cells are also shockingly "lax".

The people over at the P.C.E. have still to learn how to work out *methods* of "catching out" their specialists and *punishing* them, and of catching out and training the communist cells.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on April 19, 1921

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

135
TO N. A. SEMASHKO

19.IV.1921

Comrade Semashko or, in his absence, his acting deputy, People's Commissariat for Public Health

Please let me know whether any cases of cholera or other infectious diseases have occurred in Moscow recently (especially in the last few days);

how many (if any);

what increase over earlier figures;

what measures of sanitary city cleaning or other sanitary measures have been decided upon (if any such decisions have been taken), and which have been carried out.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

136
TO Y. YAROSLAVSKY[125]

I think we *must* have both. It will be useful because they will be propounding Marxism (if they start agitating for Menshevism, we shall catch them out: *we must keep an eye on them*).

Both should be recruited for working out a *most detailed programme* (and an *outline* of lectures) on philosophy, and a plan for *publications* on philosophy.

Lenin

Written in April,
not before the 20th, 1921

First published in 1932
in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

137
TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND THE ALL-RUSSIA EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSION

P.C.F.A.
All-Russia Cheka

I have been informed that the trip abroad by Grigory Semyonovich *Petrov*, a chemist and an inventor, is being impeded.

Petrov has a mandate from the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade, signed by Voikov, dated 29/III-1921, No. 1554 (A) 012.

There is a decision by the committee for assessing inventions of 9/II-1921, awarding Petrov a prize of 15 million rubles, etc. (signed by Mikhailovsky).

I request the P.C.F.A. and the All-Russia Cheka to issue instructions to let him go abroad at once. If there are any obstacles to this, please inform me right away.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on April 22, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52
Printed from a typewritten copy

138

TO N. L. SHPEKTOROV, P. L. VOIKOV, A. Z. HOLTZMANN, L. N. KRITSMAN AND V. G. GROMAN

I hereby issue a severe reprimand to the following persons, warning them that if this happens again the offenders will be prosecuted:

Comrades *Shpektorov* (People's Commissariat for Defence), *Voikov* (People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade), *Holtzmann* (All-Russia Central T.U.C.) for failing to attend the sitting of the C.L.D. Commission at 10 a.m. on April 23, a sitting of which they had been notified, personally or by telephone calls from the C.P.C. Secretariat, before 10 p.m. on 22/IV,

and also to Comrade Kritsman, to whom the notification was conveyed through Comrade Holtzmann,

and to *Groman*, Chairman of the Transport and Material Department, for failing to arrange for a duty roster in his Department, by reason of which it had been impossible to notify him of the Commission sitting.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on April 23, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*
Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

139
TO M. F. VLADIMIRSKY, A. M. LEZHAVA AND V. P. MILYUTIN

23.IV.1921

Comrades Vladimirsky, Deputy People's Commissar for Internal Affairs
Lezhava, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Trade
and Milyutin, Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council

Enclosing herewith the two drafts submitted by the Executive Committee of the Karelian Labour Commune, I request you to organise, with the participation of the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Karelian Labour Commune, Comrade Gylling, a conference to study and co-ordinate these drafts, summoning representatives of other departments concerned, so as to place the two final drafts before the C.P.C. on Tuesday, 26.IV.1921.

I entirely support both drafts in principle.[126]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

140
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

24/IV.

Comrade Zinoviev:

In view of the extremely unsatisfactory quality of the "specimen copy" of the *Atlas of Russia* (although it has taken many months to prepare), please let me know the names of *all* those responsible for the work, those who had been doing it before and are doing it now. Here is a short list of the defects.

I received a "specimen copy" of the *Atlas of Russia* yesterday. (The First State Cartographic Establishment, former owner Ilyin.)

The *Atlas of Russia* should and must become a school atlas.

But this calls for a number of corrections and additions, because the specimen copy is highly unsatisfactory.

I list the main defects, requiring unconditional correction.

1. There is no text "from the publisher" (there used to be one before). Such a text should be written, saying that on the model of "Railways", the present school atlas has been compiled in accordance with such-and-such a plan.

2. The maps are not numbered, and there are no symbols (they were there before). These should be added. The maps should not be by railways or *not only* by railways, but by *gubernias* as well. The numeration of the maps should contain a list of the gubernias included *in full*. And the gubernias entered in the list should be given on the map *in full*.

Map No. 1 does not contain gubernias in full: Petrograd, Pskov and others. Cherepovets and other gubernias are not designated.

There are similar defects in the other maps. Correct this.

3. The boundaries of the republics (the Ukraine) and the autonomous regions should be specifically shown. This has mostly not been done. Neither for the Ukraine, nor for Byelorussia. (The German Commune? Mari Region? All the Caucasian republics?)

4. The railway lines have not been verified for a given date (say, 1.I.1921). Their indication is incorrect. The finished lines are not specified. The ones under construction are not shown. Correct this.

5. Every map should have a small explanatory text (on the other side or as an inset): state boundaries under such-and-such a treaty (when approved and ratified). Autonomous regions established on *such-and-such* a date. The population of the gubernias and the chief cities, in accordance with the census of August 1920. *Etc*.

6. On account of a ludicrous oversight, the old numeration

of the maps has been taken, i.e., left: No. X—Moscow, No. XII—the Crimea, and others!! There should be a new numeration.

7. Neither the *Tatar* Republic nor the *Bashkirian* Republic are given in full in No. XIV. They should be given in full. The same applies to *all* autonomous regions. The *national* make-up of the autonomous regions should be given according to the latest data (in the explanatory text).

8. Of the old maps these have been omitted:

Saratov and the surrounding gubernias
Simbirsk, Penza and the surrounding gubernias
Rostov-on-Don and the surrounding gubernias
Smolensk and the surrounding gubernias (Byelorussia)
The Ukraine on the right bank of the Dnieper
The Caucasus (the boundaries of all the new republics must be shown without fail).

The Atlas must be a full one. *All the gubernias* should be there. An incomplete atlas is of no use at all, and the specimen copy is outrageously incomplete.

9. Instead of additions (in bold type) below and in the margin: the distance by rail (this is taken from the old atlas)—there should be short distances *not* only by rail.

10. Add: a map with the plan for electrification (from the book *Plan for Electrification Submitted to the Eighth Congress of Soviets*).

11. Add a map of institutions of higher learning (universities, etc.) and educational establishments by gubernias (at least on the strength of the information already available).

12. Add: a map of radio stations.

13. Historical maps (the two new ones at the end) are no good. Incomplete. They contain mistakes. Instead of these two, there should be:

(a) one of the *same* size: *a historical map of Soviet Russia.*

Front lines by date (for instance: V.1918; XII.1918; V or VI.1919; XI or XII.1919; I and XI. 1920) with these remarks: the names of the fronts on the given date.

The state boundary of the whole of the R.S.F.S.R. and of *all* the neighbouring republics (which had been within the empire).

(b) A map of the *whole* of the R.S.F.S.R. with Siberia, even if of small size, on one map.*

24.IV.1921. *N. Lenin*

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

141
TO I. A. TEODOROVICH[127]

25.IV.1921

Comrade Teodorovich

{Copies: Bryukhanov, People's Commissariat for Food
Milyutin, Supreme Economic Council

In view of the extreme urgency of the question of measures to combat the drought, please at once call a conference of representatives of the People's Commissariats concerned, so as to have a draft decree tabled, in elaborated and agreed form, at the Council of Labour and Defence not later than Wednesday, 27.IV.1921.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.L.D.

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

142
TO J. S. HANECKI

25/IV.1921.

Comrade Hanecki:

Two of my secretaries are going to see you in Riga:
1) Anna Petrovna Kizas and
2) Natalya Stepanovna Lepeshinskaya.

I have worked with both for several years. They are remarkably loyal. Working for me has been hard labour.

* On the publication of the school atlas, see also V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 35, Document 283; Vol. 44, Documents 650, 673; Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 52, Document 410, present volume, Document 223, *Lenin Miscellanies XX*, pp. 321-22, and *XXXVI*, pp. 120-21; 315, 399-400.—*Ed.*

No rest or holiday. They are quite tired out. They must be given a rest. Please, pay them their salary in advance (and give them more) and then don't make them work. Give them a chance to rest, see the doctor and *have some. wholesome food.*

Greetings,
Yours,
Lenin

First published on February 13, 1924 in *Pravda* No. 35

Printed from the original

143

TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV, L. N. KRITSMAN, M. P. TOMSKY AND A. I. POTYAEV

26.IV.1921

Comrades Bryukhanov
Kritsman
Tomsky or his deputy (Andreyev?)
Potyaev

In view of the urgent question of promoting the fisheries campaign, I request you to call today, if possible at once, a conference to discuss the proposals of Comrade Potyaev (Glavryba*) and with his participation. The composition of the conference: People's Commissariat for Food, Commission for Utilisation, All-Russia Central T.U.C. and Comrade Potyaev. Report in C.P.C. today.[128]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

144

TO N. P. GORBUNOV

26.IV.1921

Comrade Gorbunov:

I must call your attention to the extreme disorder in our office. The attached telephone message shows that it

* Central Administration of the Fishing Industry.—*Ed.*

was sent out on 24/IV (hour?)
and received at 11.25 on 25.IV.
(i.e., the telephone message *took* 11 hours *to arrive*!)
I received it
at 12.00 on 26/IV.
This is most outrageous!

I propose that you should conduct right away a full and thorough investigation to find out who is to blame, and give me the facts. The office routine should be reviewed and renewed.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1932
in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

145
TO A. M. LEZHAVA

Comrade Lezhava:

Georgia is of exceptional importance as a *cover* for *Russia*'s foreign trade. This is convenient also for Italy, and *Germany*, and *America*.

1) Find a *brainy* fellow to be sent there on behalf of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade. Do it as fast as you can!

2) Have a more detailed talk about this with Stalin. Do this today.

3) Drop me a couple of lines on the results.

We need a plan (and a fund) for foreign trade via Batum.

You have no foreign trade plan. You are allowing a lot of waste and letting others do the same. I am going to fight you.

Here's your *line*: *not a kopek more* for foodstuffs or for fuel in 1921. Draw up a plan on this line, and do not succumb to "pressures" or "influences".

Lenin

Written in April,
before the 28, 1921

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

146
TO L. D. TROTSKY

30/IV.

Comrade Trotsky:

I have read Shatunovsky's pamphlet, *White Coal and Revolutionary Petrograd*.[129]

Very weak. Nothing but *rhetoric*. Not the *least bit* of sound matter.

The only business-like hint is on page 15:

"Outstanding hydraulics specialists believe it will take no more than eight months to see the real fruits of this great endeavour."

Who is a specialist? We have none (I have asked Krzhizhanovsky: there are none). Shatunovsky has undertaken to write of what he knows nothing about (that's Krzhizhanovsky's assessment). *Apart* from this *unsubstantiated* remark, there's *nil* in the whole pamphlet.

Let Shatunovsky give proof and set out *business* proposals. Otherwise, the idle talk remains what it is.

Yours,
Lenin

Written on April 30, 1921
First published in 1932
in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

147
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV[130]

Comrade Zinoviev:

This shows that Trotsky is in a highly scrappy mood. Shatunovsky's pamphlet is pure twaddle. Return this to me with a note about your *decisions* and plans on this matter.[131]

3/V. *Lenin*

Written on May 3, 1921
Sent to Petrograd
First published in 1932
in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

148
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Comrade Zinoviev:

I have been informed that

1) Gintsburg, the sculptor working on Plekhanov's bust, is in need of *materials*, clay, etc.;

2) the graves of Plekhanov and Zasulich are neglected.

Could you issue orders on both points to have the things seen to, pressed forward and verified?[132]

Salut!
5/V. Lenin

Written on May 5, 1921
Sent to Petrograd

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

149
TELEGRAM TO K. Y. VOROSHILOV*

Code

Voroshilov

I request you to issue orders to the command personnel of the Mounted Army and check up specially that during the Mounted Army's march all-round assistance should be given to local food supply bodies, in view of the need for urgent and swift assistance in grain to Moscow.[133]

Lenin

Written on May 5, 1921
Sent to Yekaterlnoslav

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

150
TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY

Aren't you ashamed to vote for printing 5,000 copies of Mayakovsky's "150,000,000"?

It is nonsense, stupidity, double-dyed stupidity and affectation.[134]

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*At the top, Lenin wrote: "Comrade Sklyansky: Please, have this sent in code and returned to me. 5/V. *Lenin*."—*Ed.*

I believe such things should be published one in ten, and *not more than 1,500 copies*, for libraries and cranks.

As for Lunacharsky, he should be flogged for his futurism.

6/V. *Lenin*

Written on May 6, 1921
First published in 1957 in *Kommunist* No. 18

Printed from the original

151
TO M. N. POKROVSKY

Comrade Pokrovsky:

Again and again, I request you to help us fight futurism, etc.

1) Lunacharsky has (alas!) got through the collegium the printing of Mayakovsky's "150,000,000".

Can't we stop this? It must be stopped. Let's agree that these futurists are to be published not more than twice a year *and not more than 1,500 copies*.

2) They say that Lunacharsky has once again driven out Kiselis, who is reputed to be a "*realist*" artist, while directly and *indirectly* promoting a futurist.

Could you find some reliable *anti*-futurists?

Lenin

Written on May 6, 1921
First published in 1957 in *Kommunist* No. 18

Printed from the original

152
TO I. G. ALEXANDROV

Find an engineer in Gosplan* who would be not only reliable, but also a *practitioner*, for the commission to carry out an on-the-spot inquiry of Algemba,[135]

so as to make a sound evaluation of *the main points*: *protection of materials* (in different conditions)

* The State Planning Commission.—*Ed.*

α) stop construction,
β) " not at once but by the autumn,
γ) switch from shock to ordinary site,
δ) complete construction, but *do not lay rails*, etc.

Written on May 6, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52
Printed from the original

153
TO G. V. CHICHERIN

Comrade Chicherin:

I think this should go to the press, *but* **only** with a commentary in any case, which should be very *subtle*, otherwise our editors will make a hash of things. Either write such a *commentary* yourself, or get someone else to do it, but with your supervision.[136]

Lenin

Written between May 6 and 10, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

154
TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV

Comrade Smolyaninov:

I should like to draw your attention to Belyakov's article on the Narofominsk Textile Mill[137] (in *Izvestia*? or *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*? the other day). Collect all earlier polemics on this. *Go into it. Study* the facts. Let me know the results.

This seems to be an important business.

Greetings,
Lenin

Written in May, after the 6th, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

155
TO L. B. KRASIN

Comrade Krasin:

Give this your particular attention. I wonder whether Klyshko is talkative? A diplomatist should know how to hold his tongue, and speak in such a way as to say nothing. Does Klyshko know how? Does he understand this?[138]

9/V. *Lenin*

Written on May 9, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from the original

156
TO L. B. KRASIN

You deserve a beating.

1) You are late with the grain order. We are in a pretty horrible position.

2) You have failed to make use of all the sources (Sweden, etc., even if only *for small* quantities).

3) There is no precise information: what can be obtained *nearby*, even at a very high price, and in very small quantities.

Make a *special* point of putting all this right at the People's Commissariat.[139]

Written not later than May 10, 1921

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

157
TELEGRAM TO THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT DELEGATION

Code

Sovgovdel, London

The warrant for two million poods of grain issued to you must be started on at once. Buy the nearest even if small consignments wherever you can, without stinting the

price. You are free to buy any other food products and tinned stuffs under this warrant. Can anything be received from Canada right away? You may pay a moderate bonus for speedy delivery at Baltic ports. May 10.[140]

*Lenin**
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on May 10, 1921
First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

158
ASSIGNMENT TO C.P.C. SECRETARY[141]

Enter on C.P.C. agenda, sending a copy to Bryukhanov *at once* (if he has not yet got it) *or giving him* **this** *copy until tonight*—to obtain his opinion. We must rob the others but *give these what they ask*.

10/V. *Lenin*

Written on May 10, 1921
First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

159
TO V. M. MOLOTOV

Comrade Molotov:

Do you know whether at any time there has arisen the question of setting apart from among the membership of the R.C.P.

those of them who *do not take part* in administration, hold *no* command, administrative, government in general, trade union, co-operative posts, *no* posts at all,

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* The telegram was also signed by L. B. Krasin, People's Commissar for Foreign Trade.—*Ed.*

i.e., that section of the R.C.P. membership which is engaged *exclusively* in ideological work, agitation and propaganda, **outside** of any administrative posts.

Could this be done? Should not this be done?

The fact is that the Party suffers terribly from the abominable sh.. of our administrative apparatus. Perhaps, we should keep them apart in any voting *or count* the votes *separately*?[142]

Lenin

Written on May 10, 1921

First published in 1924 in the book, V. M. Molotov, *Partiya i leninskii prizyv* (The Party and the Lenin Enrolment), Moscow

Printed from the original

160
TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV

11/V.

Comrade Bryukhanov:

I am sending you the coded message.[143] Read it carefully, make a note of the figures and return to me.

You will have to draw up a *precise plan* of use, i.e., allocation of imported products from May 15 to June 15.

St. Petersburg and Moscow at the top of the list.

This plan should be reviewed after every cable of any *sizable* purchases.

Send me the first such plan.

Fish, *as follows*.

French beans (have you decided?), *as follows*.

Wheat, as follows.

Think about what could go *into the press* by way of reassurance.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on May 11, 1921

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

161
TO D. I. KURSKY

Top secret

Comrade Kursky, People's Commissariat for Justice

A petition No. 8086, dated 10.V.1921, enclosed in copy, has been received at the C.L.D. from the representative extraordinary for the supply of the Red Army and Navy, revealing strictly confidential information on the numerical strength of the Army. With a better choice of wording, the petition could have avoided giving information on the numerical strength of the Army. Besides, the correspondence did not arrive in a secret envelope or by messenger but was sent by post. As a result it was opened at the inregister of the managing department, and could have been made public in transit through the post.

Please conduct an inquiry.[144]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on May 12, 1921

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from a typewritten copy signed by Lenin

162
TO M. I. KALININ

I fully support Osinsky's draft and request you to prepare your opinion for the Politbureau on Saturday, so as to have it go through the C.P.C. on Tuesday, and through the All-Russia Central Executive Committee on Wednesday.[145]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of Labour and Defence

Written in May, before the 14th, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from a typewritten copy

163
TO Y. A. LITKENS

17.V.1921.

Comrade Litkens:

In view of the appointment of a "New broom" to *Tsentropechat*,*[146] an effort should be made to establish *precise administrative responsibilities*:

1) lay down most precisely in writing the responsibilities of the *head* of Tsentropechat and the *gubernia heads*,

2) ditto, in respect of the library network:
   (a) general state (Public and Rumyantsev) libraries
   (b) gubernia
   (c) uyezd
   (d) *volost libraries* (unless it is too early, unless you have decided to confine yourself to uyezd libraries for the time being)...

3) you (and we) must be *absolutely* sure *whom* we are to jail (both from Tsentropechat and the *library network*; from *both* institutions without fail), if within *one month* (2 weeks? 6 weeks?) after the publication of *every* Soviet book it is not available at *every library*. Send me a **short** report on this.

Lenin

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

164
TO M. V. FRUNZE

Comrade Frunze

Copies to Comrades Petrovsky and Rakovsky and the Ukrainian C.P. C.C.[147]

18.V.1921

Comrade Bukharin says the crop in the south is excellent.

---

* Central Press Distribution Agency.—*Ed.*

The *main question for the whole* of Soviet power, a life-and-death question for us, is to collect 200-300 million poods in the Ukraine.

The main requirement for this is salt. Everything should be taken over, all the areas of extraction should be ringed with a triple cordon of troops, not a pound should be let through or allowed to be stolen.

This is a matter of life and death.

Put this on a military footing. Appoint persons specifically responsible for each operation. Let me have a list of them (everything through the Central Salt Administration).

You are the Commander-in-Chief of salt.

The responsibilities are all yours.[148]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of Labour and Defence

First published in part in 1926 in the book I. K. Yeroshkin and A. F. Khavin, *Solepromyshlennost i soletorgovlya SSSR* (Salt Industry and Trade of the USSR), Moscow-Leningrad

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

165

TO V. M. MOLOTOV[149]

Comrade Molotov:

On the strength of the complaint

I propose that Bryukhanov should send a telegram *today*, signed by the Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and a C.C. secretary:

1) severe reprimand to the *heads* (chairmen of the gubernia executive committees, etc.),

2) threat of prosecution,

3) prosecution *at once* of those responsible *for local issues* before meeting central requirements.

Lenin

Written on May 19, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from the original

166
TELEGRAM TO A. P. SEREBROVSKY

By telegraph

Serebrovsky,
Azerbaijan Oil Committee, Baku, or Tiflis,
or wherever he may be

19.V.1921

I have read your garrulous telegram to Sergo.[150]

Keep your reports short and more precise, state how much food and clothing you are getting for the workers of Baku. It is absurd to increase the number of workers so long as a smaller number of them have yet to be provided with food and clothing.

Lenin

First published in 1932
in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

167
TO V. P. NOGIN AND N. P. BRYUKHANOV

1) Comrade Nogin, Central Textile Administration
2) Comrade Bryukhanov, People's Commissariat for Food

19/V.

Rakovsky phoned to complain that the promised piece-goods *are not being supplied*. He says that in Nikolayev the peasants are willing to exchange grain for piece-goods. Please phone at once to clear up everything, apart from official inquiry, and have them get on with it, sending me the names of the persons responsible both at the People's Commissariat for Food and at the Central Textile Administration. Who is responsible for the shipment of the piece-goods? This is a disgraceful and criminal delay.[151]

Lenin

Written on May 19, 1921
First published in 1932
in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

168
TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV

Assignment to Comrade *Smolyaninov*,
Assistant Business Manager of the C.P.C. and the C.L.D.

1) Keep in touch with regional economic conferences and follow their work from the telegrams, material and minutes coming in from them, informing the C.L.D. Chairman at regular intervals about the results of their work and their fulfilment of C.L.D. assignments, and also giving them, with Comrade *Lenin*'s knowledge or by agreement with the People's Commissariats concerned, explanations or instructions on any questions that may arise.

2) Look through the minutes and material of gubernia economic conferences from the standpoint of verification of execution of C.L.D. resolutions and general directives, closely following the work of the most important and typical gubernia economic conferences, a list of which is to be submitted for Comrade *Lenin*'s approval.

3) Keep in touch with the work of the collegium of economic People's Commissariats, Gosplan* and planning commissions, set up by C.L.D. decision.

4) Follow the country's economic life from newspapers, reports and special publications by economic and statistical bodies.

5) Follow the actual execution of the most important decisions and assignments of the C.L.D., and report on this to Comrade *Lenin*.

6) Carry out special assignments from the C.L.D. Chairman and the C.P.C. business manager on economic, administration and production matters.

7) Put the final touches to economic, administration and production questions coming up for the C.L.D. agenda, which are not sufficiently well prepared.

8) On your own initiative, with Comrade Lenin's consent, prepare and raise through the appropriate People's Commissariats or through the C.L.D. directly, the questions which arise from the material studied.

To enable Comrade *Smolyaninov* to carry out these as-

* The word "Gosplan" is in Lenin's hand.—*Ed.*

signments, all correspondence, whether telegraphic or postal, from regional economic councils and gubernia conferences, must be delivered directly to Comrade *Smolyaninov*, who will then make the necessary reports to Comrade *Lenin*.

Secretary of the C.P.C. and the C.L.D. shall carry on correspondence with the regional councils and gubernia conferences only in co-ordination with Comrade *Smolyaninov*, with the exception of notifications of C.P.C. and C.L.D. decisions, which are executed by the secretariat directly. C.L.D. agenda shall be circulated among C.L.D. members only after Comrade *Smolyaninov* has seen it.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C. and C.L.D.*

Added** to §3: "Gosplan".

Add §9: "Have regular consultations with the editor of *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* for the purpose of fully co-ordinating its work with that of the C.L.D."

19/V.1921. *V. Ulyanov* (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.L.D.

NB: Insert a short note on this in *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*.

Lenin

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169

*TO THE S.E.C. PRESIDIUM

On February 2, No. 785/уп. I sent you, through Gorbunov,*** Comrade *Kotlyarov*'s letter, containing the proposal that idle lifts and all their equipment in the big

* The document is also signed by N. P. Gorbunov, C.P.C. business manager.—*Ed.*

** The text from the word "Added" to the end is in Lenin's hand.—*Ed.*

*** The words "through Gorbunov" are written in N. P. Gorbunov's hand.—*Ed.*

cities should be used by the mining industry, with the following resolution:

"We should make inquiries and find out whether anything can be done in this case to help the mining industry. Take away what can be spared." The documents at the S.E.C. show that 5 commissions have worked on the assignment:

1) Conference at the Prodrasmet* on the use of lift equipment by the Donbas (February 11).

2) A special commission for the examination of lifts in houses (worked until February 23).

3) A technical conference of specialists under the Metals Technical Department (roughly about March 22-24).

4) A conference at the Mining and Technical Department of Central Coal Administration (April 16) on the question of using lifts in the city of Moscow and other big cities for mining purposes in the coal industry and, finally,

5) A meeting of the Central Production Commission on April 22, minutes 321, §238.

Commission No. 3 had already quite clearly established that the lift equipment could unquestionably be used in part for the mining industry. However, nothing has yet been done in practice; this business is being dragged out endlessly and to no purpose.

I propose that the question should be raised in the Council of Labour and Defence on May 25, with a draft resolution of roughly this content:

"To authorise the S.E.C. Presidium, by co-ordination with the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, to make use of parts of lifts in Moscow, Petrograd and other big cities, which are suitable for the mining industry, such as: winches, drums and cables.

"Parallel to this, the necessary tests should be made for using the lift equipment in conformity with the minutes of the March 24, 1921 conference at the Technical Section of the Metals Department, designating these tests, in view of their importance, as having top priority."

I add** (a) Appoint a responsible person.

---

* Chief Committee for the Allocation of Metals Under the Metals Department of the S.E.C.—*Ed.*

** From the words "I add" to "Report to N. P. Gorbunov" the text is in Lenin's hand.—*Ed.*

(b) Punish for red tape (from March to May). Report to N. P. Gorbunov.[152]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on May 20, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

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170
TO I. I. RADCHENKO

Iv. Iv. Radchenko, Central Peat Administration
from Lenin

Comrade Radchenko:

Here is an example of how you ignore my advice.

You sent in the papers on Shatura, in a great sheaf, on 14/IV. There were no clear-cut proposals *written out* separately.

I was busy and was not able to read them; they were pickled until 23/V.

All this while you kept silent!

This is outrageous!

You should have appended two papers:

a) We request the closure of the "Politbureaus",* because they are utterly useless (five lines). Adding that the documents had been sent to Lenin.
b) We request that the telegram (or the telephone message) should be signed: Why the 2 (4) boilers have not been issued, give reasons, do not allow red tape. *Lenin*.

Then, *both* **these** papers in copies to *Fotieva*, for her to give me a reminder.

Then we should have something done, and I might have signed them on 15 or 16/IV.

That is the only practice to follow in future.

* "Politbureaus"—uyezd organs of the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission; in this case, a reference to such a body at the Shatura construction site.—*Ed*.

It is not hard to enclose two or three papers containing five lines each, with copies to Fotieva. You must draw the business conclusions yourself, instead of making me extract five lines of business conclusions from dozens of pages.

Read this out to Winter and send me his and your *receipts* stating that both of you have *understood* these instructions and *will act on them*.

23/V. *Lenin*

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

171

NOTE TO LYDIA FOTIEVA AND ASSIGNMENT TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV

Comrade *Fotieva*:

You are clearly to blame for this business of the Shatura (No. 3 in folder).

Received on $\frac{14}{\text{IV}}$.

Today is $\frac{23}{\text{V}}$.

You have pickled it, without giving a reminder either to me or to Smolyaninov.

We can't have that sort of thing.

There must be no pickling. You must either read things yourself or ask Smolyaninov or Gorbunov to do so.

Please pass on this assignment to Smolyaninov now, using one of my letterheads:

α) verify at once whether anything has been done (by phone).

β) If not, at once set the thing going officially, letting me sign the business papers.

αα) dissolution of the "Politbureaus",

ββ) issue of 2(-4?) boilers (?), etc.[153]

23/V. *Lenin*

Written on May 23, 1921

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

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172
TO R. E. KLASSON

Comrade Klasson:

I have received and read your paper of 20/V.1921.[154] I can hardly see you one of these days, as I am too busy.

Give a reminder to *Fotieva*, C.P.C. secretary, in one or two weeks' time.

In substance: your letter has surprised me. Usually such complaints come from the workers, who do not know how to fight red tape. But what about yourself? What about Starkov? Why didn't either you or Starkov write me in good time? Why has Starkov, who has been in Germany *for months*, not written to me a *single time*?? I think he should be penalised for that.

Why is it that he and you merely "lamented", without proposing any *precise changes*, such as having the C.P.C. (or the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade or someone else) adopt some decision. (To refrain from demanding of *all* the factories, etc.)

The question now is fully settled, isn't it?

(Has the Central Peat Administration already taken a decision?)

Regards,
Lenin

Written on May 24, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

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173
TO G. I. BOKII*

24.V.1921

Comrade Bokii:

I have received your telephone message. Absolutely dissatisfied.[155]

* On the letter Lenin wrote: "To Fotieva: this is confidential, keep a copy."—*Ed.*

That's not right.

You must investigate the affair in detail and let me have precise information, and not just "a look and something"; you say "exaggerated" ... "it is impossible to stop the stealing altogether" (??!!)

It's not a report, it's an outrage.

1) Give me the names of *all* the persons responsible;
2) describe how the business is organised;
3) list the *cases of stealing*
   all of them, precisely;
   the time; the amount.
4) How many *staffs* altogether?
   (their rough composition? working records? etc.)
5) What measures are being specifically taken *there* to stop the stealing?
   State measures precisely.
6) Give date of trial and state punishment imposed there (IV. 1920?)? List all cases of major trials. How many have been punished?

Inform me of your receipt of this and the date of *fulfilment*.[156]

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

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Printed from the original

174
ASSIGNMENT TO SECRETARY

N.B.

1) Give this to Smolyaninov to read.[157]
2) Find out what industries and enterprises and staffs (how many? and where?) there are in this uyezd.
3) Enter on C.P.C. or C.L.D. agenda in connection with the C.C. resolution of 10.V.1921.[158]

Lenin

Written on May 24, 1921

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175

TO V. M. MOLOTOV

Comrade Molotov:

I have two secretaries (Kizas and Lepeshinskaya) taking a cure and having a rest in Riga. *At my request*, Hanecki helped to make arrangements for them at the seaside.* This has to be formalised. How? I propose a decision by the *Organising Bureau*: 1) either authorising Hanecki to make arrangements for a holiday in Riga (or Latvia in general) for persons sent from here by the *Orgbureau*, or 2) authorising Hanecki to set up *one or two* rest homes in Latvia, with accommodation made available through the Orgbureau, one-half to go to workers and one-half to government officials. **The second is better.**

What is your opinion?

Written in May, not later than the 25th, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

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176

TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV**

Comrade Bryukhanov:

The food committees seem to be growing lax, and very considerably, too.

This is absolutely intolerable.

Discipline must be tightened up to the utmost, and at once, otherwise we shall never be rid of the famine.

1) The People's Commissariat for Food must designate the responsible persons *in the gubernias* and *in the uyezds*, to know *who is to go to jail* (1) the uyezd commissar for food? 2) the chairman of the uyezd executive committee? 3) the uyezd military commissar?? There should be at least three responsible persons).

* See Document 142 of this volume.—*Ed.*

** At the top Lenin wrote: "Make two copies on letterhead."—*Ed.*

2) Not a single violation (such as taking for the localities what is earmarked for the centre) should be allowed to go *without the arrest* of the guilty (through the All-Russia Central Executive Committee).

You keep writing long papers with complaints,[159] rather: *with wails*, instead of business proposals:

> "authorise the All-Russia C.E.C. to arrest the **persons concerned** for failing to carry out orders resulting in famine at the centre."

That is the kind of proposal the People's Commissariat for Food should bring up in the Politbureau.

3) A similar campaign of *relentless arrests* of members of local gubernia food committees, etc., should be started right away for negligence, failure to make due preparations, etc.

The People's Commissariat for Food will be held responsible for the unprepared state of the apparatus and for its lack of dispatch.

Written on May 25, 1921
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177
TO A. B. KHALATOV

26/V.1921.

Comrade Khalatov:

I must state with deep regret that there has been *no improvement* in the running of the Allocation Administration of the People's Commissariat for Food.

There is the same old chaos of figures.

The raw figures have got hold of you, instead of the other way round.

You have given me a heap of figures, heaps of undigested raw material.

On the same day we have the Muscovites coming and wailing: not the slightest improvement.

I call up Bryukhanov and Svidersky. They bring along Vyshinsky. He gave these figures:

in 8 days (18-25.V) Moscow has received 165 carloads (excluding oats).

165 : 8 = 20⅝. The Muscovites say: we've not been getting even 18 regularly.

Furthermore: for five days, 26-31, there will be (says Vyshinsky) 90 of grain + *6 3 of oats*. The Muscovites say: we cannot handle more than 1,000 [poods] of oats a day!!!

!! || This means there is actually a **worsening:**
|| 26-31.V
|| as compared with 18-25.V!!!
!! || A worsening instead of the improvement you promised:
there were 20⅝ of grain,
there will be *18 of grain* + 1(?) of oats (?).[160]

I repeat my request: *non multa sed multum*.* Fewer figures, but *more matter*.

Why not take *grain alone*? Only grain, *without the oats*. But precisely: how much Moscow is to get a day. Concentrate on that.

Lenin

First published in 1932
in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

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178

*DIRECTIVES TO THE "ALGEMBA" COMMISSION

(NOTED DOWN FROM MEMORY)[161]

28.V.1921

Check up with the utmost precision:

how much work exactly has been done (what part has been finished);

how much material, rails, etc., foodstuffs, etc., has actually been transported to the spot; where they are; the conditions in which all these materials and the delivered things are stored; the conditions and the concrete possibilities of returning all these materials, rails and all the rest, without losses, without stealing, or with minimum losses; the proportion of the possible and probable losses;

* Not many, but much.—*Ed*.

it is the most important task to carry out this on-the-spot assessment circumstantially and to verify it precisely.

With this problem solved, with the exact data in hand, a conclusion should be drawn up on the substance of the matter: is the "Algemba" construction to be stopped (if yes, how? by what date? etc.) or not to be stopped? and so on, and so forth.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.L.D.

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179

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO K. B. RADEK AND G. Y. ZINOVIEV

By phone

Radek
and *Zinoviev*

7.50 p.m. 28.V.

I have just received a telegram from Berlin signed by **Zetkin**, with the following text:

"Under various pretexts, the Party C.C. has refused permission for the departure of the delegates authorised by the opposition, Braß and Anna Geyer. That is why I refuse to go until my associates' trip is guaranteed."

I request Radek and Zinoviev to let me know their opinion by telephone: isn't it better to advise the Central Committee to agree to the departure of Braß and Anna Geyer? Or is it better for everyone, including myself, to say absolutely nothing?[162]

28/V. *Lenin*

Written on May 28, 1921

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180
TO A. O. ALSKY

29/V.1921.

Comrade Alsky:

I draw your attention to this report, which has been submitted to me by a comrade from the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission, who had been specially authorised by me, in agreement with Comrade Dzerzhinsky. I appointed the inquiry which has produced this report after a communication I had had from the most reliable Communists that things were not quite well at Gokhran.[163]

Comrade Bokii's communication fully confirms this.

I draw your most serious attention to this fact.

You, above all, and then **all** the members of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Finance, and Comrade Basha especially, must devote ten times more work to Gokhran. Unless things are reorganised at Gokhran within the shortest period in such a way as *absolutely to exclude* the possibility of stealing, while at the same time accelerating all the work and enlarging its scale, the Deputy People's Commissar and **all** the members of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Finance will be faced not only with Party, but also with criminal charges.

Because of the delay in the Gokhran work (it is harder to work in winter and *a great deal* has to be done before it sets in), and because of the stealing there, the Republic is suffering *vast* losses, for precisely at this time, in these hard days, we must obtain the *maximum* of valuables **quickly** for commodity exchange with foreign countries.

It is necessary:

1) to organise regular and frequent conferences with Bokii for the earliest reorganisation of Gokhran;

2) to bring the protection and surveillance to perfection (special railings, wooden partitions; lockers or partitions for changing; surprise searches; systems of double and triple surprise check-ups in accordance with all the rules of the art of *criminal investigation*, etc., etc.);

3) to recruit, in case of necessity, dozens and **hundreds** of responsible and absolutely honest Communists in Moscow

to participate (say, once a month or two months) in surprise, *day* and night, audits. The *staffs and the inspectors* must be given instructions in the *minutest detail*;

4) it shall be the duty of *every* member of the P.C.F. Collegium, without exception, to conduct *in person*, at least once a month, day and night surprise inspections of Gokhran, at the work places and wherever else stealing may occur. The Deputy People's Commissar shall keep a personal secret register of these inspections.

In view of the *secret* character of this paper, I request you to *return* it to me at once, and to have **all** the members of the P.C.F. Collegium sign *it* in person.

29/V *V. Ulyanov* (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

(P.S. If Chutskayev is still here, let him read it as well: he bears a considerable part of the blame!)

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181
TO Y. KH. LUTOVINOV

30.V

Comrade Lutovinov:

I have read your letter of 20/V, and it has left me with a very sad impression. I expected that in Berlin, having had a rest, having recovered from your illness, having taken a look "from outside" (you always get a clearer view from outside), and having thought things out, you would arrive at clear-cut and exact conclusions. Over here, you were in a "mood" of dissatisfaction. A mood which was almost unconscious, a blind feeling, not resulting from thought. So I expected you to have clear-cut and exact conclusions instead of the mood. Perhaps, I thought, we would differ over the conclusions, but these would still be clear-cut and exact conclusions drawn by one of the "founders" of the "opposition" (as you admit yourself to be in your letter).

Your letter leaves a sad impression because, instead

of clarity and precision, there is again this dark mood with the addition of "tough words".

You must not allow this.

Facts—you will recall this yourself—are stubborn things. So have a look at what are the facts you mention. I list *all* your *factual* statements:

1) The railwaymen's C.C. is made up of "old bureaucrats".

Is that a fact? The names? I don't know anyone except Rudzutak, but I do know that it was made up with care. There could have been mistakes. They must be corrected. But for that they should be first pinpointed, so as to leave no room for any dark moods (and the *gossip* which frequently lurks in this darkness: gossip loves darkness and anonymity).

You have not given any names. There are no facts.

Rudzutak? What's wrong with him as a worker? "He is physically worn-out"? Is there anyone among us who isn't? We shall get him back from Turkestan as soon as we put Joffe and Sokolnikov back on their feet.

What then does our "tendentious factionalism" consist of? Is it the fact that a supporter of the Party congress majority is put at the head of the railwaymen's C.C.? Is that what you call "factionalism"? If that is so, please explain to me what meaning should be given to factionalism and to the Party spirit.

Surely you will not declare that it was acting in the "Party spirit" for the leader of the former Workers' Opposition to introduce a C.C. list at the Metalworkers' Congress a few days ago, where of the 22 R.C.P. members, 19 are supporters of the old Workers' Opposition?[164] If that is not "tendentious factionalism", if that is not reviving the faction, then I must say that you have been using the concept of factionalism in a most specific way, most unusually, even out of the human context.

2) You say that at the head of the All-Russia Central T.U.C. there is a "physically worn-out person", i.e., Tomsky? He was to have been replaced by a trio of secretaries, and has now been removed altogether. Thus, your shot at factionalism has ricocheted against you. There's already a *fact* for you.

3) In your struggle against the outrages of the Berlin mission you have come up against "fierce resistance from Moscow all the way up to Ilyich".

You will pardon me if I say that this is an invention.

You gave excessive praise to Stomonyakov, who was defended by Krasin. Kopp was at the head of the old mission. Kopp was removed, Stomonyakov has remained.

What is this? Is it "fierce resistance from Moscow"?

Or is it a fierce lie about Moscow?

In the light of the "facts", which of these tough words is closer to the truth? What about that?

There have been scandalous practices at the Berlin mission, Moscow (and Krasin) did not hamper or resist you, but helped you to combat them, by giving more authority to Stomonyakov, whom *you* extolled most decidedly.

4) You say you have discovered there, in Berlin, a number of the "most brazen scoundrels and thieves", and Moscow has not removed them.

Their names? There is not a single one.

Is that a fact or a piece of gossip?

Perhaps you are not aware of the way complaints are addressed to the C.C.? to the Orgbureau? to the Politbureau? to the C.C. Plenary Meeting?

There has not been a single complaint from you either in the Politbureau or the Plenary Meeting. There's a fact for you.

(In brackets: you and I had a difference over Shklovsky, but you did not put it before the Politbureau.[165] I knew Shklovsky as a Bolshevik for years before the revolution. Being an honest man, he would have helped you to combat the "scoundrels and thieves". But you impeded Shklovsky's departure for Berlin, although over here he is not much of a worker, not doing anything important.)

5) Grzhebin. About him, and **only** about him, I read yesterday the protest you and Stomonyakov sent in to the C.C. We shall examine it at the earliest sitting.[166]

We in the C.C. have had our differences over Grzhebin. Some said: he should be removed altogether, because he might be cheating as a publisher. Others said: as a publisher he will publish at a lower cost. We prefer to have him cheat

us out of 10,000, but put out the cheaper and better publication.

A commission of both sides equally represented was elected. I was not on it, because of my "partiality" (some said) to Gorky, who defended Grzhebin.

The commission decided the case *unanimously*. I don't remember what it decided exactly. I think it was to buy from Grzhebin if it was cheaper.

Consequently, your conclusion: "they were not guided by state considerations", but were trying to pacify Gorky— is a downright untruth. And you write: "I am sure"!!! What do you call it when the people work out a "conviction" for themselves before checking on the facts, which are easily checked?

6) Lomonosov is a brilliant specialist, but has been "exposed by Krasin as engaging in the most criminal commercial transactions".

That is not true. If Krasin had exposed Lomonosov committing a crime, Lomonosov would have been removed and prosecuted. You heard a rumour and turned it into a piece of scandal.

Krasin wrote me and the C.C.: Lomonosov is a brilliant specialist, but is less suitable in trade and has made mistakes. Having come over here, and having met Lomonosov and examined the documents, Krasin said nothing about mistakes, let alone crime.

Here is your choice: either to start a serious case in the Control Commission (or wherever else you wish) about Lomonosov's crimes, or to retract the rumour you have so flippantly picked up.

7) "We are having appointments to the trade department here of rogues like this one: in the past a manufacturer whom the Soviet power deprived of all his furs, and he is now being sent to sell these furs. For pity's sake, what are things coming to?"

That is what you write. This is indeed good reason to feel sad. The founder of the whole opposition reasoning on such lines!

It's the same thing as an ignorant muzhik saying: "A thousand tsarist generals were deprived of their land and rank, and these generals have now been attached to the Red

Army"! Indeed, we have possibly over a thousand of those who had been generals and landowners under the tsar, serving in key posts in the Red Army. But it has won.

God will forgive the ignorant muzhik. Who's going to forgive you?

If you *know* that there is a "rogue", how can you, a person in office under the Soviet power, hush up his *name*? Not start proceedings against this *so-and-so*?

But if you don't know his name, it means this is just another rumour? just another piece of scandal?

I have gone over virtually everything in your letter that has any semblance at all of being a fact. The result is an absolute zero.

If I did not know you, then having received such a letter as yours, I should have said:

either this man has had a nervous breakdown and is hysterically snatching at scraps of gossip, and is quite unable to think, reason and verify;

or it is a man who is helpless because of his backwardness and ignorance, and who has fallen victim to scandal-mongering;

or it is a disguised Menshevik deliberately engaging in scandal-mongering.

Because I know you, I say to you that your letter is a remarkable "human document" which shows how the "founder of the opposition" has allowed himself to give way to a desire to play opposition at all costs, and to shout, for no good reason, about patronage, about stick-in-the-mud commissars, about the system, etc.

You write: "After all, it is not personalities, but the system itself that matters. Just now I raise this question: is this the proletariat or a demagnetised, declassed petty-bourgeois intelligentsia."

That is ridiculous. In fact, your own letter is a fine human document showing up the author as a specimen of the demagnetised petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. For the professional proletarians have repeatedly yielded up in actual life demagnetised petty-bourgeois intellectuals, according to their real class role.

The demagnetised petty-bourgeois intellectual keeps whimpering and wailing, is put out by any sign of evil

or scandalous practice, loses his self-possession, echoes any piece of scandal, and is all puffed up in his efforts to say something incoherent about a "system".

The proletarian (not one by reason of an old profession but one by his actual class role), when faced with evil, takes up the fight in a business-like manner: he gives open and official support to the candidacy of the good worker Ivan, proposes the removal of the bad Peter, starts a case—and conducts it vigorously, firmly and to the end—against the rogue Sidor, against the act of patronage on the part of Tit, against Miron's most criminal transaction, and (after two or three months of experience in his new job, and practical acquaintance with his new environment) works out business-like and practical proposals: to introduce such-and-such a system of commissars or political commissars, to make the following changes in the routine here, and to assign so many well-known Communists (with the following record) to the specified posts.

That is the kind of proletarians, who, even after they have lost their proletarian profession, were able to build the Red Army and to win with it (despite the thousand traitors and rogues, of whom thousands still remain among the military specialists and the military bureaucrats).

That is the kind of proletarians who will never descend to the class role of the demagnetised petty-bourgeois intellectuals, thrashing about in impotence, yielding to scandal, and calling scraps of gossip a "system".

There you have my frank answer. I can afford to reply in full once in a while—mostly I haven't the time to do so.

For old time's sake, let me tell you this: you need to do something about your nerves. Then the mood will give way to reasoning.

With comradely greetings,

Lenin

Written on May 30, 1921

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182
TO E. M. SKLYANSKY

30.V.1921

Comrade Sklyansky:

On the question of making use of the Army for economic purposes.

This must always be borne in mind.

A systematic plan for such use should be thought-out, prepared and elaborated, and unswervingly implemented.

Two aspects of this matter stand out especially:

1) the current, most urgent economic works (guarding and extraction of salt; fuel supply, etc.);

2) the work in implementing the general state-economic plan over a number of years. The electrification plan for ten years (the first part of the works) calls for 370 million working days. This gives an annual (37 : 1.6) = 24 working days, i.e., *two days a month* per armyman.

Of course, a host of difficulties will arise from the conditions of the Army's billeting, the transportation to the place of work, etc., etc., but the Army still can and must (*with the aid of the Universal Military Training Board*) render vast assistance in this matter of electrification. The Army should be attached to this great undertaking—ideologically, organisationally and economically—and it should be an object of systematic effort.

Please raise this question in the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, by reading out this letter. I should be glad to hear the views of the Council members or at least to have their short comments on this question.[167]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.L.D.

First published in 1932
in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

183

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV[168]

30/V.1921

Comrade Bryukhanov, People's Commissariat for Food
Copy to Comrade Smolyaninov

There must be a speed-up in the shipment of sacks for Comrade Vladimirov, Ukraine's People's Commissar for Food, and also the shipment of goods for the *Ukrainian commodity exchange fund*. Please notify me of your subsequent instructions.* Give me exact information today, and keep me informed daily, formally and in writing, about what is being actually done. This is Bryukhanov's personal responsibility. Appoint persons responsible for detailed measures.

Lenin
Chairman, C.L.D.

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from a typewritten text with Lenin's additions and signature

184

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO I. S. UNSCHLICHT, V. V. FOMIN, N. P. BRYUKHANOV

Comrade Unschlicht, All-Russia Extraordinary Commission;
Comrade Fomin, People's Commissariat for Railways;
Comrade Bryukhanov, People's Commissariat for Food

Set up the strictest surveillance over the most rapid movement of piece-goods from Moscow to Kharkov in the Ukraine for commodity exchange.

Issue instructions along railway lines. Most important question. Report execution.**

Lenin
Chairman, C.L.D.

Written on May 31, 1921

First published in 1932
in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from a typewritten text with Lenin's additions and signature

* The following text is in Lenin's hand.—*Ed.*
** The last two words are in Lenin's hand.—*Ed.*

185

TO G. K. KOROLYOV[169]

The C.C decision on responsible travelling personnel is a decision of the C.C. Plenary Meeting.

This means that it is not to be questioned.

(Personally, I quite agree with it.)

You yourself, I think, must do some of the travelling.

1) The C.C. apparatus should be reinforced and *brought closer* to the localities.

2) Your assistants should substitute for you in the gubernia. The young should be promoted.

3) You can (and will have to) make more frequent *personal* visits to Ivanovo-Voznesensk Gubernia to check up, help, advance candidates in agreement with the Orgbureau, etc.

4) There is no need to be a theoretician. All you need to be is a *Party man*. You are an economic executive. What we do [need] is to have economic executives (on behalf of the C.C.) pull up the localities, verify and instruct.

Written on May 31, 1921

First published in 1924 in the magazine *Prozhektor* No. 2

Printed from the original

186

TO G. D. TSYURUPA

Comrade Tsyurupa, Deputy Chairman, P.W.C.*
Copies: Comrade Sapronov, Chairman, P.W.C.
Comrade Bogdanov, Chairman, S.E.C.

Please inform me, in a few very brief lines, whether you have given exact directives concerning the urgent completion of the Kashira project (according to the Politbureau decision),[170] and when. To whom specifically?

Who is personally responsible on the spot for the timely fulfilment of this?

Is there any need of a special reminder from the centre or special measures to have this scrupulously done?

(I have personally seen the "gibbet" posts along the

* Public Works Committee.—*Ed.*

Kashira Highway already being toppled to the ground. This is a bad job. Might this not be the cause of some fatal cases?[171])

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.L.D.

Written on May 31, 1921
First published in 1932
in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

187

*TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS

Copy: Secretariat of the Council of Labour and Defence

31/V.

In confirmation of the instructions telephoned by the C.P.C. business manager to Comrade *Nikolayev*, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Posts and Telegraphs, I propose that a report should be given in the Council of Labour and Defence on Wednesday, June 1, on the time-table for the first section of the radio-telephone construction (i.e., installation of the radio-telephone receivers in gubernia and uyezd centres over an area with a radius of 2,000 versts around Moscow), and that the agenda for the same day should include all the matters connected with the radio-telephone construction, namely: transfer of former *Anosov* workshop to the People's Commissariat for Posts and Telegraphs, supply of radio-telephone works with bank-notes directly from the centre, etc.

The People's Commissariat for Posts and Telegraphs is requested to determine precisely the man who will bear personal responsibility for the timely fulfilment of all the radio-telephone construction programme now being submitted for approval by the C.L.D.[172]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on May 31, 1921
First published in part in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from a typewritten
text signed by Lenin

188
TO I. T. SMILGA

31.V.1921

Comrade Smilga:

The question of a possible firewood crisis in Moscow this winter season is of *exceptional* importance. It is a question of primary political importance. Moscow must not receive *less* fuel in 1921-1922 than in 1920-1921.

This, at all costs.

There is need 1) specially to impose responsibility for this on Danishevsky;

2) to make a detailed division of this task into component parts, and *assign* each part to a special *person*, precisely designated;

3) to send more men to work especially for Moscow Fuel Committee (perhaps you will take Goldberg? later recruiting Radchenko, even if only for a certain portion of time, etc.).

4) You *personally* must make repeated special and specific check-ups and inspections, and redouble your efforts to make a good job of it.

Be sure to give me an exact programme of all these urgent operations and pressures, and inform me of the time.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.L.D.

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

189
TO A. M. LEZHAVA AND A. I. RYKOV*

Comrades **Lezhava** and **Rykov**

There must be something wrong over here (and at the *People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade*).

* In the left-hand margin Lenin wrote: "[the question of excavators]."—*Ed.*

After all there must be an entry: what has been requested? when? by whom? who *approved* the order?

It looks as if there is no record. This is total chaos. Time is running short.

There is an urgent need of the excavators.

Why have they not been ordered in Germany?

in America?

in Sweden?

Whom does *Reine* represent?[173]

Lenin

Written not before May 1921

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

190

TO L. B. KRASIN

Code

Krasin

We are in very great need of all kinds of loans, because the main thing now is to obtain, and moreover at once, a stock of commodities to exchange for grain with the peasants. The whole policy of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade must now be subordinated to this immediate goal.

Let me have your reply.

Lenin

Written before June 1921

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

191

TO E. M. SKLYANSKY

How is Tukhachevsky doing?

He hasn't caught Antonov yet, has he?[174]

Are you putting on the pressure?

When is the report to the Politbureau?

Written between May and the first half of July 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from the original

192
TO V. M. MOLOTOV[175]

Comrade *Molotov*:

In sending you Comrade Vasilyev's letter to me I ask you

1) either to arrange the check-up in the Orgbureau (of the fulfilment of the C.C. assignment to put an end to Antonov) or to have the C.C. Secretariat carry out this check-up by studying the documents and summoning Comrade Sklyansky and also some other person;

2) to send the enclosed *secretly and personally* to Comrade Sklyansky for him to read it and return it to me, adding (to you; a copy for me) what measures of pressure he has taken.[176]

With communist greetings,

Lenin

1/VI.1921.

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

193
TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY*

Comrade Krzhizhanovsky,
Gosplan Presidium

There are indications that the C.L.D., in issuing diverse partial assignments to Gosplan, has not always correctly allocated these assignments from the standpoint of the functions exercised by the planning commissions under the several People's Commissariats.

In view of this, and also to arrange all Gosplan work in general in a more purposeful manner, there seems to be a need to individualise the current work and responsibility of all Gosplan members.

All Gosplan members, with exemptions to be specially established in every single case by decisions of its Presid-

* There is a typewritten text of this document signed by Lenin.—*Ed.*

ium, shall be given assignments by the Presidium to make a systematic study of all the material relating to the exercise of specified economic functions from the standpoint of rational planning and actual fulfilment of plans (for example, fuel economies; transportation of fuel; underloading on railways; closure of inessential enterprises; allocation of foodstuffs from the standpoint of their economies and boosting of labour productivity, etc., etc.).

One and the same assignment may be given to two or more members, where the interests of the job require a study and verification of the plan from different angles or by different methods.

Under such a system, the C.L.D. will interrupt the whole Gosplan from its general work less frequently with its particular assignments, and this will also make for more productive Gosplan operations and for the establishment of more precise responsibilities of its members.

Please have this proposal put up for discussion by the Presidium, and inform me of its decision.[177]

Written on June 2, 1921

First published in 1939 in the magazine *Krasny Arkhiv* No. 5

Printed from the original

194

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO I. S. UNSCHLICHT[178]

Copy
Urgent. Secret

Comrade Unschlicht, Deputy Chairman,
All-Russia Extraordinary Commission

Make inquiries and let me have precise and exhaustive answers to the following questions not later than tomorrow:

1) Is it true that arrests were made in Petrograd on May 27 of: Prof. *P. A. Shchurkevich* (Electrotechnical Institute), Prof. *N. N. Martinovich* (University and Oriental Institute), Prof. *Shcherba* (University, Professor of Comparative Linguistics), Prof. *B. S. Martynov* (University, Professor of Civil Law), Senior Zoologist *A. K. Mordvilko*

(Academy of Sciences), Prof. *Tikhanov*'s wife (Institute of Civil Engineers) and Prof. *B. Y. Vorobyov* (First Polytechnical Institute)?

2) Is it true that Prof. Pantelei Antonovich Shchurkevich is being arrested for the fifth time, and Prof. Boris Yevdokimovich Vorobyov, for the third?

3) What is the reason for the arrests, and why is arrest used as the measure of suppression—after all, they will not run away?

4) Do the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission, the Gubernia Chekas or any other Chekas issue warrants not for personal arrests, but for "discretionary" arrests, and if they do then specify to which personnel (degree of responsibility, post, political maturity)?

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on June 2, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52
Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

195
TO A. O. ALSKY

3.VI.1921

Comrade Alsky:

I should like to help Comrade *Gastev*, Director of the Institute of Labour.

He needs to make additional purchases worth 500,000 in gold. That is, of course, something we cannot afford just now. Could something be bought in Germany with the Romanov funds?

Think about this, find out more exactly and try to get him a certain amount. We should, all things considered, give support to such an institution, even with the situation as difficult as it is.[179]

With communist greetings,
Lenin

First published in 1924 in the magazine *Organizatsiya Truda* No. 1
Printed from the original

196
TO V. M. MOLOTOV

Comrade Molotov:

Please have a look at the enclosed letter from Shklovsky.

I believe there is a *C.C.* decision—isn't there? a formal one in writing (Politbureau)—"to work at the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade in Berlin".

This decision is being *sabotaged* by Lutovinov and now by Stomonyakov as well. Why? I don't know for sure, but I can guess: Lutovinov has accused Lenin of extending "patronage" to Shklovsky (!!). Some people are dissatisfied with the fact that the Orgbureau decision preventing Shklovsky from going abroad has been cancelled by the Politbureau.[180]

An absurd web of intrigue has taken shape. Shklovsky is absolutely of no use in Russia. His family (many children, a sick wife) has *not* adjusted in Russia. Over here it's nothing but fret and worry. He is undoubtedly an honest man, a Bolshevik since the first (1905) revolution; Zinoviev, all the Bolsheviks and I knew him personally in Switzerland. Chicherin is satisfied with his work abroad. Krasin too.

The sabotage by Lutovinov (and now by Stomonyakov) is a downright scandalous *wrecking* of the C.C. decision. When one is dissatisfied, one should lodge a complaint with the plenary meeting or with the Central Control Commission. That is one's sacred *right*. They have *failed* to lodge a complaint, but have *engaged in secret sabotage*, pushing Shklovsky close to thoughts of suicide. They refuse to see that this *amounts* to mean, dishonest, underhand harassment of the man.

There are thieves all over the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade; Kopp has clearly been breeding thieves. It looks as if Kopp has to be removed. That makes it all the more important to value honest men with a knowledge of the language and of commerce.

I ask you *to seriously bring home* to Stomonyakov (better in writing?) either through the C.C. Secretariat (or—

more appropriate perhaps?—by sending to *Solts* at the C.C.C.) the following: stop your sabotage or it may come to your expulsion from the Party. Make him apologise to Shklovsky, and stop the sabotage.

Drop me a line.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written in June, not before the 4th, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from the original

197
TO M. I. FRUMKIN

5/VI.

Comrade Frumkin:

I blame both the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade (what a scandal!) *and you* for this absurd affair with the fund for the South-Eastern Economic Council.[181] You did nothing but whimper, although you should have brought your precise *proposals* to the C.L.D. back in April: 1) such-and-such a calendar programme for the shipment of gold; 2) such-and-such for wool, *etc*.

What you did, however, was to whimper from April to June.

We now have to complete what has not been done.

A calendar programme of *detailed* measures, which is elaborated with the greatest precision, must be placed before the C.L.D. by Wednesday (I can appoint the commission tomorrow, 6/VI—it can be appointed by agreement between the People's Commissars).

Make arrangements about this with Khinchuk (he seems to know something about trade. *No one* at the People's Commissariat for Food does).

Write me at once whether you can pledge now to get things *going* and what exactly.

Will you manage to arrange *efficient* trade with Constantinople? Or will you run into another Ancona?[182] into

speculators, swindlers (and bankrupts: there are *hordes* of them in Constantinople), and merely bring shame upon yourself and the entire "commodity-exchange operation" of the South-Eastern Economic Council?

The South-Eastern Economic Council must display *more* initiative, but also shoulder more responsibility.

(If you are not going there again, get Beloborodov or Kaganovich on the direct line and tell them *everything I have written you about*; it's time you *got things going* and showed *something* for your effort.)

Let the South-Eastern Economic Council stop whimpering and start making *timely business* proposals to the C.L.D. and taking care not to be late with supervising their fulfilment.[183]

Awaiting your letter.

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Written on June 5, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*
Printed from the original

198
TO A. M. LEZHAVA

5/VI.

Comrade Lezhava:

Things are thoroughly bad with the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade.

During your illness, Krasin once again tried out his weak side: excessive self-assurance, sometimes verging on adventurism.

He seems to say: "I can get away with everything, there is nothing I can't do."

He has that sort of trait.

Yet, despite his "good luck", and his dexterity and skill, and art, I would not wager that one fine day this will not land him in a great scandal with ignominious dismissal.

It's not right. Krasin was over here; he saw that you were ill but *did nothing*.

He left one man, Voikov, who was clearly unfit, rather, unable to cope.

On 3/VI, things at the C.L.D. were close to collapse. On 25/III, 1921, the C.L.D. decided that the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade *had the duty to* supply the South-Eastern Economic Council with 7 million in gold by 15/IV.

Nothing has been done. Voikov keeps referring to statements he had allegedly heard Krasin make that it is impossible to trade with Constantinople: he says it is full of swindlers.

If Krasin has said this, it will one day land him in the dock. It was Krasin's duty *either* strictly to implement the C.L.D. decision of 25/III, *or* table a proposal at the C.C. to have the C.L.D. decision rescinded, *or* satisfy the South-Eastern Economic Council in some other way, not through Constantinople (this No. 3 in the hope of his "luck").

By failing to do either the first, or the second, or the third, Krasin is committing a breach of the law and is disrupting all the work. We can't have that sort of thing.

I ask you to:

1) send a copy of this (or the original) to Krasin,

2) have a personal talk with Frumkin and Khinchuk,

3) check up personally on the execution of C.L.D. decisions, *without relying* on Voikov.

4) give serious thought to replacing Voikov by Taratuta or Paikes, or any other person you may find who is an efficient and *conscientious* executive.

Concerning Serebrovsky and Baku, I very much fear now that the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade will repeat the South-East story.

That is something I will absolutely refuse to tolerate.

I propose that Serebrovsky and Rabinovich should be sent the following telegram in my name. Please let me know at once of your objections or amendments.

"Serebrovsky, Baku; Copies to Rabinovich and Orjonikidze, Baku or Tiflis.

"I am extremely anxious about the agreement concluded by Serebrovsky with Socifross, and am surprised that this was reported by Rabinovich, unfortunately, without comments or practical proposals, while Serebrovsky himself

has failed to report it.[184] This agreement is a strange one. Where is the guarantee that Socifross will not cheat us? How can it be allowed to have a monopoly? I do not at all object to Azvneshtorg and Azneftkom trading directly with Constantinople, I am prepared to support Baku's autonomy within considerable limits, but we must have guarantees. Please reply at once whether a detailed list of everything Serebrovsky has bought in Constantinople has been sent by reliable courier; when exactly it was sent, and the details of the agreement and when. I put Serebrovsky under an obligation to send me a letter with every courier, informing me by telegram of his name and date of departure. What exactly has now been ordered from Socifross? All three addressees must reply to me by telegram.[185] *The secret sections in code.**

Lenin
Chairman, C.L.D."

Any news from Sammer? What is going on there? Is he sending you his reports? How frequently? Are they detailed or short? Drop me a line.

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Written on June 5, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*
Printed from the original

199
TO I. I. RADCHENKO

5.VI.1921.

Comrade Radchenko:

Don't pick on Gidrotorf. This business has been recognised *by law* as being of *exceptional* importance.[186]

Glavtorf *must* carry through this law for more than formal reasons.

---

* Lenin underlined the words "The secret sections in code" and added: "(Code the underlined words)."—*Ed.*

This is a great invention. We should learn to deal with the inventors, even when they fret a little.

In this case I see no fretting for the time being.

Kirpichnikov is an inventor. He should be allowed to go and sent. Objections could arise only *from the political side*: If you have any, let me know them *in confidence*.

If you have none, be sure to send Kirpichnikov.

I am very well aware and highly value your services in setting up Glavtorf. You have set it up on model lines. I earnestly request you: *do not make* **a mistake**, do not pick on Gidrotorf.

Regards,
Lenin

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

200
TO R. E. KLASSON

5/VI.1921.

Comrade Klasson:

Please inform me (or Smolyaninov when I am not there or when I am busy) of the **exact** proposals concerning assistance to Gidrotorf.

You are also slightly to blame for letting 1921 go by. See that 1922 does not.

Why did you fail to award prizes of 10,000-50,000 rubles *in gold* for the invention of the dehydration method in Germany? You will recall that we had spoken of this before your departure!

Is it because you had no money (this should have been placed before the *C.L.D.* in advance)? or because that sort of prize calls for very much? How much? Or is there any other reason? Is it possible just now to offer such and similar prizes in Germany, Canada, and America through a notary public?

Regards,
Lenin

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

201
TO A. M. LEZHAVA[187]

Urgent!
Comrade Lezhava:

Please add the word *unconditionally* ("I do not at all object *unconditionally* to Azvneshtorg trading directly with Constantinople", etc.) and send with this addition.

Awaiting your letter. (P.S. What's this contract I hear about involving 35 million francs in Rostov?)

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Written on June 6, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52
Printed from the original

202
TO I. I. RADCHENKO

(Secret)

Comrade *Radchenko*, Central Peat Administration

7/VI.

Dear Ivan Ivanych:

I quite understand that it pains you to see how non-Soviet people—some of them possibly even enemies of the Soviet power—are making use of their inventions to profiteer. I quite believe you that Kirpichnikov is that kind of man. Of course, Klasson is not a supporter of ours either.

But the whole point is that while your feeling of indignation is quite legitimate, you must not make the mistake of succumbing to it.

The inventors are not our men, but we must use them. It is better to let them have more, let them make money, make a killing—so long as *we*, *too*, can advance an undertaking which is of exceptional importance for the R.S.F.S.R.

Let's think out our *assignments* to these men in greater detail. Perhaps we can adopt this plan:

1) Allow Kirpichnikov to go on the trip, provided precisely specified assignments are carried out; draw up a list of them.

2) Send along with him two or three men who are reliable politically (a worker, one of our engineers, etc.) as some kind of "commissars". Give them precise instructions. Let us approve §1 and §2 by agreement with Krzhizhanovsky.

3) Establish over here in Russia a special centre, order Gidrotorf's best machines, set up this special centre with these special machines, i.e., a special enterprise, and get it to advance this business *in its own way*.

Would you find the men to do this?

4) Offer *on Glavtorf's behalf* prizes (10,000-30,000 rubles *in gold*) in Canada and in Germany for the best methods of dehydrating peat, and for the best models of machines for Gidrotorf, etc.

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. I wonder why Klasson has *failed* to award any prizes in Germany, although he and I had spoken about it. Could he be dragging things out? Perhaps we should do this directly through *Glavtorf*? We should spare no money for this.

Written on June 7, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*
Printed from the original

203
TO P. I. STUČKA[188]

Comrade Stučka **(Secret)**

7/VI.

Comrade Stučka:

In fulfilment of your request, I wrote this very day to Chicherin, asking him to put more pressure on the Latvian Government, and to send a telegram to Hanecki telling him

of my request to exert pressure without fail and rescue the workers.

Best greetings and congratulations on the successes of the communist movement in Latvia!

Yours,
Lenin

Written on June 7, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*
Printed from the original

204
TO V. M. MOLOTOV

Comrade Molotov:

1) About Paikes, please circulate *all* the members of the Orgbureau and the Politbureau.
   See Paikes personally for 15 minutes. I think he would do well for top supply work (*not* for the University). If he will not do here, perhaps we could let I. N. Smirnov in Siberia have him *in exchange* for someone?
2) I *don't* know M. Z. Manuilsky. I abstain. I suggest you *ask the people at Ivanovo-Voznesensk*, and inquire from the People's Commissars.
3) The question of farming out the port of Petrograd as a concession has been decided *in the C.P.C.* (without me) only *in principle and has been referred to a commission*.[189] Both Chicherin and Dzerzhinsky *have* to fight it out in the commission.
   Write them (and **Zinoviev**) about it.

From the commission this will go once again to the *C.P.C.* This means it is early to take it to the Politbureau: Chicherin and Dzerzhinsky are displaying haste for small reason, without seriously going into the matter in the usual, Soviet administrative manner.

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Written in June, after the 7th, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52
Printed from the original

205
TO Y. M. YUROVSKY

Comrade Y. M. Yurovsky
(address: *All-Russia Cheka* or the People's Commissariat for Finance)

Comrade Yurovsky:

Because of a secretarial error, I received your letter of 2/VI only today, 10/VI.[190]

You must act through all the bodies (the C.C. especially), introducing precise proposals on the best way to run the business.

You are a participant, and the responsibility is yours.

If things are badly run, set them right by introducing formal proposals.

That you have already told me is not at all enough.[191]

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Written on June 10, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

206
TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. SECRETARIAT

11/VI.

Comrade Molotov:

All the workers of the Party's centre and I myself knew Suren Spandaryan in 1908 and 1909. He was a very valuable and prominent worker. Stasova and possibly the Caucasians (perhaps Yenukidze as well) should know him. Suren's father was receiving our help in Paris in 1910 and 1911 at Suren's request.*

I propose to the C.C. Secretariat:

1) have the enclosed letter translated[192];

* See present edition, Vol. 43, Document 235.—*Ed.*

2) make inquiries from Stasova and Yenukidze and others who had known Suren and his father (if the Secretariat should recognise the additional inquiry to be necessary); inquire about dispatch to Tiflis;

3) authorise *Bagotsky* (Red Cross?) in Switzerland or *Klyshko* in London to write to Suren's father and give him monetary help by reason of his being the father of a prominent revolutionary.[193]

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on June 11, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from the original

207
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Comrade Zinoviev

Urgent
11/VI.

Comrade Zinoviev:

I have just read Kuusinen's theses and one-half of the article (the report).

I have returned them to him with my remarks.[194]

I do insist that he *and* he *alone* ((i.e., not Béla Kun)) should be allowed to give a report at this congress without fail.

This is necessary.

He knows and **thinks** (*was sehr selten ist unter den Revolutionären**).

What needs to be done right away is to find *one* German, a real one, and give him strict instructions
to make stylistic corrections at once,
and dictate the corrected text to a typist.

And at the congress read out for Kuusinen his article-report (tell Kuusinen to complete the second half within three days).

* Which is a great rarity among revolutionaries.—*Ed.*

The German will read it out well. The benefit will be enormous.[195]

The question will be *posed*: and this will be very much more than enough for a start.

Greetings,
Lenin

P.S. You have not returned to me the copy of my letter to Levi.[196] *Do so without fail*. If you don't, I will not makeup.

Written on June 11, 1921
Sent to Petrograd

First published in part
on October 4, 1931
in *Pravda* No. 274

Published in full in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

208
TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Comrade Gorbunov:

This business of a draft C.P.C. decision on *collective supply* (of food to enterprises) in connection with the closure of inessential establishments and concentration of production at the major enterprises has been pickled.

Larin and Holtzmann (All-Russia Central T.U.C.) tabled the draft in the Politbureau. On 10/V, the Politbureau resolved: redraft and *introduce in the C.P.C.*[197]

There was *also* a resolution by the trade union congress.[198]

Yet, it's been pickled!

Phone Larin and the All-Russia Central T.U.C., take the text of the Politbureau resolution of 10/V, and *speed up the business to the utmost*. I fear that it has been hushed up because of the change of the All-Russia Central T.U.C.

It must be moved forward *at a faster rate*.

Be sure to phone me the *results* of your efforts and reconnoiterings tomorrow, Monday, 13/VI.

Greetings,
Lenin

Written on June 12, 1921

First published in 1932
in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

209

TO Y. LARIN[199]

Add:

Be sure to pay out bonuses for economies of fuel and economies of foodstuffs.

Written between June 14 and 18, 1921

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

210

TO WILHELM KOENEN, AUGUST THALHEIMER AND PAUL FRÖHLICH

16/VI.

Comrades Koenen
Thalheimer
Fröhlich

Dear Comrades!

I have received a copy of your letter to our Party's Central Committee. Thank you very much. I communicated my answer orally yesterday. I take this opportunity to emphasise that I do most resolutely withdraw the rude and impolite expressions I used, and hereby repeat my oral apology in writing.[200]

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on June 16, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from the original
Translated from the German

211

TO P. A. BOGDANOV

Comrade Bogdanov, Chairman, S.E.C.
Copy to Comrade *Sapronov*, Chairman, P.W.C.

June 16, 1921

Winter has sent me a letter pointing out the need to take a series of *special measures* to have the Politbureau directive concerning the urgent completion of the Kashira project scrupulously fulfilled. A copy of this letter has

been sent to you. I propose that this question should be urgently examined, the appropriate measures taken and all the required proposals placed before the C.L.D. right away. Please let me have a precise statement of what has been done under each head, through the C.P.C. business manager Comrade Gorbunov not later than 22.VI.1921.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1961 in the magazine *Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 5

Printed from a typewritten copy

212

TELEGRAM TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE[201]

Send at once by direct line

Orjonikidze,
Baku

Serebrovsky should not take offence at the tone of my telegram: I was worried over the future of Baku. I consider Serebrovsky a most valuable worker. I demand that you keep me supplied with exact information about the results of the work in improving the oil industry in Baku, and also about the results of foreign trade operations. Let Serebrovsky see this telegram.

Lenin
Chairman, C.L.D.

Written on June 18, 1921

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

213

TO V. M. MOLOTOV

Molotov

I am entirely *in favour*. This should be done in formal terms: the Politbureau decision should be entered in the minutes.[202]

18/VI. *Lenin*

Written on June 18, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

214

TO E. M. SKLYANSKY

19/VI.

Comrade Sklyansky:

Please assign your office worker, Lydia Dmitriyevna Gribanova, for work in our secretariat. A part of our secretarial personnel has been sent to the localities. Experienced and loyal workers should be promoted. I hope that you will agree to this promotion of Gribanova, who has worked with us to everyone's satisfaction.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on June 19, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from the original

215

DRAFT TELEGRAM TO SOVIET TRADE DELEGATION IN LONDON[203]

Point-by-point explanation of your letter of 20.VI:

1) Agree to grant concessions for all four enterprises (Kyshtym, Ekibastuz, Ridder, Tanalyk). 2) We allow sidings to the concessions; we shall accept some form of ensuring the concessionaire's interests on the main line. 3) Bargain about the term. 4) We shall make available some Soviet money; bargain. 5) Bargain about the royalties. Never mind the oil.[204] 6) Agree to guarantees of immunity.

We shall not grant concessions unless they agree to let us have 50-100 per cent of the foodstuffs and equipment they bring in for themselves, with guaranteed payment.

Written between June 20 and July 21, 1921

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

216

TO A. O. ALSKY

Comrade Alsky:

Have any measures been taken to *speed up* and *intensify* Gokhran's work?

Have any Communists been mobilised?[205]

Result: within *how many months* and *what exactly* will be done? *You* will be to blame if the question keeps "sticking", because in that case it will be your duty to lodge a complaint *speedily*, taking it up *to the very top*, i.e., the Politbureau.

But I mean speedily.

The *summer* must be made use of, and you are letting it slip by: I warn you that the responsibility will fall entirely on you. Hurry, and complain to me (about the C.L.D.) and where I am not competent, to the Politbureau.

Written in June,
before the 21st, 1921

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

217
TO I. A. TEODOROVICH

21/VI.

Comrade Teodorovich:

The meat tax has now been carried through.[206]

Would you consider it timely just now to do everything possible to develop beef cattle husbandry on the *suburban* state farms, the industrial state farms (i.e., those attached to industrial workers), in the army, etc., etc.

You once said that the specialists believe it possible to develop rabbit-breeding and pig-breeding (without the use of cereals). Why not have some measures legalised in this sense right away.

Drop me a line.

Yours,
Lenin

Written on June 21, 1921

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

218
TO L. K. MARTENS

22.VI.1921

Comrade Martens:

I must reproach you for having misdirected the papers on the American colonies in Russia.[207]

I read them only on 20/VI. You should not have sent them through Bukharin, but should have formulated some 20 lines of practical proposals in Russian, and sent them up to the C.L.D., and a copy for me personally and a short letter.

The delay was due to the misdirection of the file.

In substance: I am in favour, *provided* the American workers and settlers in general will bring along with them:

1) foodstuffs for two years (you say that this has been done before, which means that it is possible);

2) clothes, for a similar period;

3) implements of labour.

No. 1 (and No. 2) are the most important. The $200 is less important. If we have No. 1, I agree *to give every support*.

To speed things, draw up a draft C.L.D. decision right away and table it today (if you can, before 3.00 p.m.), this very day in the C.L.D., and we shall decide at 6.00; even if you are late, table it in the C.L.D. at 6.00, we shall set up a commission and decide it on Friday, 24/VI.

Draft decision: 1) terms—the three afore-mentioned, 2) management (you + 1 American worker + 1 from the People's Commissariat for Labour?), 3) we help (give land, timber, pits, etc.), 4) financial relations such-and-such.

Please reply by bearer.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

P.S. After writing this letter, I saw that the question is on today's C.L.D. agenda. Please elaborate the points I have indicated.[208]

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

219
TO M. V. RYKUNOV

Comrade Rykunov:

I have read your letter and agree absolutely *on almost every point*.[209]

You are so right about recruiting the merchants. I am sending this on to the C.C. members.

Keep up the pressure.

Regards,
Lenin

Written on June 22, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*
Printed from the original

220
TO THE NARROW COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS[210]

To the Narrow Council

I request an **urgent** examination. We must help them and be sure to give the money.

There is an *imperative* Politbureau directive to have Kashira completed in 1921. The *execution* needs *checking*.

22/VI. *Lenin*

Written on June 22, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

221
TO G. I. BOKII

25/VI.21.

I have received your report of 23/VI.[211]

This business must be finished at all costs, and not later than this summer. Yesterday, Basha tabled some of your wishes in the C.P.C., and after being co-ordinated, they will be adopted.[212]

Draw up as *precise* a *calendar* programme of the necessary reforms as you can. Let me have it (after co-ordinating it with Basha or Alsky, better with both) and inform me once a week about its execution.

With communist greetings,
Lenin

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52

Printed from a copy
in Lydia Fotieva's hand

222
TO M. I. FRUMKIN

25/VI.

Comrade Frumkin:

I have read your proposals. I agree. We shall table them in the Politbureau today.[213] I have one other request. Elaborate the addendum: "authorise a small commission, Lezhava, Khinchuk, Frumkin+??, immediately to work out a plan to cover this amount (100) with a special export fund, raw materials, timber, etc., and to do this covering most rigorously, with weekly reports. Designation: special cover of urgent expenditure."

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Written on June 25, 1921

First published in 1932
in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

223
TO V. D. KAISAROV AND I. I. IONOV

1) *Commission Chairman Kaisarov*
2) *Ionov*
Petrograd

25/VI.1921

Concerning the School Atlas

I have received the material on the atlas. I scanned it and made some additions (red ink in the text).

Please send me:

1) A calendar programme of the work (not under the best conditions—"if" we are supplied this and that—but under the *present*); in particular: when the work will be finished.

2) Allocation of the work between the members of the commission.

3) Text and maps, when ready, before they are sent to the printers.

4) Conclusion on the question whether it is desirable and possible to enlist Anuchin and Borzov for this work (for what reasons—in the event of a positive and a negative answer to the questions).

5) Conclusion on whether the members of the commission or its chairman will undertake the additional work described in the attached copy of my letter to Pavlovich. Pavlovich has refused. I have asked a comrade in Germany to do this, but have not yet had his reply.* It would be fine if the commission did this.[214]

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

224
TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY

G. M.:

A reminder:

Concerning the electric-power-station. Together with the *Moscow Committee* or its commission + the Moscow Cheka you should draw up a *calendar programme* for purging it of all Mensheviks by 1.XII.1921, or some other such date.

For the Gosplan—a *practical* programme of work:

α) practical verification of current plans (the items and methods);

* See present edition, Vol. 35, Document 283.—*Ed.*

β) reduction in the number of institutions (also the period of work);
γ) ditto—the number of staff, *etc.*
A precise and *practical* programme.

Regards,
Lenin

Written on June 25, 1921
First published on January 21, 1931 in *Pravda* No. 21
Printed from the original

225
ASSIGNMENT TO SECRETARY[215]

11.00 p.m., 25/VI.

This matter should be promoted more *intensively* through *Martens*, a member of the Supreme Economic Council Presidium.
Give me a reminder on Monday.

Lenin

Written on June 25, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 52
Printed from the original

226
TELEGRAM TO SAMARKAND COMMUNISTS[216]

Shafransky, Gubernia Party Committee,
Samarkand

I thank the group of friends for their greetings. The main thing just now is an immediate improvement in the conditions of the workers and peasants. On the vigour and skill of the workers in the localities now depends everything: the tax in kind, the development of turnover between agriculture and industry, and the development of small-scale industry. We have no fear of capitalism, because the proletariat has the power, transport and large-scale industry firmly in its hands and will succeed, through its

control, in channeling it into state capitalism. Under these conditions, capitalism will help to combat red tape and the scattering of the petty producers. *We shall win out because we know what we want.*

Lenin
Chairman, C.L.D.

Written on June 27, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

227

TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS AND THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOOD OF THE TURKMEN REPUBLIC

Having just returned from a trip to your parts, Comrade Badayev told me something of the good reception given to him by the local comrades and their whole-hearted sympathy for the cause of the Moscow and Petrograd workers.

Will you kindly convey to all your local comrades my deep gratitude and request to continue giving the most vigorous and every possible assistance in food supplies to the workers of the two leading cities.

The situation is difficult. The utmost assistance is required. I am sure that you will do everything you can.

I send you communist greetings.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

Written on June 27, 1921
Published on August 24, 1921 in the newspaper *Izvestia Polnomochnogo Predstavitelstva RSFSR v Khorezmskoi Sovetskoi Respublike* No. 20

Printed from the newspaper text

228

TO L. K. MARTENS[217]

Comrade Martens:

I ask you to give full and resolute assistance in the organisation of garment factory No. 36 by American workers.

Eliminate all delays in obtaining the necessary mate-

rials, especially pipes and fittings for them (T-joints, couplings, etc.), and electric wiring.

Help the collective of workers to obtain housing, a matter that must be settled without any delays on the part of the housing department.

The completion and the earliest starting of the factory must be achieved in the shortest possible period. Inadmissible negligence and red tape have been displayed in this whole business.

Chairman, Council of Labour and Defence

Written on June 27, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*
Printed from a typewritten copy

229

*TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS

27.VI.

I enclose Comrade Bryukhanov's telephone message concerning the fisheries telegrams.

I draw your attention to the *particular* importance of the fishing industry and the *prompt* dispatch of telegrams dealing with this business.[218]

I insist that you do your *utmost* and *reach agreement* with Bryukhanov.

Inform me of this.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.L.D.

Written on June 27, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53
Printed from a copy in Lydia Fotieva's hand

230

TO B. S. STOMONYAKOV

30.VI.1921

Comrade Stomonyakov

I recommend to you the bearer of this, Comrade Georgi Dmitriyevich *Tsyurupa*.

the builder of the Kashira electric-power station, which is of the *utmost* importance to us.

He needs advice, etc., and money especially, so as to place the necessary order in Berlin *swiftly*, pay for it, and secure its fulfilment *without the slightest delay*.

Please do everything you can to help.

Is it possible to contact Krasin by telegram in Berlin en route (from London to Moscow)?

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Sent to Berlin

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

231
TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY[219]

2/VII.

G. M.:

It hasn't come out.

Here is the general impression of the "first reading":

Page 1: "many" see an "obvious" deviation...
(why admit that the rebuke comes from "many"? This sets the wrong tone and is a "move" ... in favour of the enemies).

Page 2: "the overall reorganisation of the People's Commissariats, which is inevitably connected"...
("inevitably"? There is *nothing inevitable* because there is *NO overall* reorganisation taking place at all. It turns out that the author refers the reader to the "overall" *which does not exist*).

Page 3: emphasis on the principal element, concentration on the large enterprises, etc...
"But a little thought will show that it is impossible to do this *piecemeal*" ... "piecemeal-ism".

(Untenable: *Piece-by-piece* is the only possible way. The start should be modest, with *one* case.)

Page 4: ... Extremes are intolerable
(indisputable, but academic)
Osadchy at the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade (already named twice)
"Gosplan **members** (Osadchy alone?) find themselves doing the spade-work **continuously**"...
35—1=34

Page 5: ...
Fuel ... Larin (why quote him *without giving* a single figure? Encouraging the enemy! One should either say nothing about him, discussing one's own work in words other than Larin's, with one's own facts, or attack hi m. Any other tactic=sure defeat).

Page 6: "a group of workers to combat the famine has been hastily set up"
(? that is not the business of Gosplan at all!)

Page 7:

Page 8: instructions of C.L.D. Chairman
(? Which? the reader does not know)
Supreme Council for Transportation+
Special Transport Commission
People's Commissariat for Railways ... "*will perhaps not fail to make itself felt*" (the italicised words are also in favour of the enemies).
Neopikhanov...
(what has he done anyway? Not a single clear word.
There is not a single example. How did he help?
Economised? Discovered an error? Helped to avoid it? how precisely?)

8-9: ... "*Assignments*"...
Everyone is so fed up with assignments that the less said of them the better. Everyone has a host of assignments.
General, universal, all-encompassing assignments which are *clearly* not going to be fulfilled.

This has been a partial or even a total failure. It is better to say nothing in the press for the time being. But for a report in the C.L.D.

(α) bring out clearly something *that has been actually achieved*, even if it is only three or four small but precise and factual examples, a thing that has been achieved instead of assignments, something that has been concretely implemented instead of the general and the projected.
What has Ramzin done in Petrograd?
" " Neopikhanov in Moscow?
Strumilin
Popov
and others.

(β) Has the work been allocated to the individual members? When?
To how many of the 35?

(γ) Of the ten commissions of the People's Commissariats, relations are *correct* with *one* (? fuel).
How is this expressed?
What are the real achievements in the plan for the second half of 1921?
Fuel economies?
Conclusion: carry forward the *merger* with the 10, overcome the inertness of the 9 which are doing *nothing*?

(δ) *Prepare* plan for the second half of 1921?
People's Commissariat for Agriculture (crop?) Central Statistical Board?
Current section
Supreme Economic Council

That is how, I think, the material should be roughly arranged for a report in the C.L.D.

The general and consolidated plan will apparently be ready not earlier than the autumn of 1921, and it *cannot* be given until the crop is estimated.

Let that be so. (But the crop is one thing, and the quantity of tax *collected* and grain *obtained* is another. You will know this quantity in 1922, post factum.)

This means that we shall *still* have to proceed from **the estimated minimum figures.**

The partial plans have been drawn up (fuel?); half completed (People's Commissariat for Railways?). I suppose here we can give something factual.

A quarter completed? The number of mouths? (this is the business of the Central Statistical Board *and not* of Gosplan. Everyone will be heaping *their* own work on Gosplan. It must not let them do it).

But the main thing still is: immediately, right away, "piece by piece" *eliminate all the obviously irrational*, *all that clearly contradicts the state economic plan*.

(close down such-and-such establishments in such a branch...

close down or half-close down such-and-such railways ...

build such-and-such fuel lines...

designate the tract of forest which, according to Ramzin, will yield m ore than any Algemba, and give a plan: how it should be felled, cut and transported....

Of 1,000 good factories start 10 by a given date, 50, by another, etc., going all the way up to 100 or even 200).

Yours,
Lenin

Written on July 2, 1921

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

232
TO I. S. UNSCHLICHT[220]

Comrade Unschlicht:

There is bad news about Petrograd. It is said that the S.R.s are making redoubled efforts, and that the Petrograd Cheka knows nothing about the S.R.s! They are said to be a new lot, with an excellent secret organisation and their own agents.

We must look sharp, so as not to miss another Kronstadt.

Please devote more of your attention, and write me *this very day*.

Perhaps we should send some experienced Cheka men from here to Petrograd?

S.R. peasants are said to be sent by the S.R.s to Petrograd. Is that so?

What is your information, what are your plans?[221]

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written between July 4 and 7, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from a typewritten copy of I. S. Unschlicht's reminiscences

233

TO THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.[222]

I propose that this be approved by telephone with this addition: an assignment to buy the greatest possible quantities of wheat and rice.

5/VII.

Lenin

Written on July 5, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from the original

234

TO V. M. MOLOTOV

7.VII.1921

Comrade Molotov:

Following my talk with Unschlicht I propose that the C.C. should resolve:

order Comrade *Menzhinsky* to go on holiday and take a rest at once, until the *doctors* give him a health certificate *in writing*. Meanwhile, he should be in attendance for two or three hours, not more than two or three times a week.

Lenin

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

235
TO A. I. RYKOV AND V. M. MOLOTOV

Rykov and *Molotov*

I have a mortal fear of shuttling. Mekhonoshin is not fit at all for work in the centre.

I feel that Babkin and Avanesov are overdoing it with the "inquiries". I think that your commission should take *no more than three hours to complete the case*:

Bryukhanov
and Potyaev

should both *be* (*politely*) *told off*: another *quarrel* between you two and we shall dismiss and jail both.[223]

That's all.

Written on July 7, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from the original

236
TO THE PARTICIPANTS IN A SITTING OF THE COMMISSION ON TACTICS OF THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE COMINTERN

To Comrade Zinoviev, with a request to communicate the following to the members of yesterday's Commission:

Dear Comrades:

I have been informed that what I said in the Commission yesterday against—rather, against some—Hungarian Communists has aroused dissatisfaction.[224] I hasten therefore to inform you in writing: when I was an émigré myself (for more than 15 years), I took "too Leftist" a stand several times (as I now realise). In August 1917, I was also an émigré and moved in our Party Central Committee a much too "Leftist" proposal which, happily, was flatly rejected.[225] It is quite natural for émigrés frequently to adopt attitudes which are "too Leftist". It has never

entered my mind, now or in the past, to impute this to such fine, loyal, dedicated and worthy revolutionaries as the Hungarian émigrés, who are so much respected by all of us, and by the whole Communist International.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

7/VII.1921.

First published in part in German on January 27, 1924 in the newspaper *Vorwärts* (Reichenberg) No. 23

First published in Russian in part in 1924 in the book, *Lenin v svete inostrannoi pechati* (Lenin in the Light of the Foreign Press)

Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from the original
Translated from the German

237
TO THE ORGBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

Comrade Molotov:

I request the Orgbureau or the C.C. Secretariat (with subsequent approval by the Politbureau over the telephone) to allow me a month's holiday, in accordance with Dr. Getier's orders, with attendance of Politbureau, C.P.C. and C.L.D. sittings for two or three hours a day, two or three times a week. I shall inform Comrade Molotov (within a few days) about the date of my holiday.[226]

Lenin

8/VII.

Written on July 8, 1921

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

238

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.[227]

Comrade Zinoviev:

I think we should agree, **as an exception**, with the exception strictly specified. Please have this put through the Politbureau *by telephone* **right away.**

Lenin

Written in July, not before the 9th, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from the original

239

TO I. T. SMILGA

Comrade Smilga:

I have read the draft. I enclose my amendments.[228]

My *insistent* advice is

1) not to make the move in *your* name (why tease the geese? Why *make* the possible *unanimity* of one and all *more difficult*?).

2) Make the move only on behalf of the S.E.C. *Presidium*. S.E.C. Chairman Bogdanov will introduce it in the C.C.

3) Another piece of advice: agree with Krzhizhanovsky the wording of the point on Gosplan (your wording is *wrong*; I shall not accept it).

The basic point can be easily agreed, and then the thing should be moved on behalf of the two presidiums: the S.E.C. Presidium + Gosplan Presidium.

Please reply on $\frac{11}{\text{VII}}$.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

P.S. Perhaps it should also be shown to the People's

Commissariat for Food and the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection and the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade.

Think this over and reply on $\frac{11}{VII}$.

Written on July 10, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

240
TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY

Comrade Krzhizhanovsky

(Secret)
10/VII.

G. M.:

Please read this as soon as you can. Compare this draft with my amendments (in pencil).

Tell me what you think.

I have crossed out the §§ about Gosplan. Perhaps you will replace them by one paragraph: say, there is need to accelerate, increase and intensify in the precisely specified direction.

The theses could then perhaps go over the signature of the S.E.C. Presidium + Gosplan Presidium?

Return and reply as soon as you can.

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Written on July 10, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*
Printed from the original

241
TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV, A. M. LEZHAVA AND V. A. AVANESOV

For the time being please do not show this draft to anyone, read it at once, if you can, with especial attention, and phone me or (if you can't get me on the phone) write

me a line this very day: do you find this acceptable? Which amendments would you like to make (very briefly)?

I believe it is extremely important to have this put through speedily and *unanimously*.

Lenin

Written on July 11, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*
Printed from the original

242
TO I. T. SMILGA

Comrade Smilga:

I think Krzhizhanovsky's text will fully meet with your requirements. I very strongly advise you to place before the S.E.C. Presidium today (the S.E.C. Presidium does meet today, doesn't it?) the *draft* (with my amendments, i.e., without the § on Gosplan), *taking as a basis*, say, Krzhizhanovsky's text, and send it to me **together with the draft.**

11/VII.

Lenin

Written on July 11, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

243
TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.[229]

I am in favour of *both* proposals.

1) Start supply of coal and foodstuffs to Petrograd right away; sign right away.

2) Accept Nansen's terms: he will send one man.

Lenin

Written on July 11, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53
Printed from the original

244
TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV[230]

1

Comrade Smolyaninov:

I *very much* fear that Lezhava's optimism is *groundless*. Ask for the **facts** and check them. Do the checking personally and *twice*. Then have a direct-line talk with Chutskayev and Ivan Nikitich Smirnov. Otherwise I will *not* believe that the matter has been *secured*.

11/VII.

Lenin

Written on July 11, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX* — Printed from the original

2

Comrade Smolyaninov:

This is a matter of *exceptional* importance and **urgency.** You are responsible for its execution. Press on with it in every possible way. Krasin will be here on 13/VII. Place before the *C.L.D.* before 13/VII.

11/VII.

Lenin

Written on July 11, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI* — Printed from the original

245
TO N. A. SEMASHKO[231]

Semashko, my pretty one!

Don't fret, sweetheart! We shall leave the Quakers to you, to you *alone*. You mustn't be jealous of Kuskova.

Today's directive to the Politbureau: Kuskova must be strictly rendered harmless. You are in the "communist cell" and will have to be on your toes, *keeping a strict watch over this.*

We shall get Kuskova to give us her name, her signature and a *couple of carloads* from those who sympathise with her (and **others of her stripe**). **Not a thing more.**

It is really not very hard to do this.

Written on July 12, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI* Printed from the original

246
TO A. A. KOROSTELEV

Comrade Korostelev,
Member of the Collegium,
Workers' and Peasants' Inspection

13/VII.

Comrade Korostelev:

Why have you not yet done anything about the matter on which we had agreed?[232] L. B. Kamenev says: You have put off your report to the Presidium of the Moscow Soviet of Deputies.

Where's the hitch?

Are there any special reasons? Or is it that you have changed your mind? Perhaps you have failed to reach agreement with someone?

Please let me have an answer to these questions as soon as possible, and also telephone me, in case of need. This is an extremely important and urgent matter.

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Written on July 13, 1921
First published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII* Printed from the original

247
TO LYDIA FOTIEVA[233]

Comrade Fotieva:

1) *Urgently* find the author, have a talk with him, reassure him and tell him that I am ill but will see to it that the matter is dealt with.

2) Please have his letter typed in several copies:
1 for Molotov
1 for Solts, Central Control Commission.

3) When sending the letter to Molotov add on my behalf: I propose that a Control Commission should be sent to the Don consisting of a member of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee + 10 (or 20) of Sverdlov men (taking the author along with them), and that everyone found guilty of plundering should be *shot on the spot*.

13/VII. *Lenin*

Written on July 13, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*
Printed from the original

248
TO M. M. BORODIN

Comrade Borodin

Dear Comrade:

Could you get me some material relating to the American third party of the workers' and peasants', or the workers' and farmers', union, or the non-partisan party, and its activity in the State of North Dakota, which is in this party's hands.[234] I should like to have a few but the most important documents on this party and its activity in North Dakota and, what would be even better, a short note from you on this question, in addition to these documents. If it is not too much trouble, write me soon, whether you are able to do this and when.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

Written on July 13, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from a typewritten copy

249

TO G. L. SHKLOVSKY

Comrade Shklovsky:

I have spoken both to Stomonyakov and Krasin. I enclose a note from Krasin. He promised to see you. Lutovinov gave me his "word of honour" that he would treat you "impartially". I have done *everything I could*. I reaffirm what I have told you personally: you should "make a fresh start" in Berlin and *gain* a position *for yourself by your work*. This happened to *some* old Party members after 1917. Best wishes to you and your whole family!

Lenin

Written between July 13 and 19, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from the original

250

TO A. A. KOROSTELEV[235]

Comrade *Korostelev*:

Of course, the whole point is *to help the enterprises*. You are right. We shall start switching individual enterprises to collective supply *immediately*. Both L. B. Kamenev and myself are in favour of this. We shall get through the *C.L.D.* the list which *you* will hand in, by agreement with the Moscow presidium (or *against* the Moscow workers, if they prove to be obstinate). Please reply by messenger.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on July 15, 1921

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

251

TO F. E. DZERZHINSKY AND I. S. UNSCHLICHT

Dzerzhinsky, People's Commissariat for Railways
Unschlicht, All-Russia Extraordinary Commission

I draw your attention to the following telegram which

I have received.[236] Please take the most vigorous measures to combat this and let me know what exactly you have done and how you have arranged to check up on the measures actually taken.

Lenin

Written on July 15, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*
Printed from the original

252
*ADDITION TO LETTER ON FRANCE

France very much wants to know whether there is an English translation of the latest decrees.
(Taxes, freedom to trade, lease of enterprises, etc.)
Could this be arranged for him?

Lenin

Written in July, not before the 15th, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53
Printed from the original

253
TO G. V. CHICHERIN

Comrade Chicherin:

Rothstein is complaining about Baku. What is your decision? Perhaps this should be put through the C.C., to make it binding on Orjonikidze (a member of the C.C.).
Give Molotov the finished *draft* (text) of the C.C. resolution, we shall get it through by phone.[237]

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Written on July 16, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53
Printed from the original

254

ASSIGNMENT TO SECRETARY

Please let me have a set of the newspaper *Rudè Pravo* (*Red Right*)[238] of the Czech Communist Party, relating to the Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in May 1921[239] (ask Axelrod or the Czechoslovak delegate Šmeral).

The same thing, with the German newspaper *Vorwärts*, which is published in Reichenberg in Czechoslovakia. (Ask Axelrod or Krejbich, the delegate of the German Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.)

Dictated by phone in July, before the 17th, 1921

First published in October 1958 in the magazine *World Marxist Review* No. 2

Printed from a typewritten text

255

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO G. D. TSYURUPA

G. D. Tsyurupa, Public Works Committee

Please take the opportunity of Stomonyakov's and Krasin's presence in Moscow to make the final arrangements together with them on the purchase in Berlin of what is still required to complete the Kashira project and also to pay for the orders. Let me know in brief whether everything has been quite settled in this matter, and when the ordered things are to arrive.

Dictated by phone on July 17, 1921

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

256

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO I. I. SKVORTSOV-STEPANOV

Iv. Iv. Skvortsov-Stepanov:

Please let me know how you are getting on with the work you promised, the one we spoke of last time, and when it will be ready.[240]

Dictated by phone on July 17, 1921

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from a typewritten text

257

*TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE ROGOZHSKO-SIMONOVSKY SOVIET OF DEPUTIES

Comrades K. Ukhanov and N. Borisov

17/VII.

Dear Comrades:

I thank you very much for the book you have sent me[241] and for your friendly letter. I have read the book with interest. It will undoubtedly be important for the history of how the Soviet power was organised.

I am sending you a copy of the just published law on the district economic councils and the "Mandate". I hope that you will get a statistician in advance, give him the material, verify his work, add to it yourself (together with essays by some other local Rogozhsko-Simonovsky comrades, if any are willing to write them) and publish next autumn a report on the *content* and the *results* of local economic work by your district Soviet of Deputies. I hope that you will display initiative in this and that your district will be among the first in developing local economic construction.

I thank you once again, and send you communist greetings.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

Written on July 17, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

258

TELEGRAM TO THE SIMBIRSK UYEZD CONGRESS OF SOVIETS

Twelfth Simbirsk Uyezd Congress of Soviets
Simbirsk

This is to inform you that the Soviet Government is taking the most urgent and resolute measures to render

assistance to those who have suffered from the crop failure. Collections have been started everywhere. On 12/VII the All-Russia Central Executive Committee appealed to the whole population of Russia to do everything to help the starving. A special famine relief committee has been set up under the All-Russia C.E.C. A similar committee has been set up to obtain assistance in the form of grain from abroad. Authorised representatives of the All-Russia C.E.C. are leaving for your parts within a few days. We are doing everything we can.

Lenin
Chairman, C.L.D.

Written on July 18 or 19, 1921
First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from notes
in Lydia Fotieva's hand
and signed by Lenin

259

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO M. I. KALININ AND L. B. KAMENEV

Kalinin has told me of the idea to make a special collection of one pound per pood of collected grain in aid of the starving in the Volga area. Let me know whether this matter has been pushed through and when you intend to have it passed by the Presidium of the All-Russia C.E.C.[242] I think we should: 1) have this passed at once; 2) demand, as a matter of the greatest urgency, that each uyezd should send a few carloads of grain to the Volga area, and that every consignment of grain must be accompanied by two or three local peasants who will see for themselves the scale of the disaster and tell their fellow peasants about it; 3) we should consider the institution of some kind of order or honorary cross for intensified assistance to the starving in the Volga area.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

Dictated by phone
on July 19, 1921
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from
a typewritten text

260

ASSIGNMENT TO SECRETARY AND NOTE TO L. G. LEVIN

To the doctor who is to be in charge of Comrade Béla Kun's treatment (address to Comrade Zinoviev, via the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, at the sanatorium where he is, and where Comrade Béla Kun will also be)

Please report to me in brief about Comrade Béla Kun's state of health, and also how long the treatment will take, and what sort of treatment you propose.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

Dictated by phone
on July 19, 1921

First published in 1932
in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from
a typewritten text

261

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO B. S. STOMONYAKOV*

Orders for the Kashira electric-power station are of especial importance. There is a C.C. decision on the unconditional need to accelerate this matter, so as to have the station started with 12,000 kw not later than December of this year. Find out about these orders everything you can before you leave, and upon your arrival in Berlin take all steps to speed and check up on accurate execution. I regard this as your personal responsibility. Please telegraph me from Berlin about the measures you take, when exactly the orders will be ready, and when exactly they will be delivered in Moscow.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on July 20, 1921
Sent to Berlin

First published in 1932
in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the text
in Lydia Fotieva's hand

* For the draft of this telephone message see *Lenin Miscellany XX*, pp. 214-15.—*Ed.*

262
TO THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE COAL INDUSTRY

Glavugol, S.E.C.

Please let me know without delay how far the things have gone with the purchase abroad of coal-cutting machines for the Donets Basin.

Comrade Smolyaninov has informed me that he has established from his telephone conversations with Comrade Grigoryev that there are some doubts at Glavugol about the proven advisability of making extensive use of coal-cutting machines in the extraction of coal, or at any rate, that the production effect expected by Comrade Pyatakov from the use of coal-cutting machines is exaggerated.

Please let me have absolutely precise and definite information about Glavugol's opinion on the advisability of coal-cutting machines in the extraction of coal in the Donets Basin, and on the effect their use in production can have on boosting output.

Also let me know where, and where best, coal-cutting machines can be bought—in Germany or in Britain, and how soon this can be done.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on July 20, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*
Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

263
TO M. I. FRUMKIN

Frumkin

20/VII.

I have read your letter on 20/VII.

I agree with you that co-operatives cannot be allowed to *increase* the prices of agricultural produce. But there you must make fully practicable and concrete proposals.

The same thing applies to the meat agreement. Keep an eye on the results of the co-operative work and bring in concrete proposals.

Lenin

Written on July 20, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

264
TO RICHARD MÜLLER AND HEINRICH MALZAHN

20/VII.1921.

Comrades Richard Müller
and Heinrich Malzahn

Dear Comrades:

I was able to read your letter of 18/VII only today.[243] I have spoken with Comrade Heckert on the question you raised only once and quite briefly. When he asked what I thought about it, I told him that I was too inadequately informed to judge, that those expelled should of course be organised in some way, and that *in this sense* Heckert's proposal *seems* to be correct.

That is all.

I know *nothing* about "unions", or the tactless actions of individual Communists (which made expulsion easier for the social-traitors).

The resolution adopted by the congress (which you have sent me) tells me that the unions are *not* approved ("insignificant", "diffuse", "sow confusion"). The practical slogan is: "Do not pull out more workers' groups from the centralised free unions."

What is there to be said against it?

Moreover, you yourselves hope to secure control of the unions.

I shall send your letter to Comrades Lozovsky and Zinoviev, to obtain fuller information.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original
Translated from the German

265
TO I. S. LOBACHEV AND A. I. RYKOV

Comrade Lobachev
Comrade Rykov, Commission of Workers' Supply

Chicherin complains that the foreigners are being deprived of state supplies. He insists that this is absolutely impossible. I find his arguments serious. Please discuss whether it would not be desirable to buy certain quantities of foodstuffs abroad for the arriving foreigners, and to charge them at a rate that would quite cover our expenditures.

Chicherin has an even stronger complaint over the 100 rations taken away from the personnel of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. I think that these rations should in fact be left with the P.C.F.A.

Please let me know what you decide.

Lenin

Written on July 20, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from a typewritten copy

266
TO G. V. CHICHERIN

Comrade Chicherin:

I have just read yesterday's C.P.C. decision on the matter of the Petrograd port. The text shows that the decision has been adopted and that the contract is to be framed by a special Commission with the participation of the P.C.F.A., the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission, and the Petrograd Soviet. Introduce your concrete proposal and try to get it through in this Commission.[244]

Lenin

Written on July 20, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from the original

267

TO Y. M. STEKLOV, MARIA ULYANOVA, V. A. KARPINSKY, G. I. KRUMIN

21-VII-21

Comrade Steklov, *Izvestia VTsIK* Editorial Board
Comrade Ulyanova, *Pravda* " "
Comrade Karpinsky, *Bednota* " "
Comrade Krumin, *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* " "
Copy to Comrade Smolyaninov

FROM MARX TO MAO NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

I should like to draw your attention to the "Collection of Government Statutes and Decrees" No. 44 of 1-VII-1921, "On Local Economic Conferences, Their Reports and Guidance by the C.P.C. and the C.L.D. Order" (All-Russia Central Executive Committee resolution).

There is need to insert a number of articles, stating and giving a detailed explanation of the importance of this All-Russia C.E.C. resolution, with special emphasis that no reporting machinery may be set up, because the law designates the gubernia and uyezd statistical bureaus as the only machinery.

Give a detailed exposition of the fundamental importance of local economic conferences and their reports, which are published for the information of the public, both for conducting the new economic policy in general, and for correct economic operations.

Special stress should be laid on the commodity exchange, then on the development of local economic initiative, on combating red tape and on enlisting non-Party people for economic construction.

I request that ROSTA should send two or three short wires on this subject to inform all gubernia and uyezd towns at once, asking them to carry reprints in all local Party and Soviet newspapers.

I ask the editorial boards of the Moscow papers to send me either cuttings of articles inserted in accordance with my present request or separate issues with articles on this subject, specially underscored.

It will be Comrade Smolyaninov's duty to see that this is done and to inform me of any questions that may arise in the process.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in part in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Published in full in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from
a typewritten copy

268
TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO A. I. RYKOV

Send the following telephone message to *Rykov*:
(*Copy* to Smolyaninov)

I consider quite correct your decision to authorise the People's Commissariat for Food to set up a special shop (store) for the sale of foodstuffs (and other things) to foreigners and Comintern visitors. I propose that it should be passed through the *C.L.D.* and *expedited* in every way.[245] The shop should be run on strictly commercial lines, with an individual manager. Purchases at the shop should be allowed only to those who arrive from abroad, presenting their special identity cards and consumer drawing cards. I assign Smolyaninov to keep a special check on this matter.

Lenin

22/VII.

Written on July 22, 1921
First published in 1932
in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

269
TO V. M. BAZHANOV AND S. A. GETSOV

Comrades Bazhanov or Getsov,
Central Coal Administration, S.E.C.

Please take all resolute measures to secure the earliest purchase of coal-cutting machines abroad. To expedite procurement and to clarify all matters connected with the purchase make use of the presence in Moscow of Comrade Stomonyakov, the authorised representative of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade in Germany.

Please keep me informed through Comrade Smolyaninov about all the measures you take to expedite procurement and purchase of the machinery.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on July 22, 1921
First published in 1957 in the magazine *Sotsialisticheskiy Trud* No. 10

Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

270
TO M. A. KRUCHINSKY

23/VII.1921.

Comrade Mikh. Kruchinsky:

I have received your letter with all the documents concerning Gukon.[246]

I am very sorry to say that while you have accused others of being hysterical, you yourself have (to put it mildly) succumbed to the mood. Will you please write in future with greater restraint and *deliberation*.

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Written on July 23, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

271

MARKINGS ON A TELEGRAM FROM INZA AND A NOTE TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV, V. A. AVANESOV AND V. M. MOLOTOV

× ×

... The peasants of Samara and Simbirsk gubernias have expressed a great desire to work in harvesting teams in the grain-producing gubernias, and are acting as inspector-agitators in the collection of the tax in kind in the grain-producing gubernias. The speediest solution of the question is desirable. Inform Samara and Simbirsk of this....

Belkin
Chairman, All-Russia C.E.C. Commission

Bryukhanov, Avanesov and Molotov

Please arrange a small conference on the underscored (× ×) most important question: Bryukhanov + Avanesov + Molotov and *pass through* the **C.L.D. right away.** This is extremely important.

It is necessary and useful.

24/VII. *Lenin*

Written on July 24, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

272

TO A. I. POTYAEV AND V. A. AVANESOV

Comrade Potyaev
(and Comrade Avanesov)

Comrade Potyaev:

I am sure you have read this already?[247] Have a look at my remarks and send *at once* (this very day) to Avanesov.

You should arrange a short conference with Avanesov on Monday or Tuesday, interrogate the accused ((Nepryakhin and someone from the leading workers at the All-Russia Central T.U.C.)), and have them (both accused) give *short depositions in writing* and introduce in the *C.L.D.* on Wednesday, 27/VII.

1) Severe reprimand and, I think, *personal arrest* for Nepryakhin and the person from the All-Russia Central T.U.C. guilty of red tape, mismanagement, and *breach* of the *C.L.D.* order.

2) A number of *precise* proposals, practical and business-like, to expedite the shipment of fish, and *to assure the success of the autumn fishing* in Astrakhan district.

24/VII.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on July 24, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

273
TO A. I. POTYAEV

Comrade Potyaev:

Has your squabble with the People's Commissariat for Food been entirely eliminated? Every trace of it must be wiped out.

Write me about this.

I send you Babkin's report with my remarks and proposals.

I hope your relations with Babkin have not been spoiled by this squabble.

On Wednesday, a number of precise and urgent measures for the autumn fishing season must be passed through the *C.L.D.*

Buy some of the things abroad if this cannot be avoided.

Phone me on Tuesday or Wednesday morning—you can do this from my office.

And what about the sale of caviar abroad?

With communist greetings,

Lenin

24/VII.

Written on July 24, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

274
TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV

Comrade Bryukhanov:

Have you quite normalised relations with Potyaev? Have you erased every trace of the *squabble*? That is imperative.

I am not blaming you for the squabble, but someone (? who?) on the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Food. I don't know who was chiefly to blame. I think your fault lies in weakness: you should have found the squabbler and given him a severe drubbing in public, letting me sign a paper issuing him a reprimand. I believe there is a trouble-maker on the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Food!

With communist greetings,

Lenin

24/VII.

Written on July 24, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

275
TO I. P. BABKIN

Comrade Babkin:

I have received and read your papers.

Give your business proposals concerning the shipment of fish and the success of the autumn fishing *right away* (25/VII) to Avanesov for introduction in the C.L.D. (and to *Potyaev*, of course, in the first place).

We shall let you have a holiday, if the doctor says so, and puts it in writing that the holiday cannot be deferred until the winter. Otherwise you can have it in winter.

I advise you to have a *personal* talk with Potyaev and to remove his doubts about "rivalry" on your part. Everything will be settled *if you want it*.

Who is it specifically of the "local" workers that is dissatisfied with Potyaev? Why? When and where has this been stated?

I don't believe it: this is nothing but a squabble; we shall settle it.

24/VII.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on July 24, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

276
TO A. I. RYKOV

Secret

Comrade Rykov (return to me)

Comrade Rykov:

I think Babkin should be reproved and left to do his job (since he agrees to have Potyaev at the S.E.C., the whole thing is nothing but a squabble and a lot of gossip).

Obtain a paper on Babkin's illness from a *good* doctor: put off his holiday until the winter, if possible; if it cannot be put off, let him go at once, but put an *obligation* on him to receive serious treatment.

I am writing separately to Potyaev and Avanesov* about his business proposals for introduction in the C.L.D. on 27/VII.

Lenin

24/VII.

Written on July 24, 1921
First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*
Printed from the original

277
TO N. OSINSKY

Comrade Osinsky
(with a request to read and pass on to Comrade Teodorovich)

The author, Comrade Fofanova, has been a member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture.

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* See Document 272 of this volume.—*Ed.*

I am not proposing her for this post.

She is a Party comrade who had passed the supreme test *even before* October 1917.

She is an agronomist.

I think we must make use of her: ask her to come and see you, have a talk, and think it over. She could be put to local work or as an inspector.

There are so few Party comrades among agronomists, and the milieu (agronomists) is so "alien", that a Party member should be grasped at with both hands to help us to keep an eye on this milieu, check up on it, and *attract this milieu* towards us.

Drop me a line when you decide what to do.

Lenin

P.S. Please return Fofanova's letter.

Written in July, after the 24th, 1921

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

278

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO N. L. MESHCHERYAKOV[248]

I have learned from Chicherin's letter that you have prepared a pamphlet or a series of articles on the Georgian question.[249] Have you made use of the resolution of the 1919 Menshevik conference, holding the bloc between the Georgian Mensheviks and the Entente to be inadmissible and condemning this bloc?

If you do not have this resolution, I could get it for you.

Lenin

Dictated by phone on July 25, 1921

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from a typewritten text

279

TO G. V. CHICHERIN

Comrade Chicherin:

Roughly this resolution must be got through the *Orgbureau* (with confirmation by the Politbureau):

1) charge Meshcheryakov to make haste;
2) *appoint a person responsible* for *speedy* publication;
3) directive to the press;
4) assignment to Scheinman to *expedite* matters;
5) ditto—*Yenukidze* on *all* these questions.

25/VII.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on July 25, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

280

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET

Presidium of the Moscow Soviet
Copies to Sorokin, Gubernia Statistical Bureau,
Gubernia Economic Council
and Gubernia Trade Union Council

1. There is very great doubt about the correctness of the data submitted to me by Sorokin today concerning the 30 per cent reduction.[250]

2. There is equal doubt about it being right to carry out the cuts, in the sense that the axe is being put to the wrong groups. The reduction should fall on the enterprises and establishments which are not absolutely essential.

3. Sorokin's reference to there allegedly being no data about the groups of enterprises and establishments which are not absolutely essential shows that things at the Gubernia Statistical Bureau, the Gubernia Trade Union Council and the Gubernia Economic Council are extremely unsatisfactory.

Please let me have exact data and a precise explanation for tomorrow's sitting of the Council of People's Commissars (26.VII.21).

Lenin

Dictated by phone on July 25, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from a typewritten text

281

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

Comrade Molotov:

Re: the draft agreement concerning the Dashnaks which Joffe initialled in Riga.[251] I quite agree with Chicherin's arguments and propose that the agreement should be resolutely and immediately rejected. I propose the immediate passage by phone of this resolution: "The draft agreement signed by Joffe and other comrades in Riga concerning the Dashnaks is hereby resolutely and immediately rejected."

I believe Chicherin is absolutely right when he says that such an agreement is not only wrong, but dangerous.

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on July 25, 1921

First published in 1965
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Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

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a typewritten copy

282

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO L. B. KRASIN

Comrade Krasin
Copy to Comrade Chicherin

Klyshko has sent a telegram to your address on the 21st, saying that substantial assistance to Russia can be got through only in the event of a more or less favourable attitude to the Soviet Government on the part of Britain's government circles.[252] I very much fear that Klyshko is taking the wrong approach and is allowing himself to be involved in inadmissible promises or statements. We don't care about Britain's government circles. Klyshko should be taken to task, and made to use his head.

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on July 25, 1921

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from
a typewritten text

283
TO G. V. CHICHERIN[253]

Comrade Chicherin:

1) If Lunacharsky+Krasin were *in favour*, *they* should have been made to carry the whole thing.

2) Why are *you* being burdened with these trifles? Where is Gorbunov or his *deputy*? After all, it is **their business!!**

3) A decree was adopted (a few days ago): to set up a shop (store) for foreigners. Gorbunov (or his deputy) should handle this and the *flats* (+**Krasin**).

With communist greetings,

Lenin

25/VII.

Written on July 25, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53
Printed from the original

284
TO M. M. BORODIN

Comrade Borodin

Comrade Borodin:

Your note is very interesting. I think you should put the finishing touches to it (as you yourself hope to do) to turn it into an article for *Communist International* or a pamphlet.

Collect all the material. Throw out the polemics against Communists. Make it explanatory, not polemical—it could be a most useful thing.*

With communist greetings,

Lenin

26/VII.

Written on July 26, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

* See Document 248 of this volume.—*Ed.*

285

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO THE CENTRAL STATISTICAL BOARD

Central Statistical Board

I request the head of the industrial statistics department to let me have the following data as soon as possible:

1) what data are coming in to the department of current industrial statistics and how often;

2) from how many big establishments;

3) the percentage (even if only a rough one) of correct reports and short statements coming in;

4) for which recent months there are satisfactory data;

5) when can I have the shortest abstract of the latest data relating only to the main branches of industry;

6) are the few very big establishments brought together under a separate head, if they are, how many are there of them and what data are available on them.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of Labour and Defence

Dictated by phone
on July 28, 1921

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from
a typewritten text

286

TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

28/VII.1921.

Comrade Zinoviev:

In view of a number of statements made by Zetkin, I regard the conversation I had with her yesterday, before her departure, to be so important that I must inform you of it.

She wants to set Levi two conditions:

1) resign his parliamentary seat;

2) close down his organ (*Sowiet*[254] or *Unser Weg*, as I believe it is now called), issuing a statement of loyalty

in respect of the decisions of the Third Congress of the Communist International.

Furthermore, she is afraid that it could occur to some friend of Levi's to publish Rosa Luxemburg's manuscript against the Bolsheviks (which I think she wrote in prison in 1918). If anyone should do this, she intends to make a statement in the press that she is quite sure such an act is disloyal. She would say that she had known Rosa Luxemburg best of all, and is sure that she herself admitted these views to be erroneous, that she admitted, upon her release from prison, that she had been insufficiently informed.

In addition, Léon Jogiches, Rosa Luxemburg's closest friend, in a detailed talk with Zetkin, two days before he died, told her about this manuscript of Rosa Luxemburg's, and about Rosa Luxemburg herself admitting that it was wrong.[255] Zetkin was going to write you about this at my request.

If she has done so, please send me her letter.

Another interesting point, according to her, is that there is a wave of unification of *all* workers (both S.D.P. and U.S.P.-Leute) in the struggle against Lohnabbau,* etc. Of course, Zetkin was *quite right* in saying that the Communists should *back* this unification *in the struggle against the capitalists*. If the "Lefts" should object, they should be made to see reason.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Zinoviev

P.S. Lozovsky *has already published* the Congress resolutions of the Red International of Trade Unions. Well done!

What about *you*?? Appoint *a person to be responsible* for editing, and get *Lozovsky* to publish the resolutions of the Third Congress of the Communist International.

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

* Wage-cuts.—*Ed.*

287
TO L. B. KRASIN[256]

(secret)
(to be returned)

Krasin

My opinion is:

Set up a small commission to work out the plan in detail. *Approve in substance.* Ascertain more precisely the amount of the loan, the dates and the terms of repayment *in raw materials and timber* (first year, in *our* gold: 30 million rubles in gold; we could make it *two* years at 30 million rubles in gold). Ten per cent a year with *repayment*? Isn't that too much?

Etwa:
Krasin.
Alsky,
+
?Avanesov?
or
Trotsky?

28/VII.

Lenin

Written on July 28, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

288
TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.[257]

Comrade Molotov:

Trotsky and other members of the Politbureau must be *urgently* asked. I am inclined to agree provided *strict* conditions are worked out and the moment *put off*.

29/VII. *Lenin*

Written on July 29, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from the original

289
TO V. M. MOLOTOV

Comrade Molotov:

I wrote you about the need to *punish* Badayev (for frustrating the *C.L.D.* decision; fulfilled by the Muscovites).* You have not replied.

Such things must be settled speedily.

Kamenev and *Zinoviev* agree. Write the minutes of the *Politbureau* decision for the passage through the Presidium of the All-Russia C.E.C.: "For failure to fulfil a *C.L.D.* decision (on reducing rations by 30 per cent)—which the Muscovites have carried out—Comrade Badayev+*two of* his *closest assistants* shall be placed under *detention* for one Sunday."

That will give us "control"!!

Lenin

Written in July, not before the 29th, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from the original

290
TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV[258]

Comrade Smolyaninov:

Please have a talk with Potyaev and Avanesov. See below Point *1* concerning Nepryakhin.**

Why have you failed to introduce it in the *C.L.D.*?

This business should not have been salted away while Nepryakhin was in Moscow. Such things should not be left without punishment.

This is carelessness, and not management of economic work.

30/VII. *Lenin*

Written on July 30, 1921

First published in 1932 in *Lenin Miscellany XX*

Printed from the original

* See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 53, Document 94.—*Ed.*

** See Document 272 of this volume.—*Ed.*

291

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO N. N. VASHKOV

Comrade Vashkov, Electrical Department, S.E.C.
Copy to Comrade Krzhizhanovsky

I thank you very much for the article, "Electrification of Russia" in *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* of 10/VII.[259]

It is highly important that such information should appear in *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* and in the popular press from time to time. If you happen to have it, please send me the following additional information: 1) your table shows the electric-power station capacity in 1920 as being 7.670 kw. Does this include Shatura's 5,000 kw?

2) Your article shows that in 1920 the Tula group yielded 3,000 kw. Is that reflected in the table, or is such information not included?

3) Is it possible to bring out the larger stations which are of real industrial importance, say, those of 1,000 kw or those of a size which could be classed as large and which are of importance to industry?

4) For how many months of 1921 do you have consolidated tables in which 1921 is shown at all?

5) Do you happen to have any details on the early stages of organisation of the Shterovka, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Nizhni-Novgorod and Chelyabinsk stations?

6) Your article says that the combination of several large stations could give Moscow 10,000 kw. Please let me know whether it has actually done so, exactly how much and when?

7) Could you let me have some details about the power stations in Bolshevo district, near Mytishchi, and the Detskoye Selo station, which supplies Petrograd, and more exact information about the time of their expected completion?

Please let me know also whether the forthcoming Electrotechnical Congress in October[260] could be used to collect fuller and more precise information about all the existing electrotechnical stations, their distribution by uyezd and gubernia, the time of their establishment, the number of

stations being used to teach electricity and electrification, etc.

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on August 1, 1921
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

292
TO G. I. MYASNIKOV

1/VIII.

Comrade Myasnikov:

I read your article, which Bukharin passed on to me, only today, and very cursorily.

I should like to have a talk with you. I hope to be in Moscow one of these days and find time for a half-hour talk with you.

The beginning of your article is good and business-like.

But there are some obvious errors in your conclusions.

Perhaps there is some misunderstanding: it looks as if you *have failed to say* in the article what you had told N. I. Bukharin. What sort of "freedom of the press" do you want? Under the law? For workers too—S.R.s and Mensheviks? Just now? The article does not make it clear.[261]

Drop me a line.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on August 1, 1921
First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

293
TO L. K. MARTENS

Martens

I have received a telegram from Riga about the congress of societies in the United States and Canada for tech-

nical aid to Soviet Russia, which *Golos Rossii*[262] of New York says was held there early in July.[263]

According to this report, the congress sent a telegram of greetings to Martens and the People's Commissars, and announced in this telegram its decision to start organising technical teams for dispatch to Soviet Russia right away.

I think I should send them a telegram on these lines:

"Having learned from the New York *Golos Rossii* about your congress and its telegram of greetings to Soviet Russia, I express, on behalf of the C.P.C., our heart-felt gratitude.

"Let me add, on my own behalf: we are greatly in need of technical aid from the United States and Canada. If teams are to be sent without agreement in advance concerning the place of settlement, factory, etc., the team must have a two-year supply of food, clothing, etc. Each team must be prepared to do both agricultural and industrial work. The best thing is to have delegates sent ahead for an on-the-spot inspection of land tracts for settlement, forest tracts, mines, factories, etc., for lease."

Lenin
Chairman, C.P.C.

This requires the signatures of Martens and the People's Commissariat for Labour, and Bogdanov's and Chicherin's are also desirable.

Written on August 2, 1921

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

294

*TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO DEPUTY HEAD OF THE CENTRAL STATISTICAL BOARD

I have received your communication No. 7772 of July 29. Please let me have the information available at the C.S.B. for 1920 (and for a part of 1921, if also available) in the most concise form, namely: 1) to how many gubernias and to what period do the data apply; 2) totals for manufactured output; 3) total fuel consumption.

Only these three figures and only for the key branches of industry (for instance, textile, metallurgy, paper, electrotechnical goods, salt and rubber).

Total results if available. Show data from central boards and those direct from the factories separately.

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on August 2, 1921

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from
a typewritten text

295
TO G. V. CHICHERIN

3.VIII.1921

Comrade Chicherin:

Who is this Ionov?

How can he propose Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries?[264]

This seems to show or reveal something thoroughly evil.

What do you think?

With communist greetings,

Lenin

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

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296
TO M. I. FRUMKIN

4/VIII.

Comrade Frumkin:

The whole thing now seems to hinge on the speedy collection of the tax in kind.

Perhaps we should, in addition to what has been done, undertake something on these lines:

1) reinforce military units (assign half the *trainees* in

Moscow Gubernia to this),* i.e., assign them to food supply work?

2) the same thing, especially in Moscow and neighbouring gubernias?

3) *feed these units* (and food detachments, which I think now have some different name: "militia promoting the collection of the tax in kind" or something like that?) *at the expense of the local peasants at two pounds a day? or three pounds a day?*

You don't want this, comrades peasants, do you? Let's have the *grain tax* fast. As soon as you deliver 50-75 per cent, we shall *start* pulling them out!

4) pass a resolution (or perhaps, instead of a "resolution", *stage* an experiment and set up a *model* in Moscow Gubernia);

mete out instant, exemplary and highly severe punishment to 10 of the *richest* peasants per volost *for any delay*, however slight, over the tax in kind or for *slack* delivery of the tax in kind;

— — — ditto—mete out *exemplary* punishment to one volost per uyezd, or two-three per gubernia, for *slack* deliveries of the tax in kind?

5) issue a **bonus** for 100 per cent collection of tax (grain) within two or three weeks. Bonus in what form? In *gold or silver things*. We can get them at *the State Depository of Valuables*.

6) make an effort to mobilise for the collection of the tax in kind in *Moscow* Gubernia another 2 or 3 hundred of the most responsible Party members, if only for *raids* (check-ups, pressure) twice a week?

With communist greetings,

Lenin

P.S. I am writing you and not Bryukhanov in the hope that he has already gone on holiday. If he has not, of course, read this out to him as well.

Written on August 4, 1921

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

* The words in brackets were added by Lenin in the margin.—*Ed.*

297
TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV

Smolyaninov

In view of the detailed and formal protest lodged by Comrade Chicherin against the dispatch of the enclosed telegram[265] please call an additional conference consisting of Comrade Martens, a representative of the People's Commissariat for Labour who is informed on the question, and a representative of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, also informed on the question. A total of four persons, including yourself.

Please have the conference discuss Chicherin's objections and pay special attention to the demand stated in the telegram that enough food should be brought along for two years.

I think that if we were to add a few words about the fight against hardship and privation in Russia and the uselessness of sending over people who are unable to bear them, the telegram would be only to the good. Please send me a very short resolution in writing not later than tomorrow night.

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on August 4, 1921

First published in 1959
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298
TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

Comrade Molotov

I have received from Chicherin the draft theses relating to the policy in Bukhara which has been agreed with the Turkestan Commission and our representative in Bukhara.[266]

I vote for approving these theses immediately, polling all the members of the Politbureau by phone.

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on August 4, 1921

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in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

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a typewritten copy

299

RADIO MESSAGE TO ALL GUBERNIA AND UYEZD ECONOMIC CONFERENCES

To All Gubernia and Uyezd Economic Conferences

Tsentropechat* is sending to the localities No. 44 of the Collection of Statutes, containing the C.L.D. Order. The Order is first of all intended for gubernia, uyezd, district and volost economic conferences. I insist most strongly that you should make a special and strict check-up to see that the C.L.D. Order is received by the volost and district economic conferences; and wherever such do not exist, by the volost executive committees. It shall be the personal responsibility of the chairmen and the secretaries of gubernia economic conferences and uyezd economic conferences to see that the volost executive committees receive the Order. I emphasise the absolute necessity of taking the C.L.D. Order all the way down to the volost and the village, to give the broad masses of peasants an opportunity to learn of the latest All-Russia C.E.C. resolution. The gubernia economic conferences are ordered to take steps to dispatch telegrams to the uyezd economic conferences, and the gubernia and uyezd Tsentropechat branches.

Lenin
Chairman, C.L.D.

Written in August,
not before the 4th, 1921

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from
a typewritten text

* Central Press Distribution Agency.—*Ed.*

300
TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO L. B. KRASIN

Comrade Krasin

I have received a copy of your letter to Dzerzhinsky concerning shipbuilding. I agree with you that we should not now build seagoing steamships. I believe that military considerations indicate the same thing. It is undoubtedly necessary to intensify the construction of tankers for the oil fleet, especially in the Caspian Sea and on the Volga. I ask you to:

1) request an official Gosplan opinion on this matter;

2) ratify a precise decision at an official conference of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade and the People's Commissariat for Railways, and, if there is any other department concerned, include it as well.

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on August 5, 1921

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

301
TO A. I. POTYAEV

Comrade *Potyaev*

I have been heaping curses on your head for your whining and unbusiness-like attitude. Concerning Meisner, you should have made a formal and written inquiry of Bryukhanov and, given his disagreement, introduced (a copy of his reply) in the C.L.D.

There is no point in dragging it out: this is what helps to spread gossip to which you succumb. You must make use of your rights and stop whimpering. I expect you to let me have your official telephone message about Meisner tomorrow.

Concerning the Party request, table it officially in the Orgbureau, as soon as possible. This has nothing to do with me. You can lodge an appeal in the Politbureau.

I have not yet read the "plan". Set out for me on two pages the differences between N. M. Knipovich and Meisner.[267]

With communist greetings,

Lenin

5-VIII-21

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

302

TELEGRAM TO N. M. KNIPOVICH

Secret

Nikolai Mikhailovich *Knipovich*
(8 Bolshoi Kozikhinsky)

I regret very much that because of my illness I was unable to talk with you when you came to see Nadezhda Konstantinovna. Will you let me have in a few short words: 1) your assessment of Meisner a) from the standpoint of honesty, b) from the political standpoint, c) business qualifications, d) executive capacity and 2) your differences with Glavryba. 3) Your proposals, if you have any, concerning decentralisation in the fishing industry and its organisation in Murmansk.

Regards,

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on August 5, 1921

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

303

TO N. P. GORBUNOV

You have handled this matter in a very poor way, ignoring the formal side, and displaying a slack, non-military approach.[268]

Henceforth I shall have to take a *more formal* attitude towards you.

Written on August 5, 1921

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from the original

304
TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV AND C.L.D. MEMBERS[269]

Urgent

Comrade *Smolyaninov*

Please read my letter on the back of this and get it through the *C.L.D.* (with a Gosplan opinion) with the **utmost** speed, in two to four days.

5/8.

Lenin

N.B.:

To get it through fast do the following:

1) Make 2-3 copies. Send one right away to Krzhizhanovsky, asking him for an opinion *by Tuesday*;

2) Circulate to *C.L.D.* members at once, and see to it that they read it fast, making their remarks on their copies right away;

3) Ask the *C.L.D.* members by telephone whether they agree to hand in the preliminary project to a commission—Krasin + Avanesov + Bogdanov (or someone specially authorised by him).

Lenin

I consider the plan correct and subject to *immediate* approval. Perhaps it may be desirable to have some further specifications and additions, such as:

1) let them have the circulating capital *in gold*, but only from our *export earnings* for 1921, *charging* the group in question to expedite the realisation of this export;

2) specify *with greater precision* the "leased" area for the given group, taking mostly, or even exclusively, the very far north (this is more convenient for us, because it will spare us the need to send food over there; it is more convenient politically, because the preferential terms for the workers—up to 50 kopeks *in gold!!*—will cause less envy and fewer collisions among the other workers);

3) give *more precise* definitions of the group's *obligations*: fulfil no less than a given programme (both in production and in *export* in 1922 and especially 1923);

4) bind the "group" to try to abide by the interests of

electrification (buy more foreign equipment for the electric-power stations, make use of saw-dust, etc.)—the interests of Russia's fuel supply (fuel branch-lines; increased supplies of fuel and firewood to Moscow, **etc.**);

5) let the group have what it asks in the sphere of financial and material independence.

5/VIII. 1921. *Lenin*

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

305

DIRECT-LINE TALK WITH M. K. VLADIMIROV ON AUGUST 6, 1921

(Moscow-Kharkov)

Vladimirov: We have established high rates in the Ukraine on the west bank of the Dnieper. This entails heavy risks. We are taking the following measures: to involve the volost economic conferences in the work of discussing a number of questions of interest to the countryside, but we are simultaneously faced with the question of salt, considering its present shortage. The question comes to this: are we to give salt regardless of the payment of tax (this is official), actually, however, giving it first of all to those volosts which have successfully started to collect the tax; let me add that I think it right to sell for ready cash even now. Let me have your opinion.

Lenin: *First*: I advise the sale of salt only for grain, and not for cash in any case.

Second: Sell salt only to those volosts, villages or individual farmers who have paid in at least a quarter or half the tax.

Third: I think that the successful collection of tax requires military units to help it, with these military units receiving larger rations at the expense of the local peasants, until the tax has been paid.

Fourth: Let me know what the food situation is in the Donbas, how well it is supplied, and for how long.

Vladimirov: On the first two questions I maintain the same stand.

Concerning military force, please have a talk with Frunze, who has gone to Moscow.

As for the Donbas, we have four routes for it. We are taking steps to get some locomotives. I believe we shall be able to start regular supplies not later than the 12th.

Lenin: Maintaining the first stand is not enough. You must have a formal C.C. decision. If you cannot obtain it from your C.C. you must get it through the C.C. here. The same applies to the rules of using armed force.

Concerning the Donbas, let me have the briefest and most precise reports twice a week about the quantity of foodstuffs in hand.

Vladimirov: I think this matter can be best decided with Rakovsky and Frunze, who have gone to Moscow. My opinion is on record.

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from
a typewritten text

306
TO M. P. TOMSKY[270]

7/VIII.

Comrade Tomsky:

Thank you very much for the letter which is very clear.

Of course, you are right that we in Moscow *must* have "9 million sheep".[271] They must be obtained at all costs! Send us at the *C.L.D.* a calendar programme of their receipt *at once*.

The same about grain.

We are sending Comrade Joffe in an attempt to settle your differences with Comrade Safarov.

I believe the two tendencies *can* and *must* be combined:

1) the *first* priority is grain and meat for Moscow;

2) (for this) a number of concessions and bonuses to the "merchants ";

3) no question about the *new economic policy* (10th Congress, Conference of May 1921, etc.);

4) Moslem *poor peasants' committees* indispensable, and

5) the *Moslem poor* should be treated with care and prudence, with a number of concessions.

It is possible and necessary to combine and *consolidate* the line of wisdom and prudence, maintaining the interests of our "world policy" *throughout* the East.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

P.S. The C.C. will probably agree to your request concerning the half-year. We shall have a talk with Rudzutak.

Written on August 7, 1921
Sent to Tashkent
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

307

TO THE NARROW COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS[272]

1

Our houses are *terribly* fouled up. The law is not worth a damn. There must be a tenfold *more precise* **and fuller** indication of the persons *responsible* (not one, but many, one after another), and *remorseless* incarceration.

Written between August 8 and 11, 1921
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the original

2

I do not agree without these additions:
1) apart from the manager, the responsibility shall also fall on his "deputy".
There must be a deputy;
2) apart from them, the responsibility shall also fall on a *control commission* consisting of tenants. There must be such a commission. At least three persons, who should *always be available*, or *their deputies*.
3) All these persons shall be subject both to legal and to *administrative* responsibility.

11/VIII.

Lenin

Written on August 11, 1921
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the original

3

That is not enough.

This must also be added:

1) responsibility of the tenants for failure to elect a manager and his "deputy";

2) ditto, for failure to elect a control commission;

3) it shall be the duty of the manager and his deputy and the control commission to see that a responsible person (either the manager himself or his deputy or a member of the control commission) is on duty *daily*

apart from specially employed persons (yard-keeper, etc.) **where** such *are employed*;

4) responsibility of tenants in houses of less than 10 flats.

How is the tenants' responsibility to be established? This must be considered, and a way found.

19/VIII.

Lenin

Written on August 19, 1921
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

308
TO G. I. BOKII

9.VIII.1921

Comrade Bokii:

In your letter about *Shelekhes* (Yakov Savelyevich) you say: "many are putting in a word for him", *including* Lenin, and you request "permission to ignore all petitions and pressures on the Gokhran case".[273]

This is something I cannot allow.

The *inquiry* I sent in is *neither* "intercession", nor "pressure", nor even "petition".

It is my duty to inquire, once *doubt* about the correctness of the proceedings has been brought up with me.

It is your duty to give me a reply *in substance*: "the reasons or the evidence are serious, they are *such-and-such*,

I *object* to his release, to any *mitigation*" and so on and so forth.

Those are the lines, *in substance*, on which you must reply to me.

You are free to *reject* any petitions and "intercessions"; "pressure" is an **unlawful** act. But, I repeat, it is a *mistake* on your part to have confused an *inquiry* from the Chairman of the C.P.C., and a petition, intercession or pressure.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

309
TO MAXIM GORKY

9/VIII.1921

Alexei Maximovich:

I have sent your letter on to L. B. Kamenev.[274]

I am so tired that I am unable to do a thing.

Just think, you have been spitting blood, but refuse to go!! This is truly most shameless and unreasonable on your part.

In a *good* sanatorium in Europe, you will receive treatment, *and also do three times as much useful work.*

Really and truly.

Over here you have neither treatment, nor work—nothing but *hustle*. **Plain empty** *hustle*.

Go away and recover. I beg you not to be stubborn.

Yours,
Lenin

First published in 1924
in the magazine
Russky Sovremennik No. 1

Printed from the original

310

TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

11/VIII.

Comrade Molotov:

It is absolutely necessary to appoint a special commission from the Politbureau:

Kamenev

Trotsky

Molotov (with the right of his substitution by Chicherin) for the day-to-day *handling* of matters connected with aid to the starving from America and the League of Nations.

This game is an extremely intricate one. There is rank duplicity on the part of America, Hoover and the League of Nations Council.

Hoover must be punished, he must be *slapped in the face publicly*, for *all the world* to see, and the League of Nations Council as well.

This is *very hard* to do, but it *must* be done.

I can't work. There is absolute need of help from Trotsky, who has a capacity for these things (both diplomatic experience and a military and political instinct).

Please have a vote taken in the Politbureau **at once** by telephone.

Show this note to *everyone* and get their votes.

Lenin

The German and Norwegian governments could be taken as models.

Any other approach should be rejected with a motivation which is clear to all, and this should be *loudly* proclaimed to the whole world.

The disguised interventionists must be *caught* (have Unschlicht help out).

The Kompomoshch* apparatus must be tightened up (if there is a shortage of men, *borrow* some from the *military* for two months).

---

* A reference to the Central Famine Relief Commission under the All-Russia Central Executive Committee.—*Ed.*

Collegial work is of especial importance in the next few days, because the political responsibility for this *very difficult* matter is *enormous*.

Lenin

P.S. Our moves must be subtle. A number of especially strict measures. Hoover and Brown are liars and brazen-faced fellows.

The conditions must be of *the strictest:* arrest and deportation for the slightest interference in our internal affairs.

Written on August 11, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53
Printed from the original

311
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Zinoviev, copy to Radek

Can you send me a selection of the smallest possible number of the most important documents and articles relating to the latest events in the French party, connected with the party's attitude to the revolutionary syndicalists.

The same about the events in Rome, when workers of all parties rallied round the Communists in a demonstration against the fascists last July.

Lenin

11/VIII.

Written on August 11, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from a typewritten copy

312
TO P. A. BOGDANOV

Bogdanov, copy to Smolyaninov

I consider it necessary that all lease-holders, without exception (private persons, societies, Soviet establishments,

etc., etc.), should be subject to the law on accountability relative to the C.L.D. Order and the general rules of accountability. Please see whether there are any precise instructions about this, and, if not, please carry it through the C.L.D. at once.

Lenin

Written on August 11, 1921
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

313
TO TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO P. A. BOGDANOV

Bogdanov, copy to Kursky's Deputy

I have great doubts about S.K.F. (Swedish Ball-Bearing Company). Has there been an adequate statement of the legal side of the matter, i.e., has our interest been maintained?

This interest requires that we should not allow the slightest relaxation of the principle that we are the owners of all the nationalised enterprises and warehouses. These enterprises and warehouses could pass into the hands of their former owners only through their formally buying these warehouses from us. We may sometimes make a concession by letting them have these enterprises and warehouses at a low price, but we can never waive our right in the property.

Please have this matter verified with especial care from the said angle. It is my special request that the verification should be carried out at the People's Commissariat for Justice, where Kursky himself was informed of and handled the matter, and it is necessary either to look for Kursky or find someone at the People's Commissariat for Justice who is at least as knowledgeable as Kursky.

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on August 11, 1921
First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

314

TO V. M. MOLOTOV[275]

Comrade Molotov

I am *against*.

The audit game should not be played that hard; Lutovinov is engaged only in auditing. Shlyapnikov will not do.

11/VIII.

Lenin

Written on August 11, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53
Printed from the original

315

TELEGRAM TO THE PERM GUBERNIA COMMITTEE OF THE R.C.P.(B.)*

Gubernia Committee of the R.C.P., **Perm**

Please have both articles by Myasnikov and my reply letter to him read out at a sitting of the Gubernia Committee.[276] Do the same at a sitting of the Motovilikha District Committee. Ask Myasnikov to make two copies of my reply letter, one for me and the other for the Gubernia Committee.

Lenin

Written on August 12, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

316

TO G. V. CHICHERIN AND L. B. KAMENEV

In view of the fact that the low-down American hucksters are trying to create the impression that we could be expected to cheat,

---

*A note on the original in Lenin's hand says: Sent by phone on 12/VIII."—*Ed.*

I propose that we should immediately telegraph them officially, on behalf of the government, over the signatures of Kamenev and Chicherin (and if necessary Kalinin's and mine as well),

the following:

we shall deposit with a New York bank an amount in gold constituting 120 per cent of what they will supply in the course of a month for one million starving children and sick persons. But in that case, considering such a complete material guarantee, we stipulate that the Americans must absolutely refrain not only from political but also from administrative interference, and must make no claims whatsoever. This means that in that case all the terms of the treaty giving them the least right to interfere even if only administratively shall be void. On-the-spot check-ups are to be made by parity commissions (representing our government and them).[277]

This proposal will show the hucksters just where they stand, and subsequently disgrace them in the eyes of the whole world.

We should not forget that we have never had rationing of any kind in the countryside. If we are to make no mistake on this score, I suggest we invite someone from the People's Commissariat for Food to discuss the matter.

13/VIII-21

Lenin

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original
verified with a typewritten
copy

317
TO THEODORE ROTHSTEIN

13/VIII.

Dear Comrade Rothstein:

I received your letter of 17/VII only yesterday.

I seem to be in full agreement with your circumspect policy in Persia. I have not heard the "other side", but I do not think that your main considerations could be refuted.

Why don't you write a work on Persia, to give us all a

chance to make a study of such an interesting subject, which is so obscure for all of us?

It is extremely important to elaborate a *line* of work in the East.

I write no more, as you will know the news from the newspapers, I am now on holiday: I have overworked and am taking a cure.

I hope that Belgov has already reached you.

With him I wrote you about Alexander Alexandrovich and Varvara Alexandrovna Armand, who went with him, and about whom I am very anxious. I hope that they will prove to be useful in Persia, and that you will be able to devote some little time to them.

My best regards and wishes.

Lenin

Written on August 13, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from the original

318

TO A. S. KISELYOV[278]

Chairman of the Narrow C.P.C.

I wonder if there isn't some reduction in the penalty? This should be put before the *Full* C.P.C. and checked. The penalties may only be **increased.**

13/VIII. *Lenin*

Written on August 13, 1921

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

319

TO A. M. LEZHAVA

Lezhava

Why is the exchange of Norwegian fish for Russian products at a standstill?[279]

14/8. *Lenin*

Written on August 13, 1921

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

320
TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY

16/VIII.

G. M.:

Please return all this with your opinion in a couple of words.

I find Vashkov's reply unsatisfactory.[280]

Perhaps we should send a telegram from the *C.L.D.*:

to all *gubernia executive committees* for their electrical departments, etc.

Do not fail at once to appoint two or three responsible persons for submitting to the Electrotechnical Congress in X. 1921 full statistics on electric-power stations with data on the time of their establishment, number of kilowatts, fuel, consumption, arrangement of lectures or readings at the stations, etc.

Lenin
Chairman, C.L.D.

I think we should send this, shouldn't we?*

Yours,
Lenin

Written on August 16, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from the original

321
TO THE EDITORIAL BOARDS OF *IZVESTIA*, *PRAVDA* AND TO V. N. IPATIEV

The Editorial Boards of *Izvestia* and *Pravda*
and Comrade Ipatiev

The newspapers *Izvestia* and *Pravda* carried an item a few days ago about the unused resources of Kara-Bugaz.[281] May I ask you to tell the author or to let him know through

* See Document 327 of this volume.—*Ed.*

the newspaper, that it is very important for me to have detailed information both about how well the author is technically prepared for this matter, and about how long he had studied the question on the spot.

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on August 17, 1921
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

322

TO M. I. FRUMKIN, V. A. AVANESOV AND J. V. STALIN

Comrades Frumkin, Avanesov and Stalin

I have read your draft decree on salt. I am surprised by the great number of points which, in my opinion, are already to be found in the legislation in force, which are an unnecessary repetition, and which do not come within the competence of the C.L.D. Unless I am mistaken, the only new and practically useful point is the prohibition of bonuses in salt. I think the draft needs to be carefully collated with the laws of the People's Commissariat for Justice which are in force, and rewritten. I would advise that the prohibition to issue bonuses in salt should be passed through the C.L.D. as a separate decision right away.[282] What in my opinion is the main thing is not to be found in the draft at all, namely, a number of immediate practical measures for the stricter guarding of salt in the hands of the state, and for a maximum reduction of all manner of issues of salt to industrial and office workers, urban residents and all the population in general. This last measure must be put through, at least for the current autumn and the early winter, in the harshest proportions, as otherwise we shall not get any grain from the peasants in exchange for salt.

Lenin

Written on August 17, 1921
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

323

TELEGRAM TO P. L. LAPINSKY

Lapinsky, Berlin

Report what has been done under the assignment you have undertaken to publish an atlas and to study imperialism for this atlas. Give the exact date on which you intend to send us the plan of your work and the deadline for its execution.

Lenin

Written on August 17, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from a typewritten copy

324

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO SECRETARY

Please find out whether it is possible to obtain the full German translation of Šmeral's paper at the Congress of the Czechoslovak party in the spring of 1921. I gave this translation to Comrade Axelrod during the congress. It turned out that the first part of the paper, up to the paragraph on moral crisis, is not there. This translation had been given to me by Comrade Krejbich. Please find out whether the missing part of the translation can be found.[283]

Has my pamphlet on the tax in kind been published in any foreign language in Russia or abroad? If it has, please let me have one copy of each.

Lenin

Dictated by phone on August 17, 1921
First published in 1958 in the magazine *World Marxist Review* No. 2

Printed from the text in Maria Glyasser's hand

325

TELEGRAM TO M. K. VLADIMIROV

Vladimirov, Ukrainian People's Commissariat for Food
Copy to Special Food Committee,
Central Ukrainian Health Resort Administration,
Simferopol

Simferopol reports extremely grave food condition of patients at the Crimean health resort, especially with respect

to bread. Ukraine alone can help out. Try most urgently to send the CUHRA, Simferopol, ten carloads of grain, part of it in flour, and two carloads of fodder. Inform Bryukhanov and me about the measures taken.

Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on August 17, 1921
Sent to Kharkov
First published in 1960
in the magazine
Voprosy Istorii KPSS No. 2

Printed from
a typewritten text

326
TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV

Bryukhanov (enclosed with a copy of telegram to Vladimirov)

The number of patients in the Crimea must be limited to accord with the fully available food supply. The medical authorities seem to ignore this, but the People's Commissariat for Food should strictly and unconditionally cut down their number.

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on August 17, 1921
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the text
taken down by Lydia Fotieva

327
TELEGRAM TO GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES FOR THEIR ELECTRICAL DEPARTMENTS

To All Gubernia Executive Committees
for Their Electrical Departments

I hereby propose that all persons delegated to the forthcoming Electrotechnical. Congress in October shall be in duty bound to submit to it statistical information on the date of establishment of electric-power stations, the kw installed, annual supply of kwh, consumption of fuel, reasons for interruption of courses organised at power stations, number of lectures on electrification given by personnel.. The responsibility for urgent fulfilment and full collection

of information concerning each power station, without exception, is to be immediately placed personally on each delegate or on persons specially appointed by the Gubernia Executive Committee.

Lenin
Chairman, C.L.D.

Dictated by phone
on August 18, 1921

First published in 1924
in the magazine
Elektrifikatsiya No. 4

Printed from the text written
by G. M. Krzhizhanovsky
and Lydia Fotieva

328
TO P. I. POPOV

Comrade Popov:

I am afraid I cannot accept your resignation.

As you are, of course, aware, you are entitled to appeal against my instructions, but your appeal does not suspend the necessity of performance. Please let me have a short list of what you are doing in accordance with my instructions, specifying the dates (roughly, of course, from—to).

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

P.S. Certainly, you can and must take sick leave to recover. But in that case write separately to me or, if you want to expedite matters, to Fotieva, and she will read it out to me over the telephone (about the leave and a "deputy"). There must be a formal appointment of a *temporary* "deputy".

P.P.S. Let me add that your letter is much too polemical. I do not object to polemics, but it should be brought out specially. You have been arguing against something that I have never said or thought. Your argument implies that I deny the usefulness of what has been done, etc. But I have never said or thought so.

Please inform me of what you are undertaking in accordance with the points of my letters of June 4* and August

* The letter has not been found.—*Ed.*

16* (for instance: "brief monthly reports on industry will be delivered from *such-and-such* a date", on the *distribution* of foodstuffs on *such* a date, etc.).

Written on August 20, 1921
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

329
TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY

Comrade Krzhizhanovsky

I draw your special attention to the question of Leslie Urquhart's concession (Kyshtym works and other numerous copper mines).

Krasin and Bogdanov, together with you, must study the terms of the concession and draft an agreement. It is of exceptional importance for us to arrange things in such a way that the concessionaire, who wants to take over nearly all the copper mines in Russia, should, first, guarantee our royalties and our early receipt of them, and, second, that we should have the possibility of obtaining from the concessionaire the necessary equipment to develop the operation of our own mines. After you have studied the matter, please inform me to what extent you believe the one and the other condition are guaranteed, and what is in general the importance of the proposed concession from the standpoint of developing Russia's supply and her electrification in particular.

Lenin

Written on August 22, 1921
First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

330
TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY

G. M.:

Please *return* this to me after reading.[284]

I may be partly to blame, having caused this bout of hysterics by excessive strictness.

---

* See present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 30-32.—*Ed.*

But I am-essentially right and will continue to insist, and have *not* accepted his resignation.

What do you think: perhaps we should pass all these measures *through the State Planning Commission* and *specially* confirm them in the *C.L.D.*?

(Read my letter to Popov of 4.VI. 1921: there is a list of 8 points.)

Note in particular: analysis of food distribution; fuel, its saving, etc.

A precise plan for the work of the **Central Statistical Board** and the *State Planning Commission*.

What is your opinion?

Lenin

22/VIII.

P.S. Phone me when you have read this. We shall have *precisely* to agree on all this. Circumstantially and precisely.

Lenin

P.P.S. Don't show Popov's letter to anyone.

Written on August 22, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from the original

331
TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Comrade Zinoviev

1. Is it possible to find and send me my preface to the German edition of my book on imperialism?* I sent the preface to Petrograd a year ago. It seems to have been lost somewhere.

2. I am very anxious about whether our slogan of collecting donations in aid of Russia only directly to our address, i.e., not through the governments, has been brought out quite clearly and prominently in the foreign work-

* See present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 185-304.—*Ed.*

ers' press in general, and in the communist press in particular.

We signed an agreement with the American Secretary of Commerce, Hoover, in Riga on Saturday (do not publish anything about this yet) and Harding has been calling on the American people to send in all donations through Hoover.

It would be extremely important for the Comintern to put forward a definite slogan, without coming out against the American Government for the time being, saying that the workers should send in their donations only directly to the address of Soviet Russia's representatives abroad.

For any donations sent through the bourgeois governments necessarily carry for us, directly or indirectly, to a greater or lesser extent, some sort of strings, whereas the workers will undoubtedly agree to send their donations to us without any strings, and this is a distinction of tremendous importance for us.

Is it possible to check whether the Comintern and the trade union press sympathising with us have accepted the need to send in donations to the Soviet Government's address without any strings, and to start a broad campaign to have all workers set aside a day's earnings in aid of the famine-stricken in Russia?

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on August 22, 1921

Printed for the first time
from a typewritten copy

332

LETTER TO I. T. SMILGA AND ASSIGNMENT TO SECRETARY

Very urgent
22.VIII.21.

Comrade Smilga:

I think that one of the gross mistakes in the Donbas, i.e., in all the effort to rehabilitate the Donbas, is that there is no proper co-ordination of local work—industrial, agricultural and commercial.

There seems to have been some friction, on the one hand, between Pyatakov and Rukhimovich, and on the other, between Pyatakov and the local trade unions.

I consider it extremely important for you not to confine yourself to purely industrial matters, relating only to the coal-mining industry, but to devote attention to the need to eliminate the above-mentioned friction.

It is necessary, at all costs, to get the gubernia economic conference of Donets Gubernia working intensively and harmoniously.

Special measures should be taken to have Pyatakov and all his apparatus direct their efforts to raise local agriculture and carry on trade with the peasants, and with foreign countries via Taganrog. In particular, attention should be given to measures to boost local agriculture by introducing irrigation through the use of the Donets River sluice-gates. This plan, which promises to be highly practicable, has been put forward at Gosplan.

In general, it is quite wrong for the coal-mining industry administration to *regard itself as being unconnected* with agriculture in Donets Gubernia.

I am sure that if the forces of the labour army, which are available in Donets Gubernia, as well as the forces of local miners and the coal-mining industry administration, were to be thrown into the joint endeavour with the workers of Donets Gubernia, it would be possible to secure not only the earliest collection of the tax in kind, but also to acquire undoubtedly large quantities of foodstuffs through a correctly organised commodity exchange, both an exchange of goods for salt, and of grain for coal.

I'll be expecting you to send me, first, a telegram containing a short notification that you have received this letter and that you will do your utmost in this direction, and, second, a detailed communication on the constitution and work of the gubernia economic conference of Donets Gubernia after your arrival.

Concerning the coal-cutting machines about which Pyatakov wrote, I have a precise and detailed report from specialists saying that even the coal-cutting machines already available in the Donbas cannot be put to use for a number of reasons, and that it is quite impractical to buy new

coal-cutting machines, because these machines will be doomed to lie idle.

Please make a circumstantial study of this question with the help of real specialists who have a thoroughly good knowledge of the business.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Send this letter to the Gubernia Executive Committee at Bakhmut, for C.L.D. representative Smilga who is due to be at Bakhmut from August 27 to September 5, 1921. Send it through the War Department with an especially fast courier and obtain a personal signature for it. If Smilga is not yet at Bakhmut, deliver it through the Gubernia Executive Committee.

Phone Stalin to find out whether he will be sending a letter to Rukhimovich. Let Stalin read a copy of this letter, and if there is a letter to Rukhimovich from him, send it along with this one *not later than tomorrow*.

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

333

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY AND ASSIGNMENT TO SECRETARY

Very urgent

Comrade Krzhizhanovsky,
Gosplan Presidium

I must have before Krasin's departure the shortest pos-. sible outline of all works being carried on at Gosplan as regards economic operations required to boost agriculture in the famine-stricken gubernias.

Please order this outline for me to have it ready within two or three days.

Please bear in mind that this should be confined to the briefest information, a few lines about each of the proposed works, with an estimate of their volume and cost.

Please let me know when I can have this report.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Send this urgently, and check up by phone when it is received by Krzhizhanovsky.

Dictated by phone
on August 23, 1921

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

334

TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

Comrade Molotov

I fully support the proposal made by Comrade Trotsky relating to the trip to the border area by the persons he named.[285] I believe that a number of circumstances really demand the adoption of the most vigorous measures in this sphere, which are inconceivable without a trip of this kind.

Please record my vote "for".

Lenin

Written on August 23, 1921

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from the original

335

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

23-VIII-21

Trotsky
Kamenev
Stalin
Molotov
Zinoviev

Concerning Zinoviev's proposal to reprove Steklov for his tactless article "On Leftism"[286]—I think this should not be done just now.

It seems to me that Solts's item in *Pravda* on this matter was sufficient. Steklov will undoubtedly draw the right conclusion from this item, so that the Politbureau's intervention just now would be premature.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from
a typewritten copy

336

NOTE ON N. N. YAKOVLEV'S LETTER AND MEMO TO I. S. UNSCHLICHT[287]

A professor of the geological institute. In 1890, Nadezhda Konstantinovna knew him personally as an honest and revolutionary-minded man. His son is a Communist.

Comrade Unschlicht:

Please order a check-up. It looks very much as though the scientists will have to be released.

Sapropel is an important thing for our economy.

23/VIII.

Lenin

Written on August 23, 1921

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from the original

337

NOTE TO LYDIA FOTIEVA AND LETTER TO MATYAS RAKOSI, K. B. RADEK, I. S. UNSCHLICHT AND B. I. REINSTEIN[288]

To Fotieva: Please ring up *Rakosi* (Secretary of the Communist International) and find out whether there is a written decision by the Executive Committee of the Communist

International. See yourself that this is done; if need be send copies of the following to *Rakosi*, *Radek*, *Unschlicht*, *Reinstein*, and to whomever else it may be necessary.

23/VIII.

Lenin

I have received *Adolphe* **S. Carm's** English letter ("Dresden", Room No. 37) bitterly complaining that he has been slandered over factional hostility by Heywood, who has informed on him as a spy. He says the commission (of the Comintern) has cleared him, but though he has been released from prison, he is not being allowed to leave Russia, his letters have been confiscated, etc., etc.

He says that he is known to Boris Reinstein, the Swede Kilbom, the Finnish Communist Allan Wallenius and many others.

He says he is a delegate from the Socialist *Labour* Party of the United States.

Lenin

Written on August 23, 1921

First published in part in 1958 in the book, V. I. Lenin. *O sotsialisticheskoi zakonnosti* (*1917-1922*) (V. I. Lenin, On Socialist Legality)

Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from the original

338

TO J. V. STALIN AND ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

Comrade Stalin:

Nansen's most brazen proposal (to appoint a Cadet from the Relief Committee),[289] the behaviour of these "Kukishi" and the enclosed telegram clearly reveal that we have made a mistake, or if we did not make one earlier, we are going to blunder badly unless we keep our eyes peeled.

You will recall that Rykov, shortly before he left, came and told me that someone called Runov, one of our men,

had informed him about a meeting at which Prokopovich had held forth against the government. The meeting had been arranged by Prokopovich, who had used the Famine Relief Committee as a screen.

What else is there to wait for now? Are we going to tolerate their obvious *preparations*?

This is absolutely inconceivable.

I propose: this very day, Friday, 26/8, "Kukishi" should be dissolved by a decision of the All-Russia C.E.C. —motive: their refusal to work and their resolution. *Appoint* one *man from the All-Russia Cheka* to take over the money and to supervise the liquidation.

Prokopovich should be arrested this very day on a charge of anti-government speech-making (at a meeting attended by Runov) and detained for about three months, while we make a *thorough* investigation of the meeting.

The other members of "Kukishi" should be expelled from Moscow at once, this very day, and settled singly in uyezd towns, preferably without railways, *under surveillance*.

Really and truly it would be a bad mistake to wait any longer. The whole thing will be done before Nansen leaves. Nansen will be faced with a clear "ultimatum". That will be an end to this playing (*with fire*).

Not later than tomorrow we shall publish five lines of a short dry "government communique" dissolved because of unwillingness to work.[290]

We shall issue an order to the newspapers: the same day, tomorrow, start ridiculing "Kukishi" in a hundred ways. These whiteguards and sons of the landed gentry wanted to take a trip abroad and refused to go and work in the localities. Kalinin has gone, but the Cadets find it "unbefitting". They should be ridiculed and harassed in every possible way at least once a week in the course of two months.

The sore tooth will be extracted right away, and with great benefit in every respect.

There must be no wavering. I suggest that we get this thing over and done with at the Politbureau today.

Foreigners will start arriving, and Moscow should be "cleared" of the "Kukishi", and their playing (with fire)

should be stopped. Show this to the members of the Politbureau.

26/8. *Lenin*

Written on August 26, 1921
Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

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339
TO BHUPENDRA NATH DATTA[291]

Dear Comrade Datta,

I have read your thesis. We should not discuss about the social classes. I think we should abide by my thesis on colonial question. Gather statistical facts about Peasant leagues if they exist in India.

Yours...

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

Written on August 26, 1921
First published in 1952 in the book Bhupendra Nath Datta, *Dialectics of Land-Economics of India*, Calcutta

Printed from the text of the book

340
TO THE NARROW C.P.C.[292]

Comrade Kiselyov or his Deputy
as Chairman of the Narrow C.P.C.

August 27, 1921

Comrade Kiselyov:

A number of statements indicate that the introduction of charges (for services, etc.) frequently creates an intolerable situation for the *workers*.

There is need to elect a commission:

1) two from the All-Russia Central T.U.C.

2) one representative each from the Petrograd and the Moscow Soviet of Deputies

3) two members of the C.P.C.

4) Chairman of the Narrow Council (Comrade Kiselyov) —to preside.

Assignment to the commission:

all-round preparation of the question (and relevant decrees) to the effect that the introduction of charges should be made conformable to the workers' wages and their condition in general (exemptions for workers, etc., or something of that kind, the dates and conditions on which charges are to be introduced, etc.).

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

P.S. All these questions should be passed *only* through the Full C.P.C.

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

341
*TO THE NARROW C.P.C.

27.VIII.1921

In forwarding the resolution of the Presidium of the Moscow Soviet of Deputies I request both the Chairman and all the members of the Narrow C.P.C., *especially Comrade Goikhbarg*, as a lawyer, to pay particular attention to the need for *more circumspect*, *thorough and considered drafting* of the text of decrees.

Corrections without end are intolerable.

I also have the impression that a number of recent Narrow Council decrees show signs of haste.

The most serious measures have to be taken against this disorder, so as to prevent even worse protests from the population and the raising in the C.C. of the matter *against* the Narrow Council.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

342

*TO THE ORGBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

29.VIII.1921

I request that Gosplan Chairman Comrade *Krzhizhanovsky* should be *put under an obligation*
to leave for *Riga* with Krasin, so as to spend *one month* there in a sanatorium or a private home, receiving treatment and taking a rest.

I strongly request that this should be done today, because I am convinced, in my capacity as Chairman of the Council of Labour and Defence, that the Gosplan Chairman is *very nearly worn out. It is necessary*, *urgently* necessary, *to have him repaired.*

Nothing can be done unless there is an Orgbureau decision.[293]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.L.D.

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

343

TELEGRAM TO V. N. KAYUROV[294]

Concerning the purging of the Party, I shall convey your considerations to the Central Commission for Purging the Party. My opinion is that the first serious experience in purging the Party will give us a number of practical indications which we shall subsequently use to draft the conditions of enrolment. When you have collected enough material, send me a letter with your considerations. Everything that you have reported about the conditions of economic work will be discussed by me in connection with all the material available over here. Your recall from Siberia is apparently to be put off until the work of purging the Party is over.

Lenin

Written on August 30, 1921
Sent to Novonikolayevsk

First published in 1924
in the magazine
Proletarskaya Revolutsia No. 3

Printed from
a typewritten text

344

TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

Comrade Molotov

I agree with Bryukhanov.

I propose a vote: suspend the work of the commission.[295] This is a game of commissions.

30/8.

Lenin

Written on August 30, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from the original

345

TO R. E. KLASSON

Engineer Robert Eduardovich Klasson
Gidrotorf, 11 Sadovniki

Copies: Smolyaninov, I. I. Radchenko, Krasin, and Gosplan Presidium

I have received and read your report of August 31. If the news you report that you have fully solved the problem of the industrial dehydration of peat is quite true, this is of tremendous importance. It is necessary at once to carry out a check-up or a technical expertise and then to settle the question of allocating to you the requested foodstuffs and foreign currency. You must let us know how much food and foreign currency you are requesting.

I am surprised at your communication that the powers conferred upon you by the C.P.C. had been withdrawn long ago, because no one could have done that.

Please arrange a conference with the participation of Comrade Radchenko, a representative of the State Planning Commission, Smolyaninov and Krasin.[296] Since Krasin is leaving on September 7, it is desirable to have things

finished before he goes. The assignment to the conference is to take measures to verify your report and to determine the amount of foodstuffs and foreign currency to be issued, together with the terms of issue.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

Written on August 31, 1921
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

346
TO V. V. ADORATSKY

Comrade Adoratsky:

I have sent Lavrentyeva's application[297] to Smolyaninov (who is acting for Gorbunov as the C.P.C. business manager) for *dispatch to the proper address*.

I am not supposed in any sense to interfere in this and similar other cases; and all the assistance you can give to applicants should consist in "*legal*" aid to them, i.e., *teaching* them (and helping them) *to fight for their rights* according to all the rules of the legitimate *fight for rights* in the R.S.F.S.R.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on August 31, 1921
First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

347
TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.[298]

I find Kissin's and Bryukhanov's arguments correct. I vote for them. You can't raise the question in the C.C. before introducing it in the C.P.C.

31/8

Lenin

Written on August 31, 1921
Published in full in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

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348

NOTE TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV AND TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO P. A. BOGDANOV

Comrade Smolyaninov:

Please send *P. Bogdanov* (*S.E.C.* Chairman) in *Kharkov* the following telephone message:

S.E.C. Chairman Bogdanov
Kharkov
Copy to *Chubar*

In *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*, Kaktyn has described monstrous cases of stealing and ugly mismanagement in the Krivoi Rog basin. Give your attention to this and try to establish more precisely who is personally responsible.

Lenin
Chairman, C.L.D.

1/IX.

Written on September 1, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

349

NOTE TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV[299]

Comrade Smolyaninov:

This question has to be prepared for introduction in the *C.L.D.* (who is Bogdanov's *deputy*? Sapronov? This should be agreed with him).

It is not clear whether *only* the best mills have been brought out. Has the *number* of mills been properly reduced?

Or perhaps the "requirement" is earmarked for a *heap* of sickly and hopeless mills?

This and other questions should *be clarified with greater precision*.

1/IX. *Lenin*

Written on September 1, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

350
TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV[300]

Comrade Smolyaninov:

There is need: (1) to find out whether the Georgian comrades have abided by the condition (there has been one, hasn't there? a Party one?) not to sign any concessions without our consent?

(2) To study whether the terms of this contract (in particular, who is the super-arbiter?) are in substance advantageous. To do this, appoint 1 to 3 experts through the C.C., and instruct them to submit an opinion in writing.

Do the one and the other (through the C.C.).

Lenin

1/IX.

Written on September 1, 1921
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the original

351
NOTE TO A. S. YENUKIDZE AND LETTER TO PERSIAN ARTISANS[301]

Comrade Yenukidze:

I am sending you the requested confirmation. Perhaps you know to whom and how it can be forwarded.

1/IX. *Lenin*

Dear Comrades:

I confirm the receipt of the gift from the Persian artisans and send them my heart-felt gratitude and best regards.

1/IX.1921. *Lenin*

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from the original

352
TO G. V. CHICHERIN[302]

This Skobelev should be "**cut down to size**". Noulens's appointment is a piece of impudence.

1/IX. *Lenin*

Written on September 1, 1921
First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

353
MARKINGS ON G. O. GRAFTIO'S LETTER AND ASSIGNMENTS TO N. P. GORBUNOV

... If you have the time, you will find out (from the statement.—*Ed.*) about the incredible conditions of the bureaucratic irresponsible confusion, and frequently of what looks like deliberate resistance, in which we have to carry on the building of the Volkhov hydroelectric power installation, inaugurated by you through Comrade Smidovich three years ago. NB

... It pains me very much to waste your valuable time, but I have decided to do so only because of my strong conviction that the Volkhov installation must be completed as soon as possible at all costs. NB

Urgent

Comrade *Gorbunov*:

Will you undertake this business (or pass it to Smolyaninov by agreement with him).

The statement and report by the chief engineer of the Volkhov site, Comrade Graftio (of 25/8), expose both *crime* (red tape) and a number of mistakes by the S.E.C. or the Petrograd Soviet of Deputies, or the *C.L.D.*, or all these establishments together.

Therefore I suggest that you:

(1) at once instruct the People's Commissariat for Justice, on my behalf, to investigate the red tape and to bring *the guilty to trial*. Introduce at the *C.L.D.* within a week.

(2) Call a conference (S.E.C.+Petrograd Soviet+State Planning Commission inviting other departments concerned) to work out, within a week, a draft *C.L.D.* decision on measures to accelerate the works and arrange them properly[303] (perhaps, on the model of the flax trust, giving Graftio more powers?).

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

Inform me of execution.

Lenin

2/IX.

Written on September 2, 1921
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

354

REMARKS ON N. N. KRESTINSKY'S REPORT AND ASSIGNMENTS TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars

... In fulfilling the duties assigned to the central and local financial organs, they have recently been coming up against exceptionally unfavourable obstacles, chiefly the fact that the executive organs of the Soviet power have completely forgotten the injunctions of the Constitution on the drawing up of estimates and the making of expenditures in accordance with them, which is having an extremely harmful effect on the general state of the budget, and is the cause of exceptional upheavals in the system of monetary circulation.

NB

To illustrate this, one need merely point out the following circumstances: 1) in some districts, wages are issued to workers not in accordance with the tariff rates, but at free market prices, sometimes amounting to as much as 700,000 rubles per man a day (Privolzhsk district, and the western and eastern gubernias); 2) actors and workers of Soviet theatres are remunerated not according to tariff salaries, but with additions, coming to many hundreds of per cent over and above the latter (besides, under the estimates of the People's Commissariat for Education the cost of

maintenance of the theatres comes to 29,000 million, and of institutions of higher education, to 17,000 million); 3) it has become commonplace, and very much the rule for Soviet institutions and enterprises to purchase the things they need on the free market and, naturally, at its prices....

outrageous!!

A proximate confirmation of the irregularity of demands for bank-notes from treasure institutions is provided by the practice, which has been adopted by Soviet establishments even in Moscow, under which the organs of the Moscow Soviet strive to have the Moscow Finance Department hold for them bank-notes to the amount of 3,000 million rubles a day, i.e., 75,000 million a month, whereas, according to the data of the budget department and the Central Treasury of the People's Commissariat for Finance, the Moscow Finance Department has up to now been granted credits of only 188,000 million rubles, i.e., an average of not more than 27,000-30,000 million rubles a month....

How did they manage to "adopt" it without the P.C.F.?

Comrade **Gorbunov:**

Please send the following paper on my behalf: *People's Commissariat for Finance*+*People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection*+Chairman of the *Narrow C.P.C.*

I authorise the People's Commissars for Finance and Workers' and Peasants' Inspection (or their deputies) to call a conference right away with the participation of the Chairman of the *Narrow C.P.C.*, and the C.P.C. Business Manager Gorbunov to work out and put before the *C.P.C.* within a week draft decisions to combat the afore-mentioned breaches of the law. I draw the attention of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection to this oversight.

How has it been possible to tolerate the outrageous practices described in this paper? In particular, the overrun spending by the People's Commissariat for Education on the theatres?

Lenin
Chairman, C.P.C.

2/IX.

Comrade **Gorbunov:**

Please see to it that this is done within a specified period. You may send Smolyaninov instead of yourself, if

you want to, or let the conference be a three-sided affair.

2/IX.

Written on September 2, 1921
First published in part in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53
Printed from the original

355
TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Comrade Gorbunov:

I read in today's papers that a *megaphone* amplifying the telephone and carrying the voice to a *crowd* has been tested (and has given fine results) in Kazan.

Check through Ostryakov. If this is true we must have it installed in Moscow and Petrograd, and incidentally, check up on all their work.

Let them give me a short *written* report:

1) calendar programme of their work;

2) ditto—a speaking telephone exchange for 2,000 versts in Moscow.

When will it be ready?

3) Ditto—receivers. *How many* being made?

4) Ditto—megaphones.

Regards,
Lenin

Written not later than September 2, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from the original

356
NOTE TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV AND TELEGRAM TO KH. G. PESTUN[304]

Comrade Bryukhanov:

Today I am sending a dispatch to Pestun; take a copy of it from Glyasser. If there is also need for a C.C. direc-

tive, let me have a *draft* of the whole text of the directive.
Return this to the C.P.C. Business Manager.

3/IX. *Lenin*

Pestun, Chairman of the Gubernia Executive Committee, Gomel

I propose that you should carry out the directives of Svidersky and Reske in the most precise manner. I have information concerning a number of breaches by you of the rules of the central authority in the sphere of the People's Commissariat for Food work. I warn you that I will hold you personally responsible if even a single breach of the rules and decisions of the centre is established, and if you fail to organise correct and concerted work together with Reske. Reply in a couple of words by telegram and give details by letter.

Lenin
Chairman, C.L.D.

Written on September 3, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from the original

357

NOTE TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV AND LETTER TO N. M. KNIPOVICH

V. A. Smolyaninov

Comrade Smolyaninov:

Please read this and keep *strictly secret* without showing to anyone.[305]

N. M. Knipovich is not only a scientific force of the first order, but unquestionably an honest man.

There must be check-ups from time to time to see how things are going on at the Central Administration of the Fishing Industry (Glavryba).

Send this letter on a letterhead (typed) to N. M. Knipovich through his son Boris N. Knipovich (who lives here, in Moscow, and works at the *People's Commissariat for Agriculture*);

N. M. Knipovich

Dear Nikolai Mikhailovich:

I thank you very much for your detailed letter of 6/VIII. You are, of course, keeping an eye on Glavryba's work. I earnestly request you to send me from time to time your remarks on the course of its work and any practical proposals, if for any reason they should be "dragged out" at Glavryba.

Sincerely yours,
Lenin

3/IX.1921

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

358
TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV

Smolyaninov

A man called Lapinsky (find him through Radek) has arrived from Berlin and is now staying here. He had undertaken to fulfil one of my assignments concerning the compilation of a school atlas, especially for the study of modern imperialism. Please have a talk with him, find out how his work is going (date of completion, etc.) and co-ordinate this work with what is being done by the Petrograd commission chaired by Kaisarov, and compare with the papers which are at the secretariat.

3-IX-21 *Lenin*

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

359
NOTE TO SECRETARY

§ 21.

I am not signing this.

It is too *early* to publish the collection.[306]

The first thing to do is to print a *short* summary in the newspapers indicating where to find? what is important? etc.

In the course of the month, September 3 to 30, the collection should be edited *three times*, and *only then* approved for publication.

Lenin

3/IX.

Written on September 3, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from the original

360

TO N. P. GORBUNOV AND V. A. SMOLYANINOV[307]

Gorbunov and Smolyaninov

This should be given special attention:

1) demand *precise* reports from the Byelorussian People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade;

2) use their experience for the whole **Central Union of Consumers' Societies** of the R.S.F.S.R.;

3) take steps to reduce the shortage of goods also outside the boundaries of Byelorussia.

Consult with Kissin, take measures and let me know.

Lenin

3/IX.

Written on September 3, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

361

TO N. P. GORBUNOV[308]

Comrade Gorbunov:

Send an inquiry to the *All-Russia Cheka*.

There is **nothing** "accidental" in Tikhvinsky's arrest: chemistry and counter-revolution are not incompatible.

3/IX. *Lenin*

Written on September 3, 1921
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the original

362

*TO THE SECRETARY OF THE COMINTERN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

It is highly important for us to have exact and regular information about the collection of donations by foreign workers in aid of the starving in Russia. The Politbureau yesterday adopted a decision* which has been sent to you. I believe that responsible persons should be appointed for each country, or group of countries, to follow the labour press of various parties, taking down the exact figures, and naturally, confining themselves only to: 1) the results of the collection of donations; 2) exact indication of currency in which the donations have been made; 3) indication of date on which the donations have been collected; and 4) name of newspapers from which information has been taken, and the party or organisation making the collection.

There is need to bring out under a separate head any resolutions by parties and trade unions about one-day wage contributions.

I should very much like to have a reply about what exactly has been done by the Executive Committee and when we could hope to have the first summarised results.

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on September 3, 1921

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from a text
in Maria Glyasser's hand

363

TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

Comrade Molotov:

One other thing should be done:

1) restrain Melnichansky and the Moscow Gubernia T.U.C. by means of an *extra strict* reprimand (the trial of Skvortsov-Stepanov and Litkens). This is the height of

* See present edition, Vol. 42, p. 240.—*Ed.*

impudence and shamelessness!! I insist on a reprimand with publication on behalf of the *Politbureau*[309];

2) revoke the *All-Russia C.E.C. Presidium* decision on the issue of **1,000 million** (milliard) for the theatres. It is quite illegal to do this *in circumvention of the People's Commissariat for Education*!! This is outrageous. I demand its revocation through the *Politbureau*.

Lenin

4/IX.

Written on September 4, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from the original

364
TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV[310]

Comrade Smolyaninov:

The question of *commodity exchange* is the *most important* one. You are to give it *top priority*.

In particular:

1) find *Prodovolstvennaya Gazeta* No. 97 and *include* in this file;

2) propose that the *Central Union of Consumers' Societies should amplify these* data of Khinchuk's and **print** them;

3) send me what has been printed, stepping up the printing;

4) insert an item in *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* giving all manner of encouragement to the *collection* and publication of *factual* data on the commodity exchange (the *quantities*, or the *equivalents* of some quantities).

Lenin

4/IX.

Written on September 4, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

365
NOTE TO V. M. MOLOTOV AND ASSIGNMENT TO SECRETARY[311]

Urgent

Comrade Molotov:

In view of the *extreme* importance of this question and its (I hope) indisputable nature, I propose that this should be circulated for reading by all members of the *Politbureau*, and approved by phone (I consider my amendments adopted, if they are *not* questioned *either* by the C.C. members or the members of the commission: if they are questioned, I suggest adoption *without* these amendments, so as **not to drag things out**). Be sure to pass it also through the *All-Russia Central T.U.C.* and to publish it on behalf of the *C.P.C.*, with this **obligatory** indication: approved by both the *All-Russia Central T.U.C.* and the *R.C.P. Central Committee*.

I am sending these theses to *Oborin* in Petrograd on Monday, 5/IX, asking him to phone his opinion. It is important to have the opinion (and I hope consent) of the Petrograd trade union functionaries.

Comrade *Molotov*: A list of these *30 persons* should be obtained and kept at the *C.C.* archives together with the *date* of this conference.

Lenin

4/IX.

Send urgently to Molotov after Lepeshinskaya's entry of the amendments.

Lenin

4/IX.

Written on September 4, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from the original

366

TELEGRAM TO THE SIBERIAN REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE[312]

Sibrevcom, Omsk.

Take urgent measures to see that the local authorities do not hold up the Yamal expedition at Omsk, giving every possible help in its instant dispatch to the place of work. Telegraph execution.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on September 4, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from a typewritten text

367

*TO N. I. SOLOVYOV, HEAD OF THE STATISTICAL DEPARTMENT, C.C.[313]

5/IX.

Comrade Solovyov:

Is it possible to bring out more detailed data on the distribution of Communists by *Soviet government* office (except the Red Army):

People's Commissariat,
department,
subdepartment,
etc.
with more details about nature and type of work.

Let's have this for Moscow, at least (the most important thing is to separate Moscow from the uyezd, if possible; Moscow is the main centre), and for Petrograd.

My impression is that the statistics of the R.C.P. members deal with too many details, which are "common" to any statistics, but are unimportant. The important thing for us is to have details about the distribution by *Soviet government* office.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on September 5, 1921
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the original

368
TO A. O. ALSKY[314]

Secret
5/IX.

Comrade Alsky:

There must be a close watch on the spending of the gold stock.

Perhaps you could do the following:

have this table compiled.

	In hand	Of this allocated (=issue allowed #)	Unallocated stock in hand
Gold Stock			
by 7.XI.1917			
7.XI.1918			
" " 1919			
7.XI.1920			
1.I.1921			
1.VII.1921			
or 1.IX (7.IX).1921			

In other words, the table should give a full picture of the amount issued and the *available stock* (by a definite date).

Let us draw up the table in such a way that the horizontal graphs should run on (*current statistics*) by months. Let us have this mobile and regularly filled-in table be kept over at your People's Commissariat for Finance.

Send me a copy of it by 1.IX.1921, and then send in weekly additions (current expenditure).

The total must include **all** gold *without any* exceptions.

Please write me when you can let me have it.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

#Perhaps here we shall have to add two or three vertical graphs: amount already sent out of Russia, i.e., paid out. Also perhaps: refused payment or reduced amount, etc.

Written on September 5, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53
Printed from the original

369
TO Y. I. VISHNYAK[315]

"Maly Parizh" Room 5

Dear Comrade:

I thank you very much for news of Lalayants. I am very sorry to hear that he is outside the ranks of the R.C.P.

Please write me if you can in greater detail about why he is outside the Party, when he left it, how he lived under Kolchak in Siberia, etc.

Since you think it worth while involving him in Soviet government work, may I ask you to write me whether you believe that we should find him work in Irkutsk or, perhaps, it is possible and expedient to do so elsewhere, say, Moscow.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on September 3, 1921

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

370
TO G. V. CHICHERIN

5/IX.

Comrade Chicherin:

I attach no importance to Berzin's opinion about the decline of the British labour movement.[316] Berzin knows little and is always "pessimistic".

I am very much worried about the search of his luggage. I think we should make a **strict** application of the "eye for an eye" rule to British representatives. Pedantically: treat them just as **badly** and a little worse. Is this being done?

Then, concerning the "Hooverites",[317] their every step should be watched (by the *People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs* through the press and perhaps some "ties"); while the worst of them (someone called Lowrie?) "tracked down" and caught, so as to land them in a scandal.

This calls for relentless, *persistent* warfare.

Do all our representatives abroad know that everything should be done to support workers' collections (in aid of the starving) *directly to us*? Send a dispatch (circular) with this demand: their every report must state in code: "workers' collections in Britain (France, Sweden, etc.) for fortnight so much."

Collections only straight to our address.

We must have prompt, accurate and regular information about this;

The "for Nansen" and "against Nansen" campaign[318] clearly shows (the extracts from the *Daily Chronicle* which you have sent me are extremely interesting) that we must reply to Noulens with a strictly sharp rejection: an outright rejection. Then and only then shall we gain by winning over the "pro-Nansen" elements and *put an end* to the game of the anti-Nansenites.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on September 5, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from the original

371

TO A. O. ALSKY

Comrade Alsky:

I asked you for data only from August.* Henceforth:

1) keep a special record of expenditures and issues from the gold stock in a strictly chronological order (of course, apart from the grouping by People's Commissariats or under specified heads, where such are required);

2) be sure to set apart the expenditure out of the gross amount appropriated by a general decision (say, the appropriations of 100 million for foodstuffs) from the additional spending not provided for by any general decisions.

Unless you observe these rules you will not have a re-

* See Document 368 of this volume.—*Ed.*

port but chaos in which you yourself will be snarled up. Before issuing any further instructions, I shall await your reply which you are to give me tomorrow.

Lenin

Written on September 7, 1921
First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

372
TO A. M. NIKOLAYEV

Top secret

Comrade Nikolayev
People's Commissariat for Posts and Telegraphs

I propose that you urgently appoint a commission of three radio specialists to carry out the final trials of the results achieved at the laboratory in Bogorodskoye Village, of which you are aware.[319]

It is desirable to have at least one responsible Communist on the commission.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

Written on September 7, 1921
First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from
a typewritten copy

373
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Comrade Zinoviev:

I have received the eight drafts of the People's Commissariat for Education which you have sent me.[320] I cannot agree with you that this should not be a matter of urgency or that there is anything wrong in the drafts. I am afraid that you have not taken enough care to read them. There is nothing in the drafts about applying the commercial principle to the schools. There is only a point about attracting the local population, especially peasants,

to participation in the maintenance of schools. I believe this to be absolutely correct, and certainly an urgent necessity. Of course, amendments may be required on some particulars, and these could be made during the discussion of the draft, but I repeat that they are essentially quite correct. Signs of anything like the commercial principle can be found in the eighth draft only, namely, the right to organise and lease enterprises to supply institutions of the People's Commissariat for Education. But even this draft, and it is the one which you have failed to underline, I consider to be absolutely correct, because without such measures it is impossible to improve the maintenance of schools, or to alleviate the starving of teachers. I absolutely fail to see where you have spotted any relaxation of the principle of retaining the schools in our hands. I have found nothing to that effect in the points you have underscored, nor in the eighth project, in particular. More and more should be taken from the peasants for the maintenance of local schools.

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on September 8, 1921

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the text
in Lydia Fotieva's hand

374
TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO THE S.E.C. PRESIDIUM

Very urgent

S.E.C. Presidium, copies to the People's Commissariat for Finance and the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection
and Engineer Graftio (home telephone 1-72-49. 22/3 Povarskaya St.)

According to Graftio's report, the Volkhov construction site is provided with foodstuffs for September-December, but the work is at a standstill because of lack of banknotes. The Public Works Committee is issuing only 125 million for September, whereas, according to Graftio, the requirement is more than 1,000 million.

I propose that the Volkhov construction site should be immediately supplied with the necessary amount of banknotes to ensure the accelerated conduct of operations in accordance with the number of rations issued under the All-Russia C.E.C. decisions of May 30 and November 5.

Send me your report of execution not later than September 10.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

September 8, 1921

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

375
TO N. P. GORBUNOV[321]

Comrade N. P. Gorbunov:

Please reply to him as follows:

(1) we shall let him have the legal reply soon (the formulation has to be given after *verification* by agreement with Kursky, Chicherin, Goikhbarg, *after very thorough verification*, with, perhaps, the help of Vladimirsky as well);

(2) for the *atlas*, all these republics are to be included: the neighbouring, the friendly, etc., a *general* formula (for the atlas, for the statistics, and for the geography).

9/IX. *Lenin*

Written on September 9, 1921

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

376
TO N. P. GORBUNOV[322]

We should learn to *track down* and punish red tape which is **un**intentional, because you can never catch the "deliberate" one.

11/IX. *Lenin*

Written on September 11, 1921

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

377

*TO N. P. GORBUNOV[323]

Important

1) Write a letter to the *S.E.C.*; let me sign it;
2) draw up a *plan* (calendar programme) to check up executions;
3) ditto—on orders in Germany.

11/IX. *Lenin*

Written on September 11, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

378

*TO N. P. GORBUNOV[324]

This is a most important business. My assignment to you is *to keep track* of the execution and report to me twice a month.

11/IX. *Lenin*

Written on September 11, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from the original

379

TELEGRAM TO ALL REGIONAL AND GUBERNIA ECONOMIC CONFERENCES[325]

S.E.C. Chairman for all Departments and Branches of Industry, Copy to Central Statistical Board

One of the most important tasks of economic construction, and undoubtedly the most pressing one just now, is to reduce the number of establishments and enterprises on state supply. Only a minimum of the largest, the best

equipped and organised enterprises, factories, plants and mines should be left on state supply, with strict verification of available resources. You are hereby ordered immediately to carry out another check-up and to make another reduction in the number of enterprises on state supply; draw up right away a list of enterprises being left on state supply, and send it on to the *C.L.D.* by October 1 of this year.

Execution shall be the personal responsibility of all members of economic councils, especially the Gubernia Statistical Bureaus. I shall prosecute those who fail to make sufficiently thorough reduction in the number of enterprises.

Lenin
Chairman, C.L.D.

September 12, 1921

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original
verified with a typewritten
text signed by Lenin

380

*TO THE ELECTRICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE S.E.C.

Copy to S.E.C. Presidium

I propose that you carry out the supply of the Kashira construction site with the required electrotechnical materials absolutely precisely, making sure fully to meet the dates fixed by the project.

I categorically demand that no delay should be allowed in this matter which could lead to the non-fulfilment of the construction work by the established date.

Inform Comrade Smolyaninov, C.L.D., about the progress in supply.

Lenin
Chairman, C.L.D.

Written on September 12, 1921
First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from a typewritten
text signed by Lenin

381
TO S. S. DANILOV[326]

12/IX.

Comrade Danilov:

It is absolutely *necessary* to develop a sense of "mutual assistance", etc., both "within the class" and towards the *working people* of *other* classes.

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Written on September 12, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from a text in a secretary's hand

382
TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY

Lunacharsky
Copy to Litkens

12.IX.1921.

§10 of the September 9 law on measures to improve the supply of schools makes it binding on the People's Commissariat for Education to issue instructions.

There must be especial caution over §6 (the end, the right of exchange).[327] This should be allowed not otherwise than with full submission of accounts by a given date; detailed rules; otherwise, imprisonment for stealing.

Co-ordinate with the People's Commissariat for Justice and show me before signing.

The same on §8—fees for libraries and clubs.

There should be extreme caution; we can't hamper attendance. Show me *before* signing.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

383
TO A. A. JOFFE

13.IX.1921

Comrade Joffe:

You will find that today's Politbureau decision (which I enclose) largely meets your dispatch of 9/IX.[328]

Please be so kind as to send me a written report with more details.

In addition, as a personal request, *to enable me to sort things out in this matter*, I ask you to devote special attention (in your report or in a special annex to your report) to the question of protection of native interests against "Russian" (Great-Russian or colonialist) exaggerations.

What is the attitude of the natives to Safarov? **Facts,** facts and more facts.

Who are the natives themselves (Safarov's supporters)? Names? Record? Prestige? (Facts, facts....)

Will they be able to stand up for themselves? Is that sure? Even against such a subtle and firm and stubborn man as Tomsky?

How many of them are there?

"The Union of the Poor" (set up by Safarov?)—its composition? importance? strength? role? Is it true that the natives were "*forcibly*" stratified?

Cotton? Its future? Is it true that Safarov is ruining the cotton? *Facts*, *facts*.

The fronts in Ferghana? The Basmachi? Their attitude to the Tomsky and the Safarov "line"? Facts and exact decisions by Turkestan C.E.C. concerning the Basmachi? The facts on what and when Tomsky and Safarov or their supporters differed *in this question*? (Extracts from relevant decisions, to show exactly when and on what precisely the formal differences occurred.)

There are some differences on this question inside the C.C.

More exact information is highly important.

I personally **very much** suspect "Tomsky's line" (perhaps it would be more correct to say Peters's line? or Pravdin's line? *etc*.) of engaging in Great-Russian chauvinism, or, to put it more correctly, in **deviating** in that direction.

It is terribly important for all our Weltpolitik* to **win** the confidence of the natives; to win it over again and again; *to prove* that we are *not* imperialists, that we shall *not* tolerate any *deviation* in that direction.

This is a world-wide question, and that is no exaggeration.

There you must be especially strict.

It will have an effect on India and the East; it is no joke, it calls for exceptional caution.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

First published in part in 1956 in *Pravda* No. 193

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

384
TO E. M. SKLYANSKY

13.IX.1921

Comrade Sklyansky:

Please let me have the information on the work of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic relating to my letter of May 30 and the reply of the R.M.C. of the Republic about ordering the material within a week.[329]

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

385
TO N. A. SEMASHKO[330]

13.IX.1921

Comrade Semashko:

I have been receiving more and more indications about the abominable state of our health resorts in the Crimea and the Caucasus: bribe-taking, privileges for the bourgeois

* World policy.—*Ed.*

and disgusting attitude to the workers, and, what is important, total disorder in the treatment, and what is most important, complete lack of supplies.

Please let me have exact information, whatever you have on hand, at once.

And then let me know in greater detail about the modes of checking up: how many health resorts (out of how many?) submit correct reports (quantities of foodstuffs for the number of patients? for the number of personnel, etc.?)—the number of baths (mud baths), etc.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

386

*TO THE MANAGEMENT OF THE C.P.C. OFFICE[331]

Copy to N. P. Gorbunov

13.IX.1921

I discovered yesterday that an urgent document which I gave to Fotieva for L. B. Kamenev was dispatched the "usual", i.e. idiotic, way and was delayed for many hours, and would have been held up for days but for my interference.

It is intolerable for the office to work in this way, and if I find another case of such typical red tape and spoiling of business, I shall resort to strict punishment and removal of personnel. These are my instructions:

1) on every document or package which I hand in for dispatch, a *personal* check-up must be made by the secretary on duty (who must leave a deputy, if she goes away, and who must make arrangements with the telephone operators on 24-hour duty, about a substitute);

2) check up to see whether *all* the inscriptions are there (personal delivery; urgent; signature on envelope, etc.);

3) check up to see whether the parcel has gone to the messenger at once;

4) be sure *to check up by phone* with the addressee;

5) *show* me the return envelope with the signature;
6) these rules shall also be carried out by the telephone operators in the booth, in the event of assignments during hours when the secretary is absent.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

387
TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Comrade Gorbunov:

Please subject the guilty persons to punishment: a reprimand to start with; a warning of possible dismissal unless they show more care, the second time, or where there are aggravating circumstances.

Establish check-ups: once in *100 cases* or one day *in 15*, etc.

Lenin

Written on September 13, 1921
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

388
TO N. OSINSKY

Comrade Osinsky, People's Commissariat for Agriculture

Please urgently inform me about the arrangements for the distribution of seeds in the famine-stricken gubernias, stating:

1) The principles of distribution of seeds among the population (whether they are issued to everyone or only to those whose land has been prepared for sowing, whether inspection of the ploughed-up area has been organised and how, etc.).

2) Actual participation by organs of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture in accepting delivery of the seed

freights, their storage, their transportation from the railway stations to the localities, sorting of seeds, and, if information is available, the pace of work in moving the seeds from the central points of delivery to the localities.

3) Whether and how the inventory of the delivered seeds has been organised (are there any lists, stating the names—of persons or collectives—receiving the seeds, and the quantities).

4) Whether and how control has been organised to verify whether the seeds are actually used for sowing and not for food.

The question of correct distribution of seeds is of especial importance.

Meanwhile, Judging by K. Myaskov's item, entitled "The Spring and Autumn Sowing Campaigns", in *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 202 and by other reports, not all is well in this sphere.

Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on September 14, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from a typewritten copy

389
TO G. V. CHICHERIN[332]

Comrade Chicherin:

I think we should break this habit of theirs. Perhaps we could do it this way: reply formally and in writing with reference to the "note". They will then realise that we shall (soon) mock at them *in public* and gifler* for their unsigned notes.

Yours,
Lenin

Written in the second half of September 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

* Slap them down.—*Ed.*

390
TO N. P. GORBUNOV

17.IX.1921.

Comrade Gorbunov:

It turns out that Kursky and Cherlyunchakevich have gone, *without officially handing over* their business, namely, the signing of the Narrow C.P.C. minutes. This is the height of lawlessness. Order must be restored at once: a) draw up a protocol, b) telegraph demand for a reply from Kursky and Cherlyunchakevich, and c) appoint and start a *case* on breach of duty by Kursky and Cherlyunchakevich.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original
verified with a typewritten
copy

391
TO KH. G. RAKOVSKY

Comrade Rakovsky, Kharkov
Copy to Comrade Vladimirov

The People's Commissariat for Food of the R.S.F.S.R. has remitted to you bank-notes worth 20,000 million rubles, of which 10 are for Kiev, and 10 for Kharkov for the purchase of grain and cattle. We intend in the near future to send to you, over and above the Ukrainian monetary allocation, regular monetary remittances up to 50,000 million a month for the special designation of grain purchases. The R.C.P. Central Committee proposes that you should: 1) firmly reserve these remitted amounts for the said purpose under the personal responsibility of all organs of the People's Commissariat for Finance; 2) bind the food organs, on the responsibility of the Ukrainian Commissariat for Food and gubernia food supply commissars, to expend the remitted resources exclusively for the purchase of grain and cattle. The R.C.P. Central Committee proposes that you should enter the R.S.F.S.R. Council of People's

Commissars decree of August 23 in your register, with the addition of the All-Russia C.E.C.'s on the salt monopoly.

Lenin
Chairman, C.L.D.

Written on September 19, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

392

TO THE KIRSANOV UYEZD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE[333]

Copy to the Tambov Gubernia Executive Committee

Dear Comrades:

I join in the expression of gratitude for the submission of your report earlier than those of the others, and request you to continue setting a model in accounting in the future.

Lenin

19/IX.

Written on September 19, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from the original

393

TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV[334]

If Bryukhanov is not there, to Frumkin
(Copy to N. P. Gorbunov)

19.IX.1921.

Comrade Bryukhanov:

Today I signed a telegram concerning 1.$_2$ million poods of hay for Moscow.

I think it is wrong to have me sign *all* such telegrams. We must go over—perhaps gradually, but *go over* we must to have people (including gubernia executive committees) carry out orders even without my signature—to have them obey normally and not only in extraordinary cases.

Send out 2 or 3 telegrams by way of urgent order. Follow up. If they are not carried out—inflict double punishment and check up on the infliction.

Please let me know the precise plan (and *calendar* programme) for switching local establishments to *normal* discipline.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

394
TO Y. Z. VOLKOV

19/IX.1921.

Comrade Volkov:

I have read your letter.[335] You are wrong. Our policy will not wreck our (trade) relations with France, but will accelerate them.

We have already made a gain by *getting* France *away* from the intervention plans, and shall gain even more.

We have a way to trade negotiations with France.

With communist greetings,
Lenin

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

395
TO V. V. KUIBYSHEV

19.IX.1921

Comrade Kuibyshev:

I have just had a visit from
Rutgers,
Calvert
and Heywood
representing the American workers' colony group who wish to take the Nadezhdinsk Works and *several* enterprises in the Kuznetsk basin.[336]

They want their representative (with an interpreter) to attend the *Council of Labour and Defence* on Friday. I think we should let them come.

I also draw your attention to and request you to inform *all* members of the commission and subcommissions of the following:

(1) The Nadezhdinsk Works, in their opinion, is both economically and technically *connected* with a group of enterprises in Kuzbas, for it will provide tractors for their farms; tractors and all other farming implements for the peasants; repair of machinery for their group's enterprises in Kuzbas; equipment for water transport communications with Siberia, etc.

(2) In Kuznetsk basin they are taking 12,000 dessiatines of land and *several* enterprises, wishing to set up a large and *complete* economic whole.

(3) They want only 300,000 dollars in cash. It would be wrong to think otherwise.

(4) In addition, they want grain and clothing, in order to start the necessary building operations *at once*. They say work should be started *this very* winter to have time to finish it by the spring of 1922.

(5) They stress that they will have a firm *administrative set-up* for their workers' group; and the whole group (3,000-6,000 workers) selected from among the *best* workers, mostly young and unmarried men, who have had *practical* experience in their line, and have lived in a climate similar to that of Russia (Canada and the Northern United States).

(6) They want to be directly subordinate to the *Council of Labour and Defence*. Something like an autonomous state trust consisting of a workers' association.

They say, by the way, that 200 American lumberjacks are living here in the "émigré house". Most of them are without work. They are itching to get to work. They say that if you send about 30 of them to the Nadezhdinsk Works and 15 to Kuznetsk basin *at once*—with full equipment and food, they will start building log cabins *immediately*. (The rest of the 200 will go there later.) They want us to hurry up with sending them off.

They say that Gerbek (? I did not quite catch the English

pronunciation of the name) from the Urals Industrial Bureau had agreed to their plan verbally, and the Siberians (the Siberian Industrial Bureau), in writing.

They intend to take along 10-15 per cent of Russian-speaking workers. They could take more.

Please take all this into account.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of Labour and Defence

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

396
TO I. I. MIROSHNIKOV

Comrade Miroshnikov
Copy to Comrade Gorbunov

I have been informed that the lift will not work on September 20, 21 and 22.

This is utterly scandalous. There are people with ailing hearts for whom it is harmful and dangerous to walk up. I have repeatedly ordered to have an eye kept on the lift by appointing a responsible person.

I hereby issue you a strict reprimand, and order you to find out who has been guilty of failure to give a timely warning; let me have again a list of responsible persons and the measures of punishment to be applied to them.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

Written on September 19, 1921
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

397
TO N. P. GORBUNOV

20. IX.1921

Comrade Gorbunov:

Please issue an order to have the following literature collected:

1) *everything* in Russian on electrification *over and above* the book, *Plan of Electrification*.

The reports by Krzhizhanovsky and Ramzin in Petrograd.—Kushner's pamphlet.—Other pamphlets on electrification—the publication by the *Vladimir* Gubernia Executive Committee on electrification *and other local publications*.

2) The new literature (1915-1921) in German on the state of electrification in various countries and its tasks, etc. (through Krzhizhanovsky, etc.).

Get me a1l this within one or two weeks for a period of two months for Iv. Iv. Skvortsov (Stepanov).[337]

With communist greetings,

Lenin

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

398

TO V. V. ADORATSKY

Comrade Adoratsky:

Could you help me find the following two things:

1) the article (or extract from the pamphlet? or letter?) by Engels where he says, on the strength of the experience of 1648 and 1789, that there is apparently a law demanding that the revolution should advance *beyond the point where it can cope*, to consolidate the less significant transformations?

I recall that this was published in our Bolshevik newspaper (*Proletary*?) abroad during the 1908-1912 epoch, but my recollection is hazy[338];

2) Engels's letter to Weydemeyer of 12.IV.1853. I shall be very grateful for any hints.

Yours,

Lenin

Written on September 20, 1921

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

399
TO THE ORGANISATIONAL BUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

C.C. *Orgbureau*

I have personally known Comrade Shapovalov for a long time, in exile at the end of the 19th century, and in the early 20th abroad. I hereby certify that he is a thoroughly loyal and honest representative of the best men in the old Party guard. I therefore consider it my duty to support his request for a chance to go abroad to receive treatment and work for the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

22/IX.

Written on September 22, 1921
First published in 1960 in the magazine *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 2
Printed from the original

400
TO V. A. AVANESOV

Comrade Avanesov, Workers' and Peasants' Inspection

About Red Tape in Supplying the Kashira Site

I am enclosing herewith three letters from the Kashira site. The C.L.D. has been receiving almost daily complaints from it about red tape and interruption in food supply. Instead of doing their job, the Kashira builders have been wasting a considerable part of their energy on getting the food supply in. We must put a stop to this. Considering the exceptional conditions created for the Kashira site, this can well be done even with our state of food supply being what it is.

I propose that you should appoint a responsible man with the urgent assignment to investigate the food supply arrangements for the Kashira site, and find out who is to blame for the red tape, charge the guilty with responsibil-

ity, and, if necessary, work out a draft C.L.D. decision regulating the supply arrangements for the Kashira site.[339]

Chairman, C.L.D.

Written on September 23, 1921
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

401
TO D. B. RYAZANOV

Comrade Ryazanov:

I *very strongly* support Comrade Adoratsky's request, who has done a great deal of useful work.[340] It is important to collect *all* the letters of Marx and Engels, and no one will do this better than you.

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Written on September 23, 1921
Sent to Berlin
First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

402
TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PROVISIONAL BERLIN COMMISSION FOR THE ISSUE OF FOREIGN ORDERS FOR GIDROTORF[341]

I request that this should be done with special thoroughness, so as to have everything ready in Berlin by 1.II.1922, and delivered in Moscow *without fail* by 1.III.1922. The reports should be brief, but regular, once a month. The commission should be responsible for the technical verification. Prizes will be awarded, if necessary. *See that the opportunity is not missed again, as it has been repeatedly in this matter.*

Lenin

Written on September 24, 1921
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

403
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Comrade Zinoviev

Copy: To Radek
" To Rakosi
" To *Pravda* secretary

24.IX.1921

Pravda has started to publish reports about the collections by foreign workers in aid of the starving in Russia.[342]

That is *not* the kind of reports we need. What you have is a *story*. We have no paper for "stories" and no time to read them. They are quite useless.

What we need is very short tables twice a month on the following lines:

Germany	—10 million	marks = about (	)	gold rubles
Austria	—10 "	kronen = about (	)	gold rubles
Total — — —		about (	)	gold rubles

This will take 20 or 30 lines twice a month.

That is not much.

That is the only thing we need. *A total in gold rubles*. I very strongly request you to do this and let me know.

With communist greetings,

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

404
TELEGRAM TO N. N. NARIMANOV

Code
26/IX.1921.

Narimanov
Baku

Do not, by any means conclude any treaty with either the Germans or anybody else on foreign trade without the consent of the Regional Foreign Trade Administration or the sanction of the R.C.P. Central Committee. Cable receipt

and execution, and follow up with all details by letter.

*Lenin**

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

405
TO K. B. RADEK

Comrade Radek:

I thank you very much for the material you have sent me. I return it. I cannot express my opinion, because I am not clear on the matter: I cannot form an opinion after reading the very little that you have marked off.

By the way, if you see Gennari, thank him for his letter to the "Comrades members of the Executive Committee of the Communist International" of 18/IX.1921.

It is clear, precise and *fully* convincing.

Serrati is a blend of petty-bourgeois spinelessness and politicaster swindling. *I am quite* prepared to repeat this in the press if Gennari and other comrades—you and Zinoviev among them, of course—consider it useful. In that case, let Gennari send me the *original* of Serrati's article in *Avanti!*, and I shall write him a 20-line letter for the press. But it is hardly worth while to do this.

Yours,
Lenin

Written on September 26, 1921

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

406
DRAFT TELEGRAM OF ORGANISING A THREE-WEEK FIREWOOD DRIVE, AND ASSIGNMENT TO SECRETARY[343]

To All Territorial, Gubernia and Uyezd Economic Councils,
Regional, Gubernia and Uyezd Party Committees,
Gubernia and Uyezd Executive Committees,
Gubernia and Railway Timber Committees
and to All Railways Superintendents

The season for hauling the firewood from the woods is near-

* Then follows J. V. Stalin's name written in Lenin's hand.—*Ed.*

ing its end. Within two or three weeks, the autumn slush and total lack of roads will halt the transportation of the stockpiled fuel from the forests until the sleigh-roads can be used. Meanwhile, the quantity of firewood available at the railway lines at present and that to be brought out under the plan of the Chief Timber Committee in the brief period of transportation remaining fall very far short of the quantity required for the normal operation of transport. There is a threat of complete stoppage on the most important railway lines.

To prevent a possible transport disaster, the C.L.D. hereby orders that, beginning from October 1, a three-week fuel transportation drive should be announced involving the mobilisation for this period of all facilities and means for the haulage of fuel to the railway lines, and attaching to this work the same importance as to the collection of the tax in kind.

Call at once a meeting of the economic conference, with the participation of railway representatives, to adopt all measures to secure the maximum transportation of firewood over and above the established targets, in an effort to increase the transportation to double the set targets, keeping the consumption of fodder strictly in accordance with warrants simultaneously dispatched, in no case allowing departures from these warrants. Notify the C.L.D. at once about the measures taken.

Among the railways in the most disastrous state are the Kazan, North-Western, South-Western, Kiev-Voronezh, Nikolayevskaya, and the railways in Siberia. That is why, all energy, resources and facilities must be strained to the utmost in the gubernias through which these key railway lines run, in order to achieve the maximum results.

Vigorous execution is hereby declared to be the personal responsibility of chairmen of the gubernia executive committees, chairmen of the gubernia timber committees, and chairmen of the gubernia Cheka, in accordance with Soviet and Party procedures.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.L.D.*

* This is followed by the signatures of M. I. Kalinin, Chairman of the All-Russia C.E.C., and V. M. Molotov, Secretary of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C.—*Ed.*

I propose that this should be co-ordinated by phone at once, to give us time to get this also by phone through the Politbureau and the Presidium of the All-Russia C.E.C. tomorrow, 19/IX.

19/IX. *Lenin*

Written on September 27, 1921

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from a typewritten text with Lenin's additions and signature

407
TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE

28.IX.1921

Comrade Orjonikidze:

Please *make an arrangement* with Comrade Krumin, editor of the C.L.D. organ, *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*, about correspondents' reports from the Caucasus:

a) regular,

b) from time to time, *especially* from workers and peasants.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.L.D.

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

408
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Comrade Zinoviev:

The three of us (Molotov, Stalin and I), in our capacity as a commission appointed by the C.C., have discussed your letter.

We still cannot agree with you.

In Moscow, there were major differences on principle, there was the Workers' Opposition, which the Party Congress condemned for its "deviation", one which was not

only on a Moscow but on an all-Russia scale, with a long history behind it.

In Petrograd, there are no differences on principle, nor is there even a deviation towards a deviation. There is nothing of the sort about Komarov or Uglanov, who were most reliable at the Tenth Congress of the R.C.P. and at the metalworkers' congress as well. These comrades could not have plunged into a deviation so suddenly. We find not a trace of the facts to prove this.

There is a legitimate desire on the part of a majority to be the majority and to substitute another group for the one through which you have been "running things". The people have gained in stature and that alone makes their desire legitimate.

They should not be pushed into a deviation by talk of "differences on principle". *Ideological* guidance should be exercised carefully, *fully* allowing the new majority to be a majority and *to run things*. We are sure that if you want this you could very well do it, and help the "old group" to move to another city and refresh themselves.

*Lenin**

Written on September 29, 1921
Sent to Petrograd

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from the original

409
TO N. P. GORBUNOV

29.IX.1921

Comrade Gorbunov:

There is no doubt about the importance of the matter set out in the enclosed documents.

I feel that our press—Belyakov's articles in *Izvestia*, Sosnovsky's in *Pravda*, and a number of other articles and reports—has fully clarified and proved that a number of

* The document was also signed by J. V. Stalin and V. M. Molotov.—*Ed.*

state farms of the Central Agricultural Administration have been working on model lines. The outstanding work done by Comrade Runov, who is at the head of this endeavour, is also reported by Comrade Muralov, a competent man. The successful development of a truly proletarian agriculture is of tremendous importance in principle.

It is as, or perhaps *even more*, important in practical terms.

That is why I ask you urgently to prepare this matter for the Narrow C.P.C. today (bank-notes) and for the *C.L.D.* tomorrow (enter on the agenda, make all the necessary inquiries by phone, etc.).[344]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

P.S. If nothing else can be done, let them have what they ask (*to the maximum* amount) *on loan for a year*. These people have deserved our confidence many times over.

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

410
TO N. P. GORBUNOV

29.IX.1921

Comrade Gorbunov:

This business of Kara-Bugaz must be clarified. If you are too busy, you may put this off for a few days, but not more.

Lacis insists in Pravda of 19/IX. that it is a "Gold Mine".[345] Take at the C.P.C. Secretariat my recent correspondence* with Professor Ipatiev (member of the S.E.C. Collegium), a specialist and the head of our chemical industry.

His answer to me was: can't be started at present.

Is it the Central Salt Administration that is making a mistake or someone else?

* See Document 321 of this volume.—*Ed.*

Do you think that we should take a look at the Administration's data to see how solid they are, or do something else?

Find out and let me know.

Lenin

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

411
TO N. P. GORBUNOV

30.IX.1921

Comrade Gorbunov:

I sent out (through Smolyaninov, I believe) a telegram to all gubernia electrical departments* ordering them to send with their delegates to the All-Russia Electrotechnical Congress *statistical data* on *all* electric-power stations in Russia.

Be sure to find a copy and *while the Electrotechnical Congress is in session* carry out a stringent documentary check-up on the execution of this.

We **must** have this done, because the matter is of enormous economic and political importance.

If need be, circulate a *questionnaire* among the delegates to the Congress, *detaining* all those who fail to fill it in.

Secure execution and information, and carry out a strictly cavilling check-up!

Lenin

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

412
ASSIGNMENT TO N. P. GORBUNOV AND LETTER TO K. KH. DANISHEVSKY, V. M. MOLOTOV AND A. S. KISELYOV

30.IX.1921

Comrade Gorbunov:

Please have this letter sent out in copies to

1) Comrade Danishevsky (Chief Timber Committee)
and 2) Comrade Molotov, C.C. Secretary
3) Comrade Kiselyov, Chairman of the Narrow C.P.C.

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* See Document 327 of this volume.—*Ed.*

The C.C. has decided to assign *15* responsible men for fuel (firewood, to be more precise) work for the three-week period.*

I should very strongly request comrades undertaking this extremely important work to devote especial attention to the following circumstances:

1) Verification of how the *accounting* (of the stockpiling, haulage and carriage to the stations) is arranged in the localities.

This business is run badly. The *C.L.D.* is aware of this, but does not know how to help. Comrades observing it *at the grass roots*, on the spot, can do a great deal to help, if they *make* a thorough *study* of the thing on the spot.

2) Stealing methods.

The stealing of firewood is very widespread (and this is understandable in a cold ruined peasant country). Bureaucrats and contractors very frequently cover up this stealing and carry it through "artistically".

It is extremely important to make a *much more detailed* study *from below* of the *methods* of cheating (from entries in the books, receipts, etc., etc.). The *C.L.D.* is badly in need of this.

I earnestly request *all* 15 comrades who are going, to read this and drop me a couple of lines; if the need arises, *to agree* to remain on the spot for an extra week or so to make a more thorough study of the business.[346]

With communist greetings,

Lenin
Chairman, C.L.D.

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

413
*TO THE S.E.C. PRESIDIUM

Please submit information about the number of groups, trusts and associations, and autonomous enterprises under each central board.

* See Document 406 of this volume.—*Ed.*

List the name of each association and group, stating the number of enterprises within each group, and the number of engineers and technicians employed in each:

a) central board, group, trust and association (each separately),

b) enterprises (all together).

Send information not later than October 2.

If the groups, trusts and associations have not yet been finally designated, let us have a projected list.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

Written on September 30, 1921
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

414
TO THE FOREIGN LITERATURE COMMITTEE[347]

Forlitcom

Forlitcom's report shows that it has managed to do virtually nothing as yet.

The main task that Forlitcom should set itself is to have the special libraries in Moscow, Petrograd and the major cities of the Republic concentrate in their hands one copy each of all the latest technical and scientific (chemistry, physics, electrical engineering, medicine, statistics, economics, etc.) magazines and books for 1914-1921 published abroad, and to have regular receipt of all periodicals arranged. I shall appraise the whole of Forlitcom's work primarily from the standpoint of the actual fulfilment of this assignment.

By the way:

a) the report says that Forlitcom has decided to transfer all credits from all the departments to Forlitcom's account. Has this decision been carried out? How much credit has been received from each department?

b) Page 3 of the report says: "The boxes with scientific and technical literature tended to contain a mass of what

was absolutely not important or remarkable in any way—fiction and expensive de luxe editions, purchased no one knows whom for (for private persons) as a personal favour."

This is an incredible outrage and a crime. What has Forlitcom done to punish the guilty persons? Let me know at once the names of the guilty persons and how they have been punished.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

Written on September 30, 1921
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from a typewritten
text signed by Lenin

415
TO P. A. KRASIKOV

Comrade Krasikov, Deputy People's Commissar for Justice

On September 3, I sent to Comrade Kursky, his deputy and all members of the Collegium my letter No. 809,* in which I set them the binding assignment to stage the trial in Moscow of four or six cases of Moscow red tape, this autumn and in the winter of 1921-22, selecting the most "striking" cases and turning each trial into a political affair.

I enclose here a report from the chairman of a Centrosoyuz special commission for aid to the starving, Comrade Khinchuk, in which he says that the Centrosoyuz assignment to deal with the procurement of seeds was frustrated only because of red tape in the central establishments. This is a sufficiently "striking" case. I propose that you appoint an inquiry. Inform me weekly in writing through Comrade Gorbunov about the results of the inquiry.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

P.S. Please arrange beforehand with Comrade Gorbunov about the composition of the commission (or person) to be

* See present edition, Vol. 35, Document 298.—*Ed.*

appointed (rather whom you intend to appoint) to carry out the inquiry.[348]

Lenin

Written on September 30, 1921

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from a typewritten text with Lenin's additions and signature

416

ASSIGNMENT TO N. P. GORBUNOV AND LETTER TO V. V. KUIBYSHEV

30.IX.1921

Comrade Gorbunov:

Please have this letter sent to Comrade *Kuibyshev* (member of the S.E.C. Presidium) and arrange with him and let him have our stenographer to enable him to dictate to her by phone.

Comrade Kuibyshev:

You saw at the *C.L.D.* yesterday[349] how Rutgers was levelling charges against us and you specifically. This is a very important matter. It will undoubtedly be publicised *internationally*. That is why special care should be taken to *keep a record* of the case, to *prevent* any gossip and distortions in the future.

I very earnestly request you to write down or dictate to our stenographer (this will save some of your time) all the developments in this matter, especially what you told me on the phone about Rutgers's incredible behaviour, his rapid change of terms, etc.

Of course, we shall not show this to anyone, for the time being, but there is need to make provision immediately, just in case.

The matter has also been raised in the C.C. We shall have to give exact and full information both to the C.C. and the Red International of Trade Unions. Comrade Gorbunov will make the arrangements for you with the telephone operator, etc.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from the original

417
TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY

Krzhizhanovsky

Do not forget:

1) to put through at the electrotechnical congress (directly or through an *authoritative* commission) the amendments and addenda to the "Electrification Plan" for its *final* approval;

2) calendar programme *for working out plans* (primarily the *basic* ones) for the current year by the State Planning Commission.

(There is a *campaign* against S.P.C. for its actually refusing to have any plans and for its being unable to draw them up.)

Lenin

Written at the end of September 1921

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

418
TO L. D. TROTSKY

The wail about the lack of money is general and universal. We could very well blow up. In all the localities there is a feverish (they say) effort to sell everything, and every imaginable thing is being offered for sale. Everyone everywhere is howling. I don't know what else can be done and how. Perhaps you will personally go to see the Preobrazhensky Commission[350] or have a talk with him? Here is a small example: In October, Rukhimovich will supply up to *5 million poods* of coal from the small leaseholders in the Donbas. How are we to pay them? Where is the money to come from?

We are late. The commercial tide is stronger than we are. The *Finance Commission* and all of us are behindhand. I have just sent over to Comrade Preobrazhensky your note about the bills.

Written in September 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from the original

419

TO V. M. MOLOTOV

Comrade Molotov:

The question of cancelling the C.P.C. decision of 6/IX, increasing the tax on potatoes, must be introduced in the Politbureau tomorrow (with Frumkin summoned).[351]

Lenin

What did you agree with *Stalin* about Petrograd?*

Written on October 2, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from the original

420

TO N. P. GORBUNOV

3.X.1921

Comrade Gorbunov:

Please inform Comrade Radchenko that I am very much afraid of any mistakes in this matter: how can I sign any *technical* conclusions? This should be sent to the departments for their endorsement and *speeded up* in passage through the Narrow C.P.C. or through the *C.L.D.* I can help in speeding this up in every way.[352]

Lenin

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

421

INQUIRY ABOUT THE PROGRESS OF THE SOWING CAMPAIGN

Circular

Telegram

Simbirsk, Astrakhan, Tsaritsyn, Saratov, Samara, Ufa, Uralsk, Vyatka

Gubernia Sowing Committees: Marxstadt, Cheboksary, Krasnokokshaisk, Astrakhan, Izhevsk

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* See Document 408 of this volume.—*Ed.*

Regional Sowing Committees: Kazan, Orenburg, Sterlitamak People's Commissariat for Agriculture

Over the last month, you have stopped sending in any information on the progress of the sowing campaign and the combating of famine. The People's Commissariat for Agriculture, at present engaged mainly in the work of overcoming the after effects of the crop failure, is more than in the past few months in need of regular and the fullest possible information about your activity and the actual state of agriculture in the gubernia. Accordingly, I categorically reaffirm earlier instructions on dates of information reports, and propose that you should raise the information apparatus up to the mark and, by way of urgent order, within 48 hours from the receipt of this telegram, telegraph the following information: 1) the approved area under winter crops; 2) the area under winter crops sown; 3) the number of dessiatines left for winter fallowing; 4) the quantity of seeds received under warrants from the centre and through commodity exchange; 5) the quantity of seeds actually distributed; 6) the distribution procedures; 7) measures taken to save livestock, results achieved; 8) measures taken to save dead stock, results achieved; 9) planned social activity, its implementation; 10) state of resettlement; 11) state of village committees, their participation in overall work. After telegram send special messenger with full report. The responsible leaders of gubernias failing to reply within the specified period will be subjected to disciplinary punishment.

On points 6 to 11 cable the shortest possible reply or the exact date of dispatch of a written reply.[353]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of Labour and Defence*

Written on October 4, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from a typewritten text with Lenin's additions and signature

* The telegram is also signed by N. Osinsky, Deputy People's Commissar for Agriculture.—*Ed.*

422

TO A. S. KISELYOV

Comrade Kiselyov, Chairman of the Narrow C.P.C.

I wrote you concerning A. P. Smirnov's memo* that I resolutely object to any waste of potatoes on making alcohol and said that alcohol could and should be made of peat.

It now turns out that the problem of distilling alcohol from peat has not yet been finally solved. The method has not been verified on an industrial scale and is economically unclear (there is no precisely verified calculation and no data to draw it up precisely). That is why it is still too early to speak of the mass production of alcohol from peat.

Take all measures to accelerate in every way the starting of the experimental plant to make alcohol from peat—the former Givartovsky yeast plant in Moscow.

I strongly object to Smirnov's proposal that we should pay the peasants in alcohol for their potatoes. If Smirnov insists, let him take the matter to the C.C.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on October 5, 1921

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

423

INSTRUCTIONS ON A LETTER FROM THE ADMINISTRATION OF SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS OF THE ACADEMIC CENTRE[354]

Supply the party with clothing for eight persons.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.L.D.

5.X.21

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the text written in N. P. Gorbunov's hand and signed by Lenin

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*See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition Vol. 53, Document 295.—*Ed.*

424

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR RAILWAYS

P.C.R.

I direct you to settle within two days the matter of carrying the Kashira-Moscow electric line over the bridge across the Oka.[355]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on October 6 or 7, 1921

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

425

*BUGUN FISHERMEN'S AND WORKERS' SOVIET OF THE NORTHERN COAST, ARAL SEA[356]

To Comrades Workers, Fishermen of the Aral Sea

Dear Comrades:

You must have heard by now about the great disaster, the unprecedented famine which has hit the whole of the Valga area and a part of the area west of the Urals. The drought has almost entirely scorched the cereals and the grasses everywhere from Astrakhan Gubernia and all the way up to the Tatar Republic and Perm Gubernia. Millions of people—toiling peasants and workers—and millions of head of cattle are already dying or are about to die.

Russian and Moslem, nomad and settler—all are equally faced with cruel death unless help comes from their comrades—workers, toiling peasants, shepherds and fishermen from the more prosperous localities. Of course, the Soviet power, for its part, hastens to help the starving. It has already urgently sent them more than 12 million poods of grain for winter sowing, and is now sending them food, organising eating places, etc. But all of this is not enough. The disaster is so great, and the Soviet Republic has been so ruined by the tsarist war and the whiteguards, that

hardly a quarter of the needy can somehow be fed from state resources until the next harvest.

Nor can we expect help from the wealthy capitalists. It is true that the capitalists who now govern the strongest states in the world—like Britain, America and France—have told us that they allegedly want to help our starving peasants, but on terms which are tantamount to handing over to them all power over our Workers' and Peasants' Republic. We can well understand this. Has a bloodsucker, a capitalist and a usurer, ever helped a toiler without expecting something in return? The capitalist class has always used the toiling man's hunger to enslave him, body and soul. They now want to make use of our famine to destroy the freedom we have won at the price of our blood, to wrest power from the workers and peasants for ever, and to saddle them once again with the tsar, the landowner, the master, the police officer and the official.

The only hope of the starving in Kazan, Ufa, Samara and Astrakhan lies in the great proletarian solidarity (sympathy) of toiling men, like themselves, with toil-hardened hands, earning their daily bread by their own hard work, and not sucking anyone's blood. You have a good catch of fish on the Aral Sea, and you will be able to live without great need. So please set aside part of your catch for the old men and women bloated by starvation, for the 8 million exhausted toilers, who, after all, will have to do all the heavy work in tilling the land on an empty stomach for almost a whole year, and finally, for the 7 million children who may be the first to die.

Dear comrades, fishermen and workers of the Aral Sea, I urge you to give with a generous hand! In so doing you will not only be acting in human conscience, but will be strengthening the cause of the working-class revolution. For you will demonstrate to the whole world, and to al] the working people above all, the invincible strength of the Soviet workers' state, built on the broadest mutual assistance between proletarians in areas most remote from each other.

Let the whole working class rise as a man to heal this deep wound of the Volga area, and the fertile Volga area will repay us with its grain in future years. That is the

only way for us to preserve the Soviet power and safeguard the freedom we have won against all the villainous attempts of the capitalists of the world.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on October 7, 1921
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

426
TO P. A. KRASIKOV

8/X.

Comrade Krasikov:

Yesterday, the Orgbureau suspended the case (Moscow disciplinary court) and referred it to the People's Commissariat for Justice.

Now you must let me have your opinion on Monday.

I advise:

(α) a brief report in the press (whom can we ask to do it?) *beginning* with the case of Mayakovsky versus Skvortsov*;

(β) the law must without fail be specified or *amended* in a legislative procedure. Memo about this on Monday.

Could this be done *together* with the All-Russia Central T.U.C.?

Awaiting your reply,**
Lenin

Written on October 8, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53
Printed from the original

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* See Document 363 of this volume.—*Ed.*
** See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 53, Document 413.—*Ed.*

427
TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY[357]

G. M.:

If you approve, return this, and I shall have it retyped and sent (to whom? to you?). I wonder whether it is worth doing this at all? Perhaps, this is *unnecessary* "pomp"? Is it of any *practical* benefit?

Lenin

Written on October 8 or 9, 1921

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

428
TELEGRAM TO A. I. POTYAEV AND NOTE TO SECRETARY

(Check address with Meisner at Glavryba)

Glavryba Chairman *Potyaev*
Astrakhan

9.X.1921

Received your letter of 21/9.[358] Give description of new methods to the press both in Astrakhan and Moscow. Telegraph to C.L.D. proposals concerning cooperage.

Lenin
Chairman, C.L.D.

Replied by telegram on 9/X.
Check Potyaev's reply and introduce in the *C.L.D.*

9/X. *Lenin*

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

429
*TELEGRAM TO ALL GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES, GUBERNIA PARTY COMMITTEES, GUBERNIA TRADE UNION COUNCILS, GUBERNIA LABOUR COMMITTEES

October 10, 1921

Under the influence of the food supply situation in the Donbas, which was aggravated last May-July, tens of thousands of workers have abandoned the pits and have

dispersed, some of them beyond the boundaries of the area. The flight is especially strong among coal-hewers, whose numbers dropped from 16,000 to 10,000 in August, and also among skilled boiler-men. The food supply situation in the Donbas has now been stabilised, namely, a three months' supply of grain has been delivered and is to be increased. I propose that you start extensive agitation for a return to the pits of the underground workers who have left Donbas, namely, coal-hewers, sledders, timberers, drillers, drifters, haulers, and also boiler-men and machinists. No need to send workers others than those in the stated categories. In conducting agitation explain: 1) full provision of grain; 2) introduction of new rules of payment in food and cash by productivity, and abolition of levelling issues of food and money; 3) on the return of the workers largely depends the success of the food campaign in the Ukraine, which had been slowed down by a shortage of fuel for food transportation.

Lenin
Chairman, C.L.D.*

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from a typewritten
text signed by Lenin

430

TELEGRAM TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS OF THE BYELORUSSIAN S.S.R.

C.P.C. Chairman, Byelorussia
Copy to Economic Conference

Teumin's report[359] at the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade does not answer the C.L.D. inquiry because it fails to give any figures. The Economic Conference of Byelorussia has been sending formalistic or unsatisfactory replies to the C.P.C. business manager's telegrams 01090 of September 8; 01134 of September 14; 01161 of September 19; 01204 of October 1 and 01220 of October 5. Please

* The telegram is also signed by V. M. Molotov, Secretary of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee.—*Ed.*

at once demand and obtain these telegrams from the economic conference, investigate the matter, and prosecute those guilty of red tape and sabotage. The required report, signed by the economic conference chairman, must be dispatched at once. Telegraph receipt of this telegram and execution.

October 10

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on October 10, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

431

TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

Received after Politbureau sitting.
Please circulate urgently to all members of Politbureau for a written vote

10.X.

Comrade Molotov:

I have an arrangement with Comrade Unschlicht to delay execution of the sentence on Nazvanov, and am taking the question to the Politbureau.

In the summer of 1921, I had a letter about Nazvanov from Krasin (before Nazvanov's arrest). Krasin requested that this very valuable engineer, as he put it, should be recruited for our work.

Krzhizhanovsky told me that he, being acquainted with Nazvanov, had repeatedly had sharp arguments with him after 25.X.1917, and had very nearly thrown him out of the house for his anti-Soviet views. He said, however, that in the spring or summer of 1921 he had noticed a change in Nazvanov, and had taken him to work at the *State Planning Commission*.

After this I had two comrades from the C.C. of the sugar industry workers who, in reply to my question, gave a positive opinion of Nazvanov, an opinion which they

confirmed in writing as well. On the strength of the aforementioned, I am taking the matter to the Politbureau.

I propose: if necessary, Krasin's letter and a written reference of the two workers should be found. I shall find both these documents if the Politbureau so decides.

For my part I propose: to cancel the Petrograd Gubernia Cheka's sentence and apply the sentence proposed by Agranov (it is here in the record of the case), i.e., two years with the possibility of *conditional* release.[360]

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on October 10, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from the original

432

TO THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.[361]

I consider the matter of exceptional importance and urgency, because to conclude a loan with Italy, *which is not demanding recognition of the old debts*, might mean a break through the financial blockade.

I propose a secret commission from the Politbureau **right away** with a **short** term (2-4 days). Let us say, with the following on it: Litvinov, Scheinman, Radchenko, Krestinsky (with the right of his substitution by another member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Finance), and Bogdanov (with the same right).

The guarantee may be: timber (concession in the north); oil on the Ukhta; oil on the Emba; copper mines, etc.

11/X.

Lenin

(Commission's assignment (2-4 days):
the Italian proposal *specifically*
and then *general* basis of guarantees.)

Written on October 11, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from the original

433

NOTE TO MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.[362]

This is urgent! I propose that either we vote right away in writing or convene the Politbureau for half an hour.

I propose: agree to *Marchlewski* and *Paikes* (let Chicherin decide who is going to Dairen and who to Chita).

Yaroslavsky won't do for the conference in Washington. Meshcheryakov—*not too suitable*. I propose: authorise the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs and the Orgbureau to look for *more* candidates (24 hours).

11/X

Lenin

Written on October 11, 1921

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

434

TO M. L. RUKHIMOVICH[363]

11/X.

Comrade Rukhimovich:

I have read your report and am cursing you most severely.

The report is done carelessly. Why not take 2 or 3 hours here in Moscow (if you had no time in the Donbas) *to put* it *into good shape*?

It is unfinished and unclear.

The required table is not there, but the report itself is cluttered up with figures.

There is need for a short table: the price in terms of flour or in gold rubles, etc.

1,000 poods of coal net at the pit head or at the station, etc.

Before the war...———

Now at the Central Board of the Coal Industry———————(big pits).

There again, on the condition you mentioned (complete success of the whole programme of collective supply?)— — — —

At small pits of leaseholders— — — —

The whole point is to have such a table!

Yet that is the one you have failed to give.

All your tables should be in a special little chapter, giving the details and precise proof of the main and basic table.

Furthermore, there is no clear statement: the authorities (name, record, rank?) *say* the small pits are harmful.

So-and-so (names, etc.) are against this.

This is important, but it has been glossed over.

Thirdly, the conclusion? You should take what is controversial.

The leasing of small pits?

This is *now* beyond doubt.

In your report this is slurred over and it is not clear what *now* remains controversial.

Apparently,

it is that:

1) whether or not there is need right away for *repairs* on a number (*such-and-such? names*) of big pits, and their stoppage for repairs with transfer of their targets to the small pits?

2) The leasing of *medium* pits *as well*?

3) —— precisely *through* the Donets Economic Conference?

There is no clear statement about this. I or any other person reading the report has to *complete* it *in your stead*.

That is the way to ruin even a good case!

To clear things up we would need *your plan*: close down for repairs so and so. Within two years (or how many?) to have small pits yield 900 million, etc.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on October 11, 1921

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

435
TO M. L. RUKHIMOVICH

12/X.

Comrade Rukhimovich:

Stalin tells me that you have taken strong offence at my letter.*

You are quite wrong to take this attitude. I had not the slightest intention of being offensive.

I had to swear because I took your ideas *in earnest*. I personally made a call yesterday about it to *Ramzin* (a first-class, and most honest scientist) and *Smilga*. Smilga *promised* me to call a commission: Bazhanov + Ramzin + yourself.

You must know how to *fight* instead of taking too modest an attitude as you are doing.

I have *not* shown *anyone* my letter to you.

Make the best preparation you can for the commission; and if you are voted down, let me have your "minority opinion" precisely and clearly stated.[364]

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on October 12, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from the original

436
TO V. V. KUIBYSEEV[365]

12.X.1921

Comrade Kuibyshev:

Please let me have the following additional explanations on the Rutgers case:

1) everyone seems to think we shall have to spend 300,000 dollars.

But §4 *a*) says:

---

* See previous document.—*Ed.*

"The Soviet Government shall allocate 100 dollars *for each worker coming to settle*",
while §5 a) and b) say that 2,800 + 3,000 = 5,800 are due to settle.

Doesn't that make our expenditure 600,000 *dollars*?

Or should we add clearly: 100 dollars each for *3,000* men for the Nadezhdinsk Works and nothing more?

2) Why is there no *written* statement from all three, Rutgers, Heywood and Calvert, that they are *willing to sign* the enclosed "undertaking"?

Please order this today and be sure to have it done *in English*.

3) End of §8 (our pledge to repay expenses) should be set out more precisely in a special §: "The Soviet Government undertakes to reimburse expenses only on the following principles and in the following cases."

4) Is there any sign of an ultimatum in the amendments made by Rutgers and the others to the text adopted by the Supreme Economic Council Presidium?

Please send me your reply (+ the English pledge) *and return this letter to Molotov*, C.C. Secretary, *tomorrow*, *Thursday*, *October 13*.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

437

TELEGRAM TO ALL TIMBER COMMITTEES AND GUBERNIA CHEKA

To All Gubernia, District, Regional and Railway Timber Committees, to All Gubernia Cheka
(Copies to the All-Russia Cheka and
to Comrade Avanesov, Workers' and Peasants' Inspection)

Despite constant reminders from the Central Administration of the Timber Industry, the timber committees continue to delay their progress reports, or are submitting

them incomplete or drawn up in the wrong form. It is high time that everyone should understand that the absence of precise information on the replenishment of the firewood and material stock greatly hampers the centre's planning and distribution work, and has a grave effect on every branch of the national economy, because wood fuel is the basis for the operation of all state industry and the railways, while timber, apart from meeting the country's acute domestic needs, serves as a real basis for our foreign trade, without which the economic revival of the Republic is impossible. This is a categorical order to all timber committees at once to regulate their reports on the stocking, carting out and delivery of firewood, charcoal and timber; all gubernia Cheka must see to the precise observance of the deadlines and forms laid down by the C.A.T.I. Under the personal responsibility of all timber committee chairmen I demand precise and speedy replies with a list of all those personally responsible for the submission of reports.[366]

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars*

Written on October 13, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from a typewritten text with Lenin's additions and signature

438
TO N. P. GORBUNOV

13.X.1921

Comrade Gorbunov:

1) The pamphlet must be returned to the author (after making a note of its title and the author's place of work).[367]

2) Try to find out in which libraries the book is available.

* The telegram is also signed by V. A. Trifonov, deputy chief of the Central Fuel Administration and K. Kh. Danishevsky, chief of the C.A.T.I.—*Ed.*

3) Write to engineer N. S. Vetchinkin, asking him whether he could write an *article* on this question for *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* or *Izvestia*.

Write a small pamphlet with the addition of conclusions from the latest (1914-1921) foreign literature.

4) Propose that the S.E.C. Presidium should establish:

(a) the keeping of a correct inventory of our road-building machinery, by agreement with the War Department;

(b) persons responsible for the inventory and use of these machines (perhaps, these responsible persons should be at the S.E.C.'s *Public Works Committee*?);

(c) discuss whether or not a small number of tractors should be assigned to this work to carry it on regularly.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1933
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Printed from the original

439

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

Attention, all members of the C.C.

Reinstein informed me yesterday that the American millionaire *Hammer*, who is Russian-born (is in prison on a charge of illegally procuring an abortion; actually, it is said, in revenge for his communism), is prepared to give the Urals workers *1,000,000 poods of grain* on very easy terms (5 percent) and to take *Urals valuables* on commission for sale in America.

This Hammer's son (and partner), a doctor, is in Russia, and has brought Semashko $60,000 worth of surgical instruments as a gift. The son has visited the Urals with Martens and has decided to help rehabilitate the Urals industry.

An official report will soon be made by *Martens*.

Lenin

14/X.

Written on October 14, 1921

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Printed from the original

440
TO G. V. CHICHERIN[368]

Comrade Chicherin:

I doubt whether any other People's Commissariat would stand for that sort of thing. I think the business manager P. P. Gorbunov is to blame. He should have worked out and got through the Politbureau a precise statute of the Moscow Committee's powers, and to cover the fact that without your consent the Moscow Committee is not empowered to remove anyone ("remove" in the broad sense of the word).

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Written in October, not before the 14th, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

441
TO L. K. MARTENS

15.X.

Comrade Martens:

Can *Hammer* (Reinstein told me about him*) be persuaded to

undertake the financing of the Rutgers group to save the Urals, *improving* the composition of the group? by including, say, four *efficient* Americans?

Let me have an answer to this as soon as possible.

Second. Can you get Hammer to take an interest in a scheme to electrify the Urals, so that Hammer should provide not only the grain, but also the electrical equipment (naturally on a loan basis)?

* See Document 439 of this volume.—*Ed.*

Rutgers's plan must be *corrected* (try to do this through Hammer), and not simply rejected.[369]

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Written on October 15, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

442
TO N. A. UGLANOV

15/X.

Comrade Uglanov:

I am sending this to you and Komarov *secretly*.

Bear in mind that this has been decided *before* the arrival of the commission of Kamenev + Orjonikidze + Zalutsky and *independently* of them. The Petrograd Gubernia Cheka is no use, it is not up to the mark, it is not clever. We have to find better men.[370]

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Written on October 15, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53
Printed from the original

443
TO G. V. CHICHERIN

16.X.

Comrade Chicherin:

I do not agree with you in the assessment of the situation or on the steps you propose.[371] There can be no question at all of Trotsky and myself withdrawing from the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

It is quite enough for Krasin to make a statement on the debts.

Urquhart has *so far* disagreed with the percentage level:

he offered 5 per cent of gross output, our commission demanded 10 per cent.

The British and the French want to plunder us. That we shall not allow. We shall pay no attention to their "dissatisfaction" over this.

There is one concession: timber in the Caucasus. Trade arrangements with the Germans are under way. They are starting with Italy: she has offered a loan. **This** matter should be speeded up and pushed forward by every means.

There is a contract with Armstrong on the boilers. There is a contract with Norway.

The *only* "sharp turn" is with Britain and France, and I do not see that we should make *any* concessions or steps. *Hoover* is a real asset.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on October 16, 1921

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

444

TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY

Copy to Comrade Osinsky,
copy to Comrade Avanesov
for all C.L.D. members, circulate for all to read
and sign upon reading

17/X.1921

Comrade Krzhizhanovsky:

I draw your attention to Comrade Rakovsky's article, "The Famine and Maize", in *Pravda* No. 231 (14.X.1921).

In the light of this article, I feel sure that the *conclusion* of the State Planning Commission's agricultural section on maize (of 13.IX.1921, signed by Comrade Sereda) is inadequate.

The advantages of maize (and beans) appear to be *proven* in several respects. Since this is so, faster and more vigorous measures should be taken. Of especial importance is

the fact that the seed requirement is between *one-tenth* and *one-fifteenth* of the normal quantity.

This appears to be the *crucial* consideration.

It should be decided right away that the *total* quantity of maize required for the *full* sowing of *all the spring* area *throughout* the Volga region should be purchased in good time for the sowing in the spring of 1922.

To attain this aim, this should be paralleled by:

1) elaboration of very precise and very circumstantially considered measures for the propaganda of maize and the **teaching** of peasants to grow maize with the meagre resources *now* available;

2) urgent discussion of whether practical ways and means can be found to *make maize a part of the people's diet*, under the *existing* conditions in peasant farming, *their habits and way of life* (cf. page 35, the State Planning Commission's memo).

I request an immediate discussion of these questions in the agricultural section and the presidium, making sure to collect *every* shade of opinion on maize.

Report to the *C.L.D.* on Friday, 21.X.1921.[372]

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.L.D.

First published on April 15, 1930 in *Pravda* No. 104

Printed from the original

445

TO N. N. KRESTINSKY

Copy to Comrade Preobrazhensky

17.X.1921

Comrade Krestinsky:

I should like to know your opinion about whether or not it is time to make these two kinds of calculations:

first, a plan (a quite rough and general plan, by way of the first approximation) for restoring our currency. Say: under such-and-such conditions, over a period of so many years, it would be possible by consistently applying such-and-such measures to achieve so-and-so.

Do you (and the finance commission) believe that such a calculation is possible or that even an approximate calculation of this kind is premature and impossible *for the time being*?

Second, is it possible to convert our *expenditure* budget into gold and compare it (*on the main* heads—and perhaps by departments and regions, gubernias, capitals, etc., as far as possible) with *pre-war* figures?

We should make a start, and as soon as possible, on a reform, through such or similar calculation, of our quite neglected and irrelevantly, spontaneously, and irregularly inflated budget.

I request you to let me have your opinion on this matter and—if you have no special objections—to raise it in the finance commission.

With communist greetings,
Lenin

First published in 1924 in the book *Veliky Vozhd* (Great Leader)

Printed from the original

446
TO P. I. POPOV

Comrade Popov:

I have received the statistical tables of population by administrative division of the R.S.F.S.R.

1) I request that they be specified in publication (for instance, it is not said that they are after the census of August 28, 1920).

2) The autonomous regions and republics (the Karelian Labour Commune, the Bashkirian, the Tatar, etc.) should be brought out from the list of gubernias and given separately, checking (when in doubt) with the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs and the People's Commissariat for Justice.

3) The summing-up should bring together the large divisions, repeating them

approximately in this way { European Russia, R.S.F.S.R. proper; autonomous republics Ukrainian S.S.R., Turkestan, Caucasian Republic, Far-Eastern, etc.

4) Check up once again whether *the same* territories, e.g., the Bashkirian Republic, have been taken for 1914 and 1897

1920 1,268,132
1914 357,700 (?? obvious error)

5) Add a short text (in accordance with the pamphlet issued by the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) on the changes (within the uyezds and volosts) in the gubernias and regions.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.L.D.

P.S. Another desirable addition, *if that is not too much trouble*: the area, population 1897 and 1914 (if available) of the *states* within the old Russian Empire which have seceded from the R.S.F.S.R.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.L.D.

P.P.S. Is it possible also to add the number of uyezds, volosts, towns and villages has in the 1914-1915 yearbook).

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.L.D.

Written on October 17, 1921

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from a typewritten copy

447

TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY

17/X.

G. M.:

This is secret.

Read it and return this very day, tomorrow morning, at the latest.

The author[373] is partly right: I shall change the assignment to the State Planning Commission in the *conclusion* (assignment to the People's Commissariat for Agriculture).

Please think about the way to co-ordinate and *specify* S.P.C. tasks and let me have your plan (draft decision on drawing a line of distinction between S.P.C. and the planning commissions) *in writing*.

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Written on October 17, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from the original

448
TO PROPOSAL TO THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. AND NOTE TO V. M. MIKHAILOV[374]

To Politbureau *Members*

For my part, I propose that we agree with Chicherin.

18/X. *Lenin*

18/X.

Comrade Mikhailov:

I propose that the enclosed should be *circulated* to all members of the Politbureau, that is, each should read, make his remarks, and send it on to the next person (or to you).

If no one insists on a *discussion* in the Politbureau, then the decision of the majority should be entered in the minutes right away.

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Written on October 18, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53
Printed from the original

449

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

To all members of the Politbureau

I am against the underlined proposal.[375] Such steps will merely create an impression of our weakness: as has always happened in such cases, the opponent will become impudent. I consider Krasin's interview and polemics in the press to be enough. I request Comrade Mikhailov to ask Comrade Chicherin for my previous note to him on this matter, and to have it circulated also among the Politbureau members.*

18/X. *Lenin*

Written on October 18, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

450

*TO THE S.E.C. PRESIDIUM

I propose that the information and material on the construction of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk District Electric-Power Station (on Lake Rubskoye) should be urgently sent to me.[376]

1) The statute of the state district Ivanovo-Voznesensk electric-power station or of the construction of this station.

2) Have the projects for the construction of this station, the basic data of the project: capacity, type, etc., been worked out and approved?

3) How the project administration is organised; the number of offices; their location; relations with each other and the centre; to whom the construction is directly subordinate here, at the centre; relations between the construction bodies and the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Gubernia Soviet establishments; the name, office and record of the chief persons responsible for construction; those here, at the centre, directly responsible for the whole undertaking.

* See Document 443 of this volume.—*Ed.*

4) The number of industrial and office workers employed by the project administration and at the building site on May 1 and October 1, including the staffs of all the central and local construction offices (Moscow, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Teikovo, Lake Rubskoye); separately—how many:

Building and other workers:

a) skilled,

b) unskilled;

Office workers;

Administrative and technical personnel:

a) engineers,

b) other technicians.

5) What tasks have been set before the project administration, the building programme for 1921 and 1922; the calendar programme and its execution over these two years.

6) The state of the building operations on October 1, 1921; what has actually been done since the start of construction.

7) Supply of the building site for 1921 and 1922 with:
food,
building and technical materials, and manpower, etc.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on October 19, 1921

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

451

TO L. K. MARTENS

Comrade Martens:

If Hammer is in earnest about his plan to supply 1 million poods of grain to the Urals (and it is my impression from your letter that your written confirmation of Reinstein's words makes one believe that he is, and that the plan is not just so much hot air), you must try and give the whole matter the precise juridical form of a contract or *concession*.*

* See Document 473 of this volume; also *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 53, Document 511.—*Ed.*

Let it be a *concession*, even if a fictitious one (asbestos or any other Urals valuables or what have you). What we want to show and have in print (later, when *performance begins*) is that the Americans *have gone in* for *concessions*. This is important politically. Let me have your reply.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on October 19, 1921

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

452

LETTER TO I. I. RADCHENKO AND NOTE TO F. V. LENGNIK

19.X.1921

Comrade Radchenko:

I recommend to you the bearer of this, Nikolai Alexandrovich *Yemelyanov*. Please let him have a *6-month assignment for work abroad*, so as to give him a chance to recover from the hard labour in Petrograd, and have a change of work.

I know Nikolai Alexandrovich very well personally, and am sure that this comrade, this absolutely honest and most loyal Communist, with vast human, industrial and Party experience, can and must be used for cleansing the Augean stables of stealing and sabotage by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade officials abroad. Please phone me today.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Comrade Lengnik:

Please read this letter and phone me (we shall later also show this letter to Iv. Iv. Radchenko). It is my earnest request that Yemelyanov should be given a suitable assignment abroad soon.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

First published in part in 1934 in the book *Lenin na khozyaistvennom fronte* (Lenin on the Economic Front)

Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from the original

453

*TO THE MOSCOW REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL

Under a decision of the Moscow Cheka Collegium, a case of red tape at the People's Commissariat for Food (the case of Yakov Stepanovich Artyukhov) was referred to you.[377]

Please have this important case tried as soon as possible and let me know the judgement.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

P.S. It is of exceptional importance—both from the Party and the political standpoint—especially in pursuance of the decision of the Eighth Congress of Soviets,[378] to have the proceedings in the red tape case arranged with the greatest solemnity, making the trial *educational*, and the sentence sufficiently impressive.

Lenin

Written on October 20, 1921
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from a typewritten text with additions in a secretary's hand

454

TO J. V. STALIN

Comrade Stalin:

Have a look at this, please, and if possible, inquire from some of the old Party men, Armenians, perhaps. I knew *Lalayants* from the *1890s* on as a Marxist and then a Bolshevik. He is undoubtedly a loyal revolutionary, *who must be used despite our political differences*.[379]

20/X.

Lenin

Written on October 20, 1921
First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

455

TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV[380]

Comrade Smolyaninov:

We must press forward with the question of *cotton* in the Caucasus, Azerbaijan (Mugan Steppe) and in Armenia.

Tell Rykov and see to it that the State Bank should issue *as big* and as easy a loan *as possible*.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on October 21, 1921

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

456

TO V. Y. CHUBAR AND KH. G. RAKOVSKY

Chubar and Rakovsky

Today, on a report concerning the transportation of foodstuffs from the Ukraine, the C.L.D. decided that considering that you have undertaken to load the grain for the centre with your own means, and considering that it has reached hardly a quarter of the established rate, we shall be forced to appoint our own representative to the Ukraine, unless there is a radical improvement in this matter within the next three days. The C.L.D. requests an immediate reply to this C.L.D. telegram.*

21/X.21

Lenin
Chairman, C.L.D.

Sent to Kharkov

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from a text written in Lydia Fotieva's hand and signed by Lenin

* In the upper right-hand corner of the page there is the following note by Lydia Fotieva: "Comrade Gartman. This must be sent off at once and the reply receipt seen to."—*Ed.*

457
TO A. O. ALSKY

Secret
21.X.

Comrade Alsky:

Please have information sent me on the *reserve*, emergency fund of bank-notes:

(1) monthly, so long as the fund is not < 1,000,000 million,

(2) twice a month, if it is not < 500,000 million,

(3) weekly, if it is not < 250,000 million,

(4) daily, if less.

Also let me know *the procedure governing the expenditure* of the emergency fund (who has the right to make disbursements? what are the formalities involved? etc.).

Think this over and let me know with the utmost secrecy, in a sewn-up and sealed envelope, addressed for **personal** delivery, into Lenin's own hands, from Alsky.[381]

Lenin

Written on October 21, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from the original

458
TO THE ORGBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.[382]

Comrade Mikhailov, **C.C. Orgbureau**

In view of the request from Iv. Iv. Skvortsov (Stepanov), please cancel his business trip and *banish* him instead *to one of* the state farms *near Moscow*, on a milk ration, to enable him to complete within four or six weeks, the writing he has undertaken, without being distracted by other business. (Find the state farm through the Moscow organ concerned.)

Lenin

Written on October 21, 1921
First published in 1929 in the magazine *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 10
Printed from the original

459

TO A. A. NOVITSKY

Comrade Novitsky:

Perhaps, it will be clearer this way:

(+)

column *3*: actual amount in hand
and *issued* (—),
this *will* then *give below* the figure:
remaining in hand
+

and next to this
columns *6* and *6 bis*, to whom, where,
when, whose decision.

Then
allocations 4+8+9
10th in the 4th from the top

and **then**
amount in hand *minus* allocations,
i.e., *5th column*.

Such tables (as you have been sending me) must be top secret.*

For this, I think, *only* two copies must be made (one for you+one for me for the Politbureau) without retyping.

Add another column: *earmarked by the C.C.*, perhaps under this head:

Earmarked under a report by
Comrade Molotov:
when earmarked,
how much,
aim.

With communist greetings,
Lenin

P.S. Return this to me with your mark and the enclosures.

Written in October,
before the 22nd, 1921

Published in full in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from the original

* See Document 457 of this volume.—*Ed.*

460
TO A. A. NOVITSKY

Secret

Comrade Novitsky:

Add to your reports on the gold fund another column: earmarked by the Politbureau, but not yet passed in Soviet government procedure, and not issued; arrange with Comrade Mikhailov, C.C. Secretary, on your receipt of this information and enter it personally into the reports.

22/X.

Top secret.

Lenin

Written on October 22, 1921

Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from the original

461
TO L. S. SOSNOVSKY[383]

22/X.

Comrade Sosnovsky:

I have received your letter concerning Yezhov.

I very much doubt that we could afford to let 1,000-1,500 warehouse and office workers get

1,250,000-1,500,000 (Soviet) rubles a month.

Hardly.

I think: work out bonuses for rapid clearing of warehouse in economic enterprise (state plant, factory, state farm, etc.).

It is up to Yezhov to put through your other proposals (and a copy for me).

Let us have a precise and short draft.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on October 22, 1921

First published in 1928 in *Lenin Miscellany VIII*

Printed from a typewritten copy

462

TO TELEGRAM TO ALL REGIONAL AND GUBERNIA ECONOMIC CONFERENCES

To all Regional and Gubernia Conferences.
Special Committee, Kharkov

In view of the reported cases of regional and gubernia economic organs making unwarranted changes in the distribution plans based on decisions by the Central Committee of the Fuel Workers' Union, and in some instructions issued by the Central Fuel Administration, which tends to ruin the rhythm of the fuel supply operation, I propose that no more arbitrary changes should be allowed in the future in any case. When such are necessary, however, agree matters beforehand with the Central Fuel Administration or introduce in the C.L.D. Execution of this shall be the personal responsibility of the economic conference chairmen. Inform of receipt and execution.[384]

Lenin
Chairman, C.L.D.

Written on October 22, 1921
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from a typewritten text with Lenin's additions and signature

463

TO D. I. KURSKY

22/X.

Comrade Kursky:

I enclose material on the *S.K.F.* concession (Bogdanov has the contract and the other material).

You are aware of this matter.

Please return this to me with your opinion.

You will recall that you objected to it *over the warehouse.*

Couldn't we do it this way: find the form (suitable, convenient) for *two* transactions: under one transaction, the *S.K.F.* **will purchase** the whole warehouse from us. (Recognition of *our* title: that is the essence, after all.)

Under the other—we shall buy from them items to the amount stated in the contract.

As a result, *we* pay them this amount.*

Is it possible to ensure our interests *in any other way*? I doubt it.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on October 22, 1921

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

464

MARKINGS ON A MEMO FROM AND LETTER TO G. V. CHICHERIN

Comrade Chicherin:

See letter,

p. 4

and over.

Lenin

October 22, 1921

Dear Vladimir Ilyich:

Today's coded message from Comrade Krasin, a part of which has reached us, on Urquhart's statements and campaign shows that the matter is much more serious, and cannot be explained solely by bluff designed to secure 5 per cent royalties on the concessions. There has apparently been some disappointment over our new line. Naturally, in the establishment of such a complex historic combination, as concessions to West European capitalists under a Bolshevik government, the arranging of these combinations does not proceed smoothly or at once. The more reason, therefore, for us to see to it that these

? frictions are overcome. I personally am quite unaware of the

? springs of our policy which caused a certain turn in our line

? at the end of August, so that I am altogether not competent to say whether such a turn had been necessary....

Comrade Chicherin:

There was not the slightest shadow of a "turn in our line" in August (see page 1). We have never taken a pledge and will never take a pledge not to arrest swindlers, not to shoot plotters, not to reject excessively greedy proposals by concessionaires.

---

* See Document 471 of this volume.—*Ed.*

On the debt question, I advise you to put through the Politbureau the appointment of a commission (your candidates?) to check up on the state of work of the Groman and Goikhbarg commissions.

I personally see nothing in "Krasin's facts", etc., except Urquhart's blackmail.

They *will* hazard an intervention in spring, if they can *force* Poland: nothing can be done to prevent this except strengthening our defence capacity.

Mikhalsky writes about new turns by Britain. What is the point there? What do you think? Is it that they are afraid of Washington, and want to "placate" France and intimidate Russia?

Agreements and concessions with the *Americans* are of *exceptional importance* to us: we have **something** (not a little) with Hoover. We almost have something with *Hammer*. **Amruss** is on the way.[385]

Everything should be done (by you especially) to eliminate **all** friction (regrettable and harmful) between Litvinov and Martens.*

Yours,
Lenin

Written on October 22, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 53

Printed from the original

465
TO J. V. STALIN[386]

Comrade Stalin:

The estimate seems to be exaggerated. But, I must admit, I am not acquainted with the scope of the Orgbureau's "distributive" work. I think the motivation is correct. The first thing to do is to reduce the "indent" in respect of the non-economic People's Commissariats.

Lenin

Written between October 22 and 31, 1921

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

* See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 53, Document 424.—*Ed.*

466

NOTE TO G. V. CHICHERIN AND REMARKS ON A DRAFT SOVIET GOVERNMENT DECLARATION ON DEBT RECOGNITION[387]

October 24

Comrade Chicherin:

I am sending you my amendments and request you to return them with your comment.

No. 1) We do not have 150 but *130* million including the Far-Eastern Republic.

No. 2) Not to "yield", but to make *a number of concessions*.

No. 3) **The main thing:** *our* claims to them should be stated *subtly* and precisely.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Draft Declaration

The Brussels Conference of representatives of the Powers, according to the West European press, has set as a condition for granting credits to the Government of Russia in aid of the starving its recognition of the debts of the former Russian governments. Nothing has yet been communicated to the Government of Russia about the decisions of this conference. However, the Government of Russia, in face of the starving masses, refuses to abide by the subtleties of diplomatic etiquette and feels it to be its bounden duty to declare here and now its attitude to the Brussels decisions. The British Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, in his speech in the British Parliament on August 16, said that the proposal to use the famine in Russia to force her to recognise the tsarist government's debts was a devilish scheme. Nevertheless, the Brussels Conference, being quite aware that, in view of the scale of the famine disaster in Russia, the Soviet Government is incapable, with its own resources, to save the famine-stricken population, has made the granting of credits to Russia, without which serious aid to the starving is impossible, contingent on the Soviet Government's recognition of the old debts.

Drawing the attention of the toiling masses in all countries and of all citizens who cherish humanitarian considerations, to these acts of the Brussels Conference, the Government of Russia hereby declares that the proposal to have the old debts recognised on certain terms now meets its own intentions. Since its inception, the Soviet Government has set itself economic co-operation with other Powers as one of the main aims of its policy. It has always declared its readiness to make available sufficient profit to foreign capitalists who would

help it to work Russia's natural resources and rehabilitate her economic apparatus. At present, it says that the official statements of the President of the United States of America and of the Ministers of Great Britain have repeatedly expressed the idea that three years after the end of the world war there is still no real peace, the plight of the masses is becoming ever more acute, state debts are increasing and there is growing economic dislocation.

It is quite obvious that it is inconceivable to establish full peace without Russia, with her 150 million population, that the economic dislocation cannot be overcome, so long as Russia is left in ruins, and that the question of relations between Russia and the rest of the world, which is a paramount world question, cannot be solved without an agreement with the Soviet Government. From the standpoint of the long-term interests and constant requirements of all states and all peoples, the economic rehabilitation of Russia is a prime necessity not only for her but for them as well. Without economic co-operation with other countries, the task of Russia's economic revival proves to be exceptionally difficult, and its fulfilment is sure to be dragged out over a much longer period.

No. 1
130

This task can be best carried out by a workers' and peasants' government. It is not hampered in its work of rehabilitating the national economy by the private self-seeking interests of separate groups of capitalists. A workers' and peasants' power is guided immediately by the interests of the broadest masses of people which, in essence, amount to the interests of society as a whole. With its purpose of satisfying the interests of all the toiling people of Russia, the workers' and peasants' power, which has emerged victorious from the incredible ordeals of the Civil War, holds out to private initiative and capital the opportunity of co-operating with the workers' and peasants' power in developing Russia's natural resources. The Soviet Government has restored private trade, private property in small enterprises, and the right of concession and lease of large enterprises.

The Soviet power holds out to foreign capital a sufficient part of the profit to satisfy its interests, so as to attract it to participation in economic work in Russia. Following this path, the Soviet Government strives to have economic agreements with all the Powers, for which purpose there is ultimately a need to conclude a final peace settlement between Russia and other states. With this task before it, the Soviet power has met with the demand on the part of the other Powers for recognition of the tsarist government's old debts.

The Soviet Government declares that it is firmly convinced that no people is obliged to pay the cost of the chains it has worn for centuries. But in its firm resolve to reach full agreement with the other Powers, the Government of Russia is prepared to yield on this cardinal question. In this way it also meets the desires of many small holders of Russian state loans, especially in France, for whom its recognition of tsarist debts is of substantial interest. On the strength of these considerations, the Government of Russia declares that it is prepared to recog-

No. 2
make a number of substantial concessions

nise its obligations to other states and their citizens on state loans contracted by the tsarist government before 1914, provided it is granted easy terms, giving it a practical possibility of meeting these obligations. It goes without saying that an indispensable prerequisite of such recognition shall be the simultaneous obligation on the part of the Great Powers unconditionally to end all acts threatening the security of the Soviet Republics and the immunity of their boundaries. In other words, the Soviet Republic will undertake these obligations only in the event the Great Powers conclude with it a final general peace, and if its government is recognised by the other Powers.

With that end in view, the Government of Russia proposes the early convocation of an international conference to deal with the tasks indicated above, to examine the reciprocal demands of the other Powers ∨ and the Government of Russia ∧ and work out a final peace treaty between them. Only after the convocation of this conference will it be possible to reach a general peace settlement. This will in no sense be achieved by the Washington Conference, whose decisions will not be recognised by the Republic of Russia, which has not been invited to attend the conference.

No. 3 reciprocal claims ∨ on each other ∧ on each other Powers

On the fourth anniversary of the Soviet Government, to be marked in a few days, everyone will have to recognise that the efforts of its numerous external and internal enemies have merely served to consolidate the workers' and peasants' power in Russia, as the true defender and representative of the interests of the toiling masses of Russia, and of her independence. The fresh interventionist designs against Soviet Russia, whose existence is evident from the numerous statements by the leading organs of the press in the Entente countries, will merely help to strengthen the indissoluble bonds between the toiling masses of Russia and the workers' and peasants' power, which represents their will, but any attempt to implement these schemes can merely increase the suffering of the toiling masses, and delay the moment of Russia's eventual economic rehabilitation, thereby also delivering a blow at the economic interests of all other peoples.

The proposal being put forward by the Government of Russia is the best evidence of its urge for peace with all states, and the establishing with them of undisturbed economic relations. It is in the interests of all states and peoples that this proposal should be realised.

The Government of Russia expresses the firm hope that its proposal will shortly result in the achievement of a final settlement of economic and political relations between Russia and the other states.

Written on October 24, 1921

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed: Lenin's note and remarks from the original; draft declaration, from a typewritten copy

467
TO G. V. CHICHERIN[388]

Comrade Chicherin:

I think that the Government should not, must not deny such silly rumours. The thing to do is to give them to the press and to *ridicule*, *make a laughing-stock* of those who believe these rumours and circulate them. This is blackmail on the part of the Urquharts and the Curzons: such rumours are designed to hamper agreement at present. This is patent blackmail.

24/X.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on October 24, 1921

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

468
TO J. V. STALIN

Comrade Stalin:

Please read this and pass on to Comrade Mikhailov.

I very strongly recommend the bearer of this, Comrade Nikolai Alexandrovich *Alexeyev*.

I have known him since *1902*, when we worked together on *Iskra* in London.

He is a very well-educated Marxist, a Bolshevik and a comrade who is remarkably honest in doing his duty.

He has been tossed out into Siberia for about 10 years, and would now like to make his way back to the centre. He should be helped to move to the centre, because a ten-year stay in Siberia is too much; worse than too much.

He should be replaced in Siberia by someone of the absolutely reliable, honest old Party men: the "Communists" in Siberia have been committing **a host** of shocking things and **stupidities**.[389]

Lenin

Written on October 25, 1921

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

469

*DESIRABLE LITERATURE (PUBLICATIONS FROM GERMANY)

I. Pamphlets and proceedings of all parties and conferences of the following political trends:

1) Communists,
2) Kommunistische Arbeiter Partei Deutschlands,*
3) anarchists and syndicalists,
4) from among the Partei independents (Leftists and Rightists).

II. Novels and stories of the *Clarté* group[390] trend (like Latzko, etc.)—pacifist-critical, assessment of the imperialist war, conclusions, etc.

III. Economics of the present day: results of the war, economic rehabilitation, post-war problems in industry, in agriculture, etc. (especially pamphlets, books and proceedings).

IV. *Subscribe* to several copies
- for the Comintern,
- for 4-6 university
- and other libraries
- etc.

- *Rote Fahne***
- KAPD***
- *Hamburger Volkszeitung*,****
- list of new books in every branch
- etc.

25/X.

Lenin

Written on October 25, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

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* Communist Workers' Party of Germany.—*Ed.*
** *Red Banner*.—*Ed.*
*** Kommunistische Arbeiter Partei Deutschlands.—*Ed.*
**** *Hamburg People's Newspaper*.—*Ed.*

470
TO N. P. GORBUNOV[391]

Comrade Gorbunov:

N. M. Knipovich is an outstanding scientific authority and an *unquestionably honest* man, a man of rare honesty. That is why we should show *full* confidence and *accept* his proposal *immediately*. Get it through the Narrow C.P.C. *quickly*, and let me know if there is the slightest delay.

26/X.

Lenin

Written on October 26, 1921
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the original

471
TO MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

To *Politbureau* members

I consider Comrade *Kursky*'s conclusion the only correct one. I propose that it be passed as a *supplemental* C.P.C. decision.[392]

26/X.

Lenin

Written on October 26, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

472
TO V. A. TRIFONOV

Comrade Trifonov:

I do not believe the plan for a paper to be rational just now. *That is not what* the Central Fuel Administration should be tackling just now.[393]

26/X.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on October 26, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

473
TO L. K. MARTENS

Copy to Comrade Bogdanov

27.X.1921

Comrade Martens:

I have received both contracts.[394] I am returning them.

Why are the *additional points* which Reinstein and Hammer showed me (in the draft) not there?

They should be given the final drafting and passed as soon as possible.

Special attention must be given to our thorough *actual* fulfilment of the terms.

There must be no reliance on orders!

Without a triple check-up our men will spoil everything and will fail to do anything right.

An intelligent, competent man should be appointed as personally responsible and checked up on.

We must make a special effort to *nurse* the concessionaires: this is of exceptional economic and political importance.

Let me know precisely what measures you or the S.E.C. Presidium are taking.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

P.S. A point to be specially cleared up whether this should be made public.

There is much indication that it is of great importance for us to have this concession and the contract publicised as widely as possible.

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

474
TO I. I. RADCHENKO

27.X.1921

Comrade Radchenko:

Comrade Martens has sent me the contract with the American company (Hammer and Mishell) signed by you.

I believe this contract to be of enormous importance, as marking the beginning of trade.

It is absolutely necessary that you should give *special* attention to the *actual* fulfilment of *our* obligations.

I am sure that *not a damn thing will be done* unless there is *exacting* pressure and supervision. Take measures of triple precaution and *check up* on the performance.

Let me know whom you appoint as responsible executive; which goods you are preparing; whether you are making a special emphasis on art and Gokhran* items, etc.

Send me reports two or three times a month: what has come into port.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

P.S. Arrival in Petrograd on 25.XII.1921? That's not too late, is it?

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

475

NOTE TO V. M. MIKHAILOV WITH A DRAFT TELEGRAM TO L. B. KRASIN[395]

28/X.

Comrade Mikhailov:

Please have this *urgently* circulated among the Politbureau members (if they approve, agree with Bogdanov and Chicherin and send off this very day).

Recognising it as being vastly important that Krasin should manage to go to America before the Washington Conference;

—recognising it as being *equally* important that American capital should take an interest in our oil, I *propose* that the following reply telegram should be sent to Krasin *this very day* (coded, of course):

"Agree to appropriate up to 100,000 dollars to pay for

* State Depository of Valuables.—*Ed.*

exploration by the Foundation Company, provided our workers and specialists take part and all the details of the exploration are delivered to us. We believe it to be vastly important to attract American capital for the construction of a paraffin separation plant and an oil pipeline in Grozny. We request that this matter be got under way with utmost speed and vigour, because your trip before the Washington Conference opens is of especial importance."

Lenin

Written on October 28, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

476
TO Y. A. PREOBRAZHENSKY

28/X.

Comrade Preobrazhensky:

Read this and return to me.[396]

I see that your optimism is refuted by the facts with increasing frequency.

There is need at all costs to work out:

1) calendar programme and

2) planned estimate:

(α) a given minimum of workers at such-and-such a rate so many thousand millions;

(β) debts coming to so much;

(γ) will cover by the following date, in this priority.

But, *what is more*, we must work a *radical* change in the **whole pace** of our monetary reform.

*Periculum in mora.**

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on October 28, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from the original

* There is danger in delay.—*Ed.*

477
TO M. V. RYKUNOV

28/X.

Comrade Rykunov:

I have received your packets, yesterday's and today's,[397] and must point out your incorrect dispatch of business.

All such matters must be agreed with the People's Commissar (now with Radchenko).

To have business conducted haphazardly by individual members of the collegium is wrong not only under the Constitution, but also in essence, and tends to introduce red tape and chaos.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

Written on October 28, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from a typewritten copy

478
ASSIGNMENT TO SECRETARY AND TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV

Send this telephone message to Bryukhanov

I have been informed that the collection of the tax in kind is proceeding with remarkable ease and speed in Orel and Tula gubernias. Preobrazhensky, who has been to Orel Gubernia, assures me that the whole tax in kind will be brought in within three weeks. Please let me know in a few words what your information is, and how frequently you have been receiving telegrams about the collection of the tax in kind. The model gubernias or uyezds will have to be specially rewarded.

What measures are being taken to concentrate the salt stock and also to see that the salt is not sold otherwise than for grain either in the R.S.F.S.R. or the Ukraine. Perhaps we should also limit the issue of salt in the towns, to hamper the anarchic exchange of goods for salt;

Lenin

Dictated by phone on October 31, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from a typewritten copy

479
TO G. D. TSYURUPA

Comrade *Tsyurupa*, Chief Engineer,
Kashira Construction Site

Not enough foresight was shown in the receipt, without any delay, of transformers and transformer oil from Sweden.

It is intolerable for foreign equipment to "be lying about" at the Moscow customs house, as Vishnyak says it has been.

You are to blame for having failed to take all measures actually ensuring the rapid receipt of the equipment (receipt at Revel of the precise specification and addresses should have been seen to).

Your reference to the fact that the specification says "for the Kashira station" turned out to be invalid, and you failed to make special contact with the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade.

Measures must be taken for the future to have the precise addresses at every point and direction indicated, and the men personally responsible designated.

Inform Comrade Smolyaninov about the measures taken.[398]

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, Council of Labour and Defence

Written on November 2, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

480
TO Y. A. PREOBRAZHENSKY[399]

1

Let's have the figure:

1) **how many-fold** will *your* denomination increase the emission?
2) Why not (later) *worsen* the quality of the bank-notes to speed up their self-liquidation?

2

Your arguments against the module 1 : 50,000:
1) the worker will receive 25,000 rubles = ¼ ruble!!
2) the price of gold will be disproportional.
And with 10,000?
1) the worker will receive 25,000 rubles = 2½ rubles. All-Russia C.E.C. members receive 27,000 = 2 rubles 70 kopeks a month,
2) gold?

Does not your argument boil down *in essence* to the need to keep open the possibility to yet another "retreat" when we *put* paper *on a par* with gold (within a year, two, etc.) *only* after the exchange rate of the ruble is *consolidated*?
Meanwhile
a) there is need for an emission
b) 1 : 10,000 = cautious *probe*, "probing the soil".

3

1) Semyon Yenukidze has calculated:
roughly the same quantity of paper (13,000 and 12,000 poods) gives
4,500 thousand million old rubles, and 457 million new ones, i.e., the same 4,500 thousand million old ones.
Is that so?
What does it give us?
2) Isn't it better to use *bad* paper to allow the issued money *to be self-liquidated faster*?

Written before November 3, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

481

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NARROW C.P.C

Comrade Chairman, Narrow C.P.C.

3.XI.1921

Comrade Litvinov has very earnestly requested me to ask you to examine today

the agreement with the Mongolian Government.[400]
Drop me a line, please, to say whether or not you can.

With communist greetings,
Lenin

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

482
TO ARMAND HAMMER

3.XI.1921

Dear Mr. Armand Hammer!

Comrade Reinstein tells me you are leaving Moscow tonight. I am very sorry I am occupied at the session of the Central Committee of our Party. I am extremely sorry I am unable to see you once more and greet you.

Please be so kind and greet your father, Jim Larkin, Ruthenberg and Ferguson, all best comrades now in American gaols. My best sympathy and best wishes to all them.

Once more best greetings to you and your friends in connection with flour for our workers and your concession. The beginning is extremely important. I hope it will be the beginning of extreme importance.

With best wishes,
Yours truly,
Lenin

P.S. I beg to apologise for my extremely bad English.

First published in Russian and English (facsimile) on January 21, 1926
in *Krasnaya Gazeta* No. 17

Printed from a photocopy of the English original

483
TO D. I. KURSKY

Comrade *Kursky*, People's Commissariat for Justice

In my letter No. 809 of September 3, I made you personally responsible for a number of assignments and re-

quested that you should inform me regularly about their execution.*

Please let me know how the following tasks have been fulfilled:

1) to pull up the judges through the C.C. so that they punish red tape more severely;

2) to arrange a conference of the Moscow people's judges, members of tribunals, etc., to work out *effective* measures to combat red tape;

3) without fail, this autumn and winter of 1921-1922, to bring up for trial in Moscow 4-6 cases of Moscow red tape, selecting the more "vivid" cases, and making each trial a political affair;

4) to find some, if only 2-3, sensible "experts" on questions of red tape, among the more fierce and militant Communists (get hold of Sosnovsky), so as to train people to *weed out* red tape;

5) to publish a good, intelligent, non-bureaucratic letter (a circular of the People's Commissariat for Justice) on fighting red tape.[401]

Chairman of the C.P.C.

Written on November 4, 1921

First published on February 6, 1927 in the newspapers *Pravda* No. 30 and *Izvestia* No. 30

Printed from a typewritten copy

484
TO A. O. ALSKY

Comrade Alsky:

I am sending this request of Shvedchikov's on to you.

Unless we pull it out *now*, the paper industry will collapse *for a whole year*. We must do our utmost.

Let me know what you are doing. Perhaps I should appoint an emergency commission?[402]

5/XI. *Lenin*

Written on November 5, 1921

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

* See present edition, Vol. 35, Document 298.—*Ed.*

485
TO P. A. BOGDANOV

Comrade *Bogdanov*

Copies to Comrades Khinchuk and Radchenko

Comrade Bogdanov:

Steinberg's "concession" (buying up of hides and skins plus import of commodity-exchange fund from abroad) is being examined, as I heard in the C.L.D. yesterday, in the S.E.C. Commission for Utilisation.[403]

Strictly speaking, it is not a concession in the usual sense of the word, and both the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade and Centrosoyuz must be brought in for its examination (especially since Khinchuk declared yesterday that he takes a negative view of Steinberg).

Be sure to have Khinchuk take part in the discussion, and, while we are about it, let's think over a statute for a somewhat different make-up of commissions to discuss "this type" of "concession".[404]

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.L.D.

Written on November 5, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from a typewritten copy

486
TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Comrade Gorbunov:

Perhaps I should appoint a commission:
1) Pokrovsky
2) Khalatov
3) Novitsky, to report to the *Narrow C.P.C.* on Monday night and the Full C.P.C. on Tuesday?*

Phone them up and let me know.[405]

5/XI. *Lenin*

Written on November 5, 1921

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

* That is November 7 and 8.—*Ed.*

487

NOTE TO P. P. GORBUNOV AND TELEGRAM TO L. B. KRASIN

Comrade Gorbunov:

Please send to *Krasin* in code.

Your dispatch of 1.XI is almost hysterical. You have forgotten that even you yourself had not proposed that we should give in to Leslie Urquhart right away, while the Politbureau decision is very well considered and is not a refusal. Concerning the Foundation Company full consent and an assignment to press on was sent you on 29.X. Steps should be taken to arrange for a much speedier exchange of telegrams between us: the apparatus of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade is generally rather bad.

Lenin

Written on November 7, 1921
Sent to London

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

488

TO L. B. KAMENEV[406]

Secret

Comrade Kamenev:

I think Chicherin is wrong. The condition we must lay down is that the grain should go **only** to our starving peasants; we *have to accept*. We in the C.P.C. decided on 5/XI to give gold only for *9 million poods* (33—15 = 18. 18:2 = 9[407]. We must try to help in every way, even if in exchange for the British rubbish.

We shall make a provisional reservation on security.

7/XI. *Lenin*

Written on November 7, 1921

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

489

*TO CENTRAL PRESS DISTRIBUTION AGENCY, PUBLISHING DEPARTMENTS OF THE S.E.C., PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR AGRICULTURE, PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR RAILWAYS, PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOOD[408]

I authorise Comrade Smolyaninov to call a commission consisting of: C.P.D.A., publishing departments of the S.E.C., People's Commissariat for Agriculture, People's Commissariat for Railways and People's Commissariat for Food to work out practical measures regulating delivery of publications to the localities and to bring up for approval by the C.L.D.

Please appoint responsible persons.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.L.D.

Written on November 8, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

490

TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV

Comrade Smolyaninov:

I am sending this for your information.[409] Could we give someone (Strumilin?) an assignment to report twice a month on *the final data on production growth in Donbas*?

9/XI. *Lenin*

Written on November 9, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from the original

491

TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV

Comrade Smolyaninov:

Have a look at this and return to Avanesov.

The first diagram (loading of Donets coal) should be taken as a model for diagrams for the C.L.D.*

* See present edition, Vol. 42, pp. 356-57 and the Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 44, pp. 467-69.—*Ed.*

Only:
1. all diagrams must be filed and not wrapped up,
2. so the size of the diagrams should be smaller,
3. the number of lines in the diagrams not > 3.

9.XI.21 *Lenin*

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

492
TO N. P. GORBUNOV

10.XI.1921

Comrade N. P. Gorbunov

The industrial and office workers of the *Bryansk* Works have made *7 electric ploughs*. By 1.I.1922, they will make *20*.

The difficulties involved were incredible.

That is why it is necessary to give a special reward to some 70 industrial and office workers. This is certified by Comrade *Zheltov*, director of the Bryansk Works.

Please raise this question in the *C.L.D.* tomorrow, after discussing with Comrade Zheltov the types of reward (Order of the Banner of Labour, cash or kind).[410]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.L.D.

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

493
TO I. I. RADCHENKO

Comrade Radchenko:

This is a Party veteran.

Such men will be of undoubted use in combating dishonest elements abroad.

He is not a merchant but, according to people experienced

in commerce, will be of unquestionable benefit as an honest man.

I request his appointment.[411]

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Written on November 10, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from the original

494
TO I. S. UNSCHLICHT

Comrade *Unschlicht*, Deputy Chairman, All-Russia Cheka
Copy to the Narrow C.P.C.

I authorise you to call and chair a conference consisting of the People's Commissars for Foreign Trade, Internal Affairs and Defence urgently to examine the problem of combating smuggling.

Make your report to the Narrow C.P.C. within a week.[412]

Chairman, C.P.C.

Written on November 10, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from a typewritten copy

495
*TO THE STATE PUBLISHERS

Today I received a copy of my article, "Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution",* which you have published in 50,000 copies. In future, will you, please, consult with me whether a separate edition is necessary and in how many copies.

Please print the enclosed article in 5,000 copies.[413]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on November 10, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

* See present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 51-59.—*Ed.*

496
TO N. P. GORBUNOV

12.XI.1921

Comrade Gorbunov:

Please read the enclosure and send on to Comrade Alsky for a study by him and members of the People's Commissariat for Finance Collegium, and then on to Comrade Kamenev, chairman of a commission which will probably deal with the matter as well.[414]

I first met Chebotaryov in the 1880s, in the case of my elder brother, Alexander Ilyich Ulyanov, who was hanged in 1887. Chebotaryov is undoubtedly an honest man. In the epoch of the first revolution and after he was politically a Cadet, but not an active one. I believe that his honesty can and must be relied upon. He now seems to be politically close to *Smena Vekh*.[415]

Lenin

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

497
*TELEGRAM TO ALL ECONOMIC CONFERENCES[416]

Copy to *Statistical Bureau*

You have missed the deadlines for submitting reports to the C.L.D. as established by law—October 15-November 1. Your reports have not been received at the C.L.D. I hereby reprove you for your unpunctuality and delay, and demand that you should meet the deadlines. At once let the C.L.D. know the full names and the offices of the persons responsible for the timely compilation and submission of reports. Pass the same instructions on to the uyezds.[417]

Lenin
Chairman, C.L.D.

Written on November 12, 1921

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

498

TO N. I. BUKHARIN[418]

Comrade Bukharin:

Please read this. We need to have (regardless of this particular article, which, however, appears to be good) *more* publications of Indian comrades in order to encourage them and to collect more information about India and her revolutionary movement.

14/XI. *Lenin*

Written on November 14, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

499

ON THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE PARTY AND THE JUDICIAL AND INVESTIGATION ORGANS[419]

NOTES TO V. M. MOLOTOV

1

Comrade Molotov:

What is the state of this matter?

I think §§ *4* and *5* are *harmful*.

Please, return this to me with a comment in a couple of words.

Lenin

14/XI.

Written on November 14, 1921

2

19.XI.1921

Comrade Molotov:

I am taking the matter on to the Politbureau.

It is altogether wrong to decide such matters in the Orgbureau: this is a **purely** political, an entirely political question.

And it calls for a different solution.

Please have the secretary type out the *old* and the *new* version on one page.

(1) I think §4 should be deleted.

(2) — the *legal* responsibility of Communists should be enhanced.

(3) the Party Committee's "opinions" should be allowed *only* with dispatch to the centre *and verification by the Central Control Commission*.

Lenin

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

500
TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY

15/XI.

Comrade Lunacharsky:

I should very much like to fulfil Comrade Zinoviev's request and scold Serrati.[420]

Could you help me?

You could help in two ways:

1) let me have the manuscript of your pamphlet (16.XI, did you say? or later, retyped?),[421]

2) let me have *two or three* original documents in Italian, the better to "brace" me up. Let's have the most eloquent documents.

Incidentally, Serrati appeared to have asked Lazzari: "Have you been swindled?" "Who is the swindler?" Do you happen to have the *original* of this question?

P.S. Return the enclosure.

Regards,
Lenin

Written on November 15, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

501
TO V. I. SAMARIN[422]

15.XI.1921

Comrade Samarin:

I have been informed by absolutely honest people who have been to the Crimea that *everyone* there is *stealing wine*. They say the situation is utterly scandalous, there is bribe-taking and hard drinking. You are *responsible* for a full and impartial check-up. By the way: the controversial issue between the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade and the People's Commissariat for Public Health about whether wine should be sold abroad (I think that this should be done and fast) or left for the hospitals. You must collect all the facts on this question *quickly*. If there is anything urgent, cable me directly. I shall expect very short dispatches weekly.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

502
TO I. S. UNSCHLICHT

Comrade Unschlicht:

Since permission was issued to go to America—this means there are no obstacles, are there? Please give instructions (and appoint a responsible person: *secretary*) to issue *at once*, without the slightest delay or any formalities.[423]

15/XI. *Lenin*

Written on November 15, 1921

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

503
TO L. K. MARTENS

Comrade Martens *Urgent*

Comrade Martens:

Be sure to inform Petrograd and the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade. Unless there is a **triple** check-up, not a damn thing will be ready, and we shall be in a mess.

Raise the question of preparatory measures in the *C.L.D.* and the Narrow C.P.C.[424]

17/XI. *Lenin*

Written on November 17, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

504
REFERENCE TO N. A. YEMELYANOV

19.XI.1921

To Comrades Stomonyakov, Lutovinov, Krasin, Vorovsky, Kerzhentsev, Lomonosov, Litvinov, and others

I strongly recommend the bearer, Comrade Nikolai Alexandrovich Yemelyanov. I have known him personally since July 1917, as one of the best among the old Party guard in Petrograd. I request that you show him *full* trust and give him every assistance. I believe that it is highly important to bring him into closer touch with the affairs of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade, because, first, we are short of experienced Party men among the P.C.F.T. personnel abroad. Second, I have a number of documents saying that workers abroad often resent the fact that the P.C.F.T. of the R.S.F.S.R. has not sought ways of drawing closer to them.* In this context, Yemelyanov's role should also be very big.

It is my earnest request that those of you who meet Comrade Yemelyanov should write to me.

With communist greetings,

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from the original

* See *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Document 45.—*Ed.*

505
TO D. I. KURSKY

19.XI.1921

Comrade Kursky:

Krasin very much fears that Goikhbarg has made a hash of the records of Groman's commission (amount of our losses from the intervention).

Comrade Goikhbarg appears to be ill.

That is why a *thorough* check-up must be made:

(1) whether the records have been well preserved?

(2) what is their result?

(3) who is responsible for their integrity and safekeeping?

(4) is *any additional work* required?

(5) to whom should this be assigned?

Please, check up *personally* and reply to me without delay.[425]

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

506
TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

19.XI.1921

Comrade Molotov:

Today Comrade Teodorovich brought in his resignation. I refused to accept it.

It is plain that he wishes to clear himself of the odium of any possible conflicts and friction with Osinsky.

I am sure, however, that the matter will be settled for the greater benefit of the People's Commissariat.

Please circulate this among Politbureau members to find out whether they confirm my refusal to accept Teodorovich's resignation.[426]

With communist greetings,
Lenin

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

507
TO N. P. GORBUNOV

19.XI.1921

Comrade Gorbunov:

It is absolutely wrong on your part to put before me such an important paper on 17/XI (!!) with such an empty note.

It should have been brought before the *C.L.D.*!

You are responsible if a mistake has been made because of Avanesov's departure and if neither you nor Smolyaninov had made timely contact either with Ivan Nikitich Smirnov (which is easily done: he is in Petrograd) or with Chutskayev. *It is your fault.*

Why is it that some Krasinsky is hustling, while Smolyaninov and you are doing nothing?[427]

Lenin

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

508
TO J. V. STALIN

Comrade Stalin:

Will you let me have a copy of your reply to Chicherin? I think he is right.[428]

20/XI. *Lenin*

Written on November 20, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

509
TO V. M. MOLOTOV, KH. G. RAKOVSKY, I. I. SCHWARZ, G. L. PYATAKOV, M. L. RUKHIMOVICH

21.XI.1921

Comrade Molotov
Comrade Rakovsky
Comrade "Semyon" (Schwarz) of the All-Russia Miners' Union C.C.

Comrade Pyatakov
Comrade Rukhimovich } in Donbas

Dear Comrade:

I enclose Comrade Remeiko's pamphlet.[429]

You need only run your eye over a page and a half (13 and 14) to see the gist of the matter: struggle and squabbling in Donbas.

To the conflicts and disagreements between Pyatakov and Rukhimovich are added the disagreements between Remeiko (and the comrades he names on p. 14) and Pyatakov and Kalnin.

These discords and dissensions in Donbas, which is our *fortress*, are highly dangerous.

Please, have a look through the pamphlet (or the two pages, 13 and 14, which is quite enough) and write me at least a couple of words on the measures which could (and should) be taken to eliminate discords and frictions in Donbas.[430]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

510
TO REFERENCE TO J. S. HANECKI[431]

I have known Comrade Hanecki since 1903, when he was a representative of the Polish Social-Democrats at our Party Congress. I later knew him all the time as a member of the Polish C.C. I had an opportunity of watching him work at close range in 1912-1914, when we lived together in Cracow. From there Comrade Hanecki repeatedly travelled for underground work in Poland, carrying out C.C. assignments both abroad and in Russia. I fully recommend him for the Party.

Member of the R.C.P. C.C. V. *Ulyanov* (*Lenin*) 21.XI.1921.

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

511

RESOLUTION ON LETTER FROM THE MOSCOW PRODUCTION ADMINISTRATION TO MOSTEXTIL[432]

This is highly suspicious!

Comrade Unschlicht must appoint a *perfectly reliable* man, whom he knows *personally*, *to carry out a check-up*. This is ingenious robbery. Perhaps this is being done everywhere?

21/XI. *Lenin*

Written on November 21, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54
Printed from the original

512

TO S. S. PILYAVSKY

22/XI.

Comrade Pilyavsky:

Please let me have a short report in writing concerning the amount of Entente debts to us your commission has calculated* of the order of

a) fully proved and substantiated in detail;
b) in lesser detail;
c) less substantiated

etc.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

Written on November 22, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from the original

513

TO V. M. MOLOTOV

Comrade Molotov:

Please prescribe for *Comrade Kiselyov*, Chairman of the Narrow C.P.C., a holiday and treatment, *on doctors' orders*, for at least *2 months*.

* See Document 505 of this volume.—*Ed.*

Semashko has held a consultation (including Minor) whose opinion is extreme overwork, etc., etc.

I enclose the certificate.

He should be found a sanatorium according to doctors' orders: a written obligation can and should be got from Semashko.[433]

22/XI. *Lenin*

Written on November 22, 1921

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

514

TO J. V. STALIN AND I. S. UNSCHLICHT

22.XI.1921

Comrade Stalin and Comrade Unschlicht:

I was handed the enclosed by Comrade Kiselyov.[434] This is the scandalous way we handle our leases.

The inventory is *fictitious*, like this one. Or there is none at all.

A host of the most valuable goods—fabrics, machines, belts, etc., etc.—is being stolen by the lessees, and by the reception and delivery men. I wrote about this to Unschlicht before.

Perhaps we should call some *highly reliable* men for a *secret* conference on measures of combating this?

(a) Detection of several cases and shooting;

(b) working out of additional instructions;

(c) ditto—measures of verification

etc.[435]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

515

TO THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION OF THE C.P.C.

23.XI.1921

L. B. Kamenev
Copy to Comrade Khinchuk

Yesterday the C.P.C. referred to your commission the question of an agreement with Steinberg.[436] In *Izvestia*

today, Gorsky has estimated that Steinberg will make 194,000 million Soviet rubles on 100,000 kilograms of saccharin (this will cost him 600,000 rubles a kilogram, i.e., all the 100,000 kilograms will cost him 60,000 million= *60 milliard*; this means the percentage of profit 194:60= 323 per cent).

If Gorsky's estimate is right, this is a vast profit. I think the R.S.F.S.R. has a share of super-profits, reckoning super-profits as over and above 250 per cent?

Perhaps we could

(1) drive a bargain so as to have a special share of the super-profits, reckoning super-profits at 100 or 200 per cent?

(2) secure by special arrangement the possibility to *train* our own men (especially in Centrosoyuz) in the methods and organisation of trade?

(3) specifically assure ourselves of the possibility of cancelling the agreement earlier, *as soon as* we fools have learned enough from the clever people.

I think that after driving a hard bargain and checking everything over and over again, we *should* conclude the agreement, because fools *must* pay a high price for being taught.

Let's have your opinion.

Lenin
Chairman, C.L.D.

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

516

*TO THE STATE PLANNING COMMISSION

Please raise these questions in the State Planning Commission:

1. acceleration of construction and starting of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk district electric-power station (on Lake Rubskoye) and

2. inclusion in the Central Peat Administration programme for 1922 of the working of the Rubskoye peat bogs or transfer of their working to the power-station project.

On the strength of the available material resources, it is necessary right away to establish and approve a programme

for construction and peat bog working for the Ivanovo-Voznesensk station, and their priority, for 1922.

I think it is desirable to secure participation in the discussion of this matter, apart from the central departments concerned (Commission for Utilisation, Public Works Committee, and Central Peat Administration), a representative of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk gubernia economic conference and the chief engineer of the construction project.[437]

Lenin
Chairman, C.L.D.

In general, we should hurry up with the working out of a plan for state electric-power construction for 1922 so as to have it ready for the Congress of Soviets.[438]

Written on November 23, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

517

TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

Comrade Molotov:

I am sending you this for the information of the Politbureau members.

Please, put this on the agenda.

23/XI. *Lenin*

My reply:

Comrade Okulov:

I am very sorry that I cannot send the recommendation you request. I should very much like to do this if it entailed only a personal recommendation. But that is not what is involved. This is a political matter, and I am sending it on to the Politbureau.[439]

23/XI. With communist greetings,
Lenin

Written on November 23, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54
Printed from the original

518

*TO THE COMMANDANT OF THE KREMLIN

26.XI.1921

Copy to Comrade N. P. Gorbunov

It turns out once again that visitors coming to see me are being detained by the guards.*

Today, Comrade Sokolnikov, a member of the All-Russia C.E.C., was detained for about 10 minutes as he was coming to see me.

The guard was apparently right when he did not let Sokolnikov use the phone, because, they say, it was a "house phone". But there is said to be *another* telephone, and the guard should have let him use that! At any rate, I have repeatedly demanded of the Kremlin Commandant, and insist, that he should make arrangements under which *people coming to see me*, *even if they have no passes at all*, should have the possibility *to phone through*, *without the slightest delay*, *both from the Kremlin gates and from the C.P.C. entrance*, to my secretariat and the telephone operators of the second-floor exchange.

I hereby reprove you for neglecting my demands. Once again I propose that you should make all the necessary arrangements right away, installing, in case of need, two additional telephones for visitors (one in the Kremlin gates, and one at the C.P.C. entrance) and reply to me at once. Work out special instructions for those coming to see me.[440]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

519

TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY

1

26.XI.1921

G. M.!

What's this I see in *Pravda* today about Cheiko's invention?[441] Is this another canard? If this is in earnest, why

* See *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Document 54.—*Ed.*

print anything about remote-controlled explosions? Write me a couple of words; perhaps we should send an inquiry to Kharkov, or summon Cheiko, or have some specialist phone Kharkov?

Yours,
Lenin

2

26/XI.

G. M.:

I have spoken with Chubar. It turns out that he knows about this invention and says that the specialists and professors over there have discussed it and found it to be a serious one. He says he can send over the materials and the inventor himself.

We have to decide whether we should get the materials or the inventor himself over here; perhaps we should send them to Bonch-Bruyevich in Nizhni-Novgorod?[442]

Think about this and write me or N. P. Gorbunov, to whom I shall give an assignment to keep an eye on the execution and verification.

Yours,
Lenin

Written on November 26, 1921

First published on January 21, 1925 in the newspaper *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* No. 17

Printed from the original

520
TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Comrade Gorbunov:

Take this matter under your supervision. Send a cyclist over to G. M. Krzhizhanovsky and get my notes on the Kharkov "invention" and Chubar's opinion.*

27/XI. *Lenin*

* See previous document.—*Ed.*

(P.S. We should get the inventor to come over here; show him to Lazarev; take him to Nizhni, etc.)

Written on November 27, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from the original

521
*TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NARROW C.P.C.

I request the Narrow C.P.C. to be sure to examine and take a final decision today on the matter of urgently issuing 70 million rubles to organise an exhibition in Berlin. I appoint Comrade N. P. Gorbunov as rapporteur.[443]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on November 28, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

522
TO L. B. KAMENEV

Comrade Kamenev:

My view is closer to yours than to Dzerzhinsky's. I advise you not to give in and to take it to the Politbureau. Then we shall secure the maximum of maximums. We shall also impose on the People's Commissariat for Justice *responsibility for failing to inform* the Politbureau (or the C.P.C.) about the All-Russia Cheka's defects and irregularities.[444]

29/XI. *Lenin*

Written on November 29, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54
Printed from the original

523
TO L. D. TROTSKY

Comrade Trotsky:

Please, take the enclosed into consideration, and return to me (together with this note)—I shall send it to a few other people.[445]

Ad 1. What is there to be "cautious" about?? There is nothing at all in practice, nothing but talks. Unfortunately, the *Germans* are *excessively* "cautious". Here Chicherin is wrong.

Ad No. 3... I think that is a piece of gossip. We should face Hartwig (and the other Ger---mans) with this flat and precise question: what is it you want of us? a treaty *without* Britain? Very well, then! Let's have a *draft* as soon as possible and we *shall sign* it.

Until now, the Germans have come forward with nothing but words.

For the sake of diplomacy, Krasin **had to** avoid showing his cards to Stinnes, and even had to be amiable with him.

30/XI. *Lenin*

Written on November 30, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

524
TO A. D. METELEV

Comrade *Metelev*,
Superintendent of All-Russia C.E.C. Houses

Please be sure to make available a room in the 1st House of Soviets to Comrade *Cecilia Samoilovna Bobrovskaya*, whom I know very well as an old Party worker. She is now living in absolutely intolerable conditions, and the doctors have ordered her to be transferred at once to one of the Houses of Soviets.

Inform my secretariat of execution.[446]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

P.S. I have known Bobrovskaya since the epoch *before* 1905, and know that she is capable of living in great hardship and be reticent about it excessively. That is why she needs urgent help.*

Written on November 30, 1921
First published in part in 1924 in *Proletarskaya Revolutsia* No. 3
Published in full in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from a typewritten text with Lenin's additions and signature

525
TO A. A. BELOV

30/XI.

Comrade Belov:

I agree with you on the idea.

Give this thing a push *in practice*, i.e., draft a decision (perhaps it is better this way: *first*, select the *personnel*, and then write a draft decision).

I think there is no need to leave the Party. *I object.*

You should remain in the *Department Store* and get things running on model lines.[447]

With communist greetings,
Lenin

P.S. Concerning release from the Narrow Council, get Kiselyov's opinion.

Written on November 30, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

526
TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY

G. M.:

I have had a call from Kritsman.

I enclose his notes and mine on his plan.

Please read them and return with a couple of words of comment.

I am worried (especially) about two aspects of the matter:

* P.S. is in Lenin's hand.—*Ed.*

(1) Is it possible to transfer the *Commission for Utilisation* to the State Planning Commission otherwise than as a *whole*?

if not, is it possible to reduce its staffs in transferring it as a whole?

(2) shall we not in fact leave the *People's Commissariats without control* if the Commission for Utilisation is transferred to the State Planning Commission?

(what are the measures against this? what are the guarantees against this? This backing by the departments of the plan to transfer the Commission for Utilisation to the State Planning Commission, is it perhaps *self-seeking* in the worst sense?)

30/XI. *Lenin*

One other thing: is it possible not to combine (in one way or another) the distribution of foodstuffs with the distribution of bank-notes?[448]

Written on November 30, 1921

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

527

LETTER TO MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

Members of the Politbureau 2/XII.

Having now fully read the platform "We Are Collectivists" (*Vperyod*-ites, Bogdanov-ites, Proletcult people, etc.),[449] I have finally come to the conclusion that it would be unquestionably useful for us and necessary *to print* it as a pamphlet in 2,000-3,000 copies, with the *most circumstantial* critique, with an addition of an article on Bogdanov's political statements in 1917, etc.

I propose that *a number of authors* should be asked to write a pamphlet under the editorship of Bukharin, who should be authorised to share it out between the authors, obtain their manuscripts within two weeks and *show the Politbureau in proof*. (This is also necessary for *foreign countries*.)

1) C.C. circulars about Proletcults.

2) "We Are Collectivists".
3) Bukharin's article from *Pravda*.
4) **A few more articles** analysing the platform.

Lenin

Written on December 2, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

528

TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOREIGN TRADE

To the P.C.F.T.
Copy to Comrade *Pyatakov*—for his information

I propose that we order for the Central Board of the Coal Industry of the Donets Basin catalogues from foreign—German, American, British—companies supplying:

a) mining equipment in general,
b) wire rope,
c) pumps,
d) electrotechnical materials,
e) coal-cutters, conveyers, etc.,
f) tools,
g) metal articles in general and wire in particular.

Please send a report on execution to Comrade *Gorbunov*, C.P.C. business manager.

Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on December 2, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from a typewritten copy

529

TO THE FOREIGN LITERATURE COMMITTEE[450]

Forlitcom

Copy to Comrade *Pyatakov*—
for information and co-ordinating with Forlitcom
the question of allocating the necessary credit
in gold for periodical subscriptions

I propose for, and for the account of, the Central Board of the Coal Industry of the Donets Basin

1) urgent subscriptions for sets of all mining magazines —German, British and the United States, for 1917-1921;
2) regular subscriptions for and mailing to the Central Board of:
   a) all mining magazines issued in German, French and English;
   b) new publications of the most important books on mining;
   c) *The Economist* magazine.[451]

Please send a report on execution to C.P.C. business manager Comrade *Gorbunov*.

Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on December 2, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from a typewritten copy

530
TO L. B. KAMENEV

Comrade Kamenev:

I was given this yesterday by Khinchuk.[452] Have a look at it and show to all members of the United Economic Commission.[453]

It looks as if the business is growing, isn't it? Will someone suggest methods of *stricter* check-up?

2/XII. Lenin

P.S. Please also send this to all members of the Politbureau.

Written on December 2, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54
Printed from the original

531
TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV[454]

Comrade Smolyaninov:

Please look through regularly and collect *everything* about Centrosoyuz.

There is need to work out *a number* of time-tables for their monthly reports ((the same for *GUM*=State Department Store)).

Roughly: (1) turnover { bought / sold } by main groups
(2) by gubernia { bought / sold } of products
(3) % of gubernias reporting inaccurately.
Without fail (4) Unpunctual gubernias up on the list of shirkers which should be **published**,
etc.

2/XII. *Lenin*

P.S. Let me have these tables at the *C.L.D.*
See if any conclusions can be drawn from them about the procurement of raw materials and their *type*.

Written on December 2, 1921
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the original

532

LETTER ON THE USE OF "PERSONAL CONTACTS"[455]

Comrades Yenukidze, Karpinsky, Dzerzhinsky, Zalutsky, Mikhailov and Molotov

Dear Comrade:

It has become clear from the C.P.C. office practice in dealing with complaints and applications that in specially serious and urgent cases it helps to use "personal contacts", i.e., *personal* communication with various Party comrades holding sufficiently influential positions in the localities. This serves to reduce the delays which are inevitable in the usual departmental routing of business, and generally enhances the required effect.

An example is provided by the case of terrorism by the kulak "lair" in the (new) Yelan Uyezd of Saratov Gubernia, which had made up to the Soviet power and the Party. *Within 10 days* we obtained a reply telegram from the plenipotentiary All-Russia Cheka representative in the Volga area saying that "all measures to detect the guilty have

been taken", when the inquiry was sent in this "comradely" manner. There are similar results in other cases.

But this method can be applied more extensively only where there is sufficient knowledge of the responsible functionaries actually on the spot. Our request is, therefore, urgently to draw up and send to the *C.P.C. office* at 4 Vozdvizhenka, appropriate lists of reliable comrades with a good record, from among members of Executive Committees, Gubernia Cheka, etc., one or two per gubernia, who, you believe, are especially suitable for applying such "pressure".

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

P.S. There is need for the fullest guarantee that such comrades are honest, namely: give in the greatest possible detail their Party and Soviet government record, and a *personal* warranty of their absolute honesty by *several* Party veterans.

3/XII.-21 *V. Ulyanov* (*Lenin*)

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from a typewritten
text signed by Lenin

533
TO A. I. RYKOV

3/XII.

Dear Alexei Ivanovich:

So the decision on your trip has been taken. It has been passed through the Politbureau.[456] You will have to remain until the second operation and full recovery. I have seen Tsyurupa and have his opinion—an excellent one—about treatment by the Germans. I have no doubt that you *will be fully cured* (I saw a doctor's report about you) provided you display just a bit of patience. — — — — I am sending you the decision on Tsyurupa and my outline of a *plan for the organisation* of his work and yours.[457]

The first and second deputies, as you will see from the plan, will have to break *new* ground. We have decided,

for the time being, until your return and the *experiment* with Tsyurupa, that this plan is *not* to be turned into a decision. We shall first try it out and check it in practice. Let me know what you think.

Good-bye for the time being, and take your treatment seriously.

Yours,
Lenin

Written on December 3, 1921

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

534

*TO THE MOSCOW GUBERNIA COMMISSION FOR CHECKING AND PURGING THE PARTY

I am very sorry that my request to inform me about the case of Comrade *Shapiro*'s expulsion from the Party has caused the cancellation of the examination of his case by the Moscow Gubernia Commission scheduled for 18.00 hours today, December 3. This is a result of a misunderstanding and mistake, because the most important thing, of course, is the speedy examination of the case.

On the substance of the case, I apply to the Moscow Gubernia Commission for Checking and Purging the Party to take into account the following of my considerations.

1) Over a period of several years I have repeatedly heard from N. K. Krupskaya that Shapiro was an exceptionally honest worker, but was not liked for his *stringent demands*. That is why when the purging began I warned N. K. Krupskaya that attention should be paid to a possible and probable intrigue connected with this.

2) My article in the press that the Mensheviks and the Bundists who joined the R.C.P. were unreliable was frequently taken to mean that they should all be expelled.* I feel it to be my duty, therefore, to state that I have always considered that each case must be dealt with individually, and in confirmation refer, for instance, to the

* A reference to the article "Purging the Party" (present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 39-41).—*Ed.*

former Menshevik Chirkin, who joined the R.C.P. much later than Shapiro, and about whose wavering we had precise facts, and not just rumour or hearsay. Still, after an all-round examination of Chirkin's case, I agreed with the Ukrainian comrades who were defending him, that Chirkin should be left in the Party.

3) Shapiro's application has Comrade A. Yenukidze's inscription of 3.IX.1921, saying: "I fully certify everything set out here by Comrade Shapiro for the 1917 period."

And what Comrade Shapiro has stated about this period is of exceptional importance, because the meaning of it is that the Menshevik Shapiro *had started to oppose* the Mensheviks *even before* the October Revolution.

In reply to my special inquiry about Shapiro addressed to Comrade Yenukidze the latter told me today that he had worked with him on the front-line commission of the old, Menshevik All-Russia C.E.C., from April to August 1917. Having been in close contact with Comrade Shapiro in that period, Comrade Yenukidze told me that he had absolutely no doubt about Comrade Shapiro's sincerity, and that he, Yenukidze, would certainly be in favour of leaving Comrade Shapiro in the Party.

Comrade Yenukidze gave me this additional characteristic fact: after the July 1917 days, when the Bolsheviks were being fiercely harassed, Shapiro put up such a defence of the Bolsheviks at the meeting, that Vainstein, a member of the Menshevik C.C., all but used his fists against Shapiro.

Let me add that Comrade Yenukidze, a Party member since 1898, is one of the old Party guard, who in fact should check and purge our Party. I believe that any evidence coming from the ranks of this old guard deserves triple attention. I feel therefore that it is quite wrong for the district commission to expel Comrade Shapiro without summoning Comrade Yenukidze. It is my request to the Moscow Gubernia Commission to summon Comrade Yenukidze, Secretary of the All-Russia C.E.C., in Shapiro's case.

4) Comrade Shapiro's application says that he is the author of a pamphlet on the agrarian question issued in 1907, under the pseudonym of M. Shanin. As Comrade Shapiro has said, I analysed this pamphlet in my book,

The Agrarian Programme of Social-Democracy in the First Russian Revolution 1905-1907 (2nd ed., Petrograd, 1919, p. 84 et seq.).* While criticising Shanin for a number of Menshevik errors, I noted even at the time, over 10 years ago, that he *differed* from the Mensheviks. For instance, on p. 85 of the said book, I noted that Shanin "prompted, of course, by the very best motives, defends confiscation against redemption payments".**

This is a very essential fact, indicating that more than ten years ago, Comrade Shapiro had had a tendency to move away from the Mensheviks *to the revolutionary side*.

5) My fears that the purging of the Party could provide some people with a pretext for an intrigue against Comrade Shapiro—fears about which I told N. K. Krupskaya long before the start of the purging in the city of Moscow—have been borne out by the following circumstance. The District Commission has expelled Shapiro without summoning Yenukidze, without naming anyone who knows Shapiro well at his work, and who could cite facts about his unreliability. The commission has called Shapiro "unstable and wavering", without offering the least proof, without the slightest concrete indication. One cannot help thinking that someone's far from impartial reference (from among his fellow workers, for instance) to the effect, let us say, that he is "not one of us", that he is "alien" to us, could very well have played a part.

Let us recall, however, that the *Party cell* at the Chief Committee for Political Education *unanimously* came out *in favour* of Shapiro (as I learned from Comrade Anna Ivanovna Meshcheryakova, an old Party member, whom I have known since the émigré period, and a member of the cell who attended the meeting). Shapiro was in charge of one of the six departments of the Chief Committee for Political Education. Consequently, the persons subordinate to him were in a small minority at the Party cell meeting. No one could have had a closer view of Comrade Shapiro's day-to-day work than the cell of his establishment. If that cell had unanimously come out for Shapiro, the weight

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* See present edition, Vol. 13, pp. 217-431.—*Ed.*
** Ibid., p. 288.—*Ed.*

of such a vote should, I think, be regarded as very great. I believe it is highly probable that Shapiro has become a victim of an intrigue, rumour to the effect that he is "not one of us", without there being a shred of evidence, without any *direct* statement by a *single* Party member, who has had an occasion to observe Comrade Shapiro's work at close range.

On the strength of what I have stated, I request the Moscow Gubernia Commission for Checking and Purging the Party that it should summon Comrade Yenukidze, take what I have said into consideration, and check up on who precisely has spoken out against Shapiro, and whether this is not an intrigue.

It is also my request to let me have a copy of the decision on this case by the Moscow Gubernia Commission.[458]

3.XII.1921. Member of the R.C.P. *V. Ulyanov* (*Lenin*)

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535
*TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Please pay attention to this, because the author of the letter is a man of absolute integrity.

Please have a thorough check made about *speeding up* the tests, to see how *solid* they are, and to *help* the inventor as soon as possible.

Phone me *at the village* on the results not later than about 13/XII.[459]

Lenin

Krzhizhanovsky knows him (without knowing about his invention). Have a talk with Krzhizhanovsky as well.

Written on December 5, 1921

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

536

LETTER TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOREIGN TRADE, THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FINANCE, THE S.E.C. AND THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR EDUCATION

December 5, 1921

Comrade Lezhava, P.C.F.T.
Comrade Alsky, P.C.F.
Comrade Bogdanov, S.E.C.
Comrade Litkens, P.C.E.
Comrade Voyevodin

In Moscow now is the Communist Comrade Caroti, an agent of the Italian film producers, Cito-Cinema, with whom our mission in Italy has been carrying on preliminary talks about a concession on the filming and purchase of films in Russia and the showing of these films in Italy.

The talks with Comrade Caroti could be based on the draft contract which he has and which leaves much room for any necessary changes.

According to a report from the representative of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade in Italy, the Cito-Cinema company is a solid Italian film-producing enterprise which is financed by the Italian Bank of Discount and about which there must be a reference at the Financial and Accounting Department of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade.

I consider this business extremely important *and urgent*.

You are hereby instructed to call at once a conference to examine Comrade Caroti's proposal, to look into the whole matter and draw up a relevant decision by the Council of Labour and Defence.

Comrade Voyevodin will arrange the conference and report to the C.L.D. on Wednesday, December 7.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from a typewritten
copy signed by Lenin

537
*TO COMRADES BALLISTER AND CARR[460]

5/XII.1921.

Dear Comrades,

I send you my book about the evolution of agriculture in the United States.

I should be very much obliged if I could have the opinion of Comrade Carr, if my book can be read by him with the aid of an English or German translator.

I should like also to receive from Comrade Ballister, if possible, official publications of the census 1920 (I have analysed in my book two censuses: 1900 & 1910).

If any publisher would like to publish my book in English in Un. States, I should like to write small preface.

Yours truly,
Lenin

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the English original

538
TO V. M. MOLOTOV AND ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

To Comrade Molotov with a request to circulate it among all members of the Politbureau.

It is necessary (1) to find out who is "Kurzhnir"?

Could he be Kushner, the author of the pamphlet on electrification?

(2) There is need to devote more attention to Myasnikov's agitation, and report about him and about it to the Politbureau *twice a month*.

(3) The *Politbureau* should have a special *discussion on how to respond* to this letter.[461]

5/XII. *Lenin*

Written on December 5, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

539

TO V. M. MOLOTOV AND ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

5.XII.1921

Comrade Molotov:

Orlov (the author of an excellent book about the *food supply work* of the People's Commissariat for Food) has addressed an unusual request to the C.C.

I am *in favour*.

Tsyurupa (who knows Orlov *personally*; I know him *by his book*) is also *in favour*.

We must poll the Politbureau members.

If they *do not object*, we must cable Krestinsky: "C.C. approved Orlov's plans about his book."[462]

Lenin

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

540

TO A. M. LEZHAVA

Comrade *Lezhava*:

A few days ago I saw in one of the papers (it may have even been *Pravda*) an item about the turnover of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade (in the Crimea) involving 20 million rubles in gold.[463]

Where does this come from?

Have you an arrangement for the local accounting of turnover, with a division into purchases and sales, and then by the main groups of products?

Please reply to N. P. Gorbunov and write in the greatest possible detail about the state of the accounting.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

Written on December 6, 1921

First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from a typewritten copy

541

TELEGRAM TO M. KH. POLYAKOV

6.XII.1921

Polyakov,
Deputy Chairman of the Crimean Council of People's Commissars, Simferopol

Please help Alexei Andreyevich Preobrazhensky, an old revolutionary, whom I have personally known since the 1890s, and who is in poor conditions. Address: District Sanitary Health Resort Administration, Yalta.[464]

Lenin

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

542

TO MAXIM GORKY

6/XII.

Dear A. M.:

I am very sorry to write in haste. I am terribly tired. I've got insomnia. I am going away for treatment.

I have been requested to write to you: would you write to *Bernard Shaw* asking him to go to America, and to *Wells* who is said to be in America now, to get them both to help us in collecting aid to the starving?

It would be a good thing if you wrote them.

The starving will then get a bit more.

The famine is very bad.[465]

Make sure to have a good rest and better treatment.*

Regards,
Lenin

Written on December 6, 1921
Sent to Berlin

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

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* On the envelope Lenin wrote: "To P.P. Gorbunov, with the request to send this on to *Berlin* for *Alexei Maximovich Gorky* (from Lenin) {return the envelope with Gorky's signature}." On the other side of the envelope Maxim Gorky wrote: "Received 24.XII. *M. Gorky*."—*Ed.*

543

*TO N. P. GORBUNOV

When the inventor (I believe his name is *Cheiko*), whom you have summoned from Kharkov, arrives, he must be asked for a formal and exact report in writing on all the points indicated in the newspaper *Pravda*, making sure that the report comes 1) from Lazarev or some other leading scientist in Moscow or Petrograd and 2) from Bonch-Bruyevich and other specialists at the Nizhni-Novgorod radio laboratory.[466]

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on December 7, 1921

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

544

TO I. I. MEZHLAUK[467]

Mezhlauk
Send copy to Comrade Gorbunov

Comrade Mezhlauk:

I shall give the C.L.D. business manager an assignment to check up on the fulfilment of what has been promised you. You will be informed in writing or when you come to the congress about the results of the check-up. I am afraid that you may go to extremes, in some way, especially in allowing excessively high salaries to some individuals. Let me know to what extent your enthusiasm has run in this respect and perhaps in some others as well.

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on December 9, 1921

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

545

TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

To Comrade *Molotov* for circulation among Politbureau members

Krestinsky writes me that Gorky has left Riga without any money at all and is looking forward to receiving from

Stomonyakov royalties for the publication of his books. Krestinsky believes that Gorky should be included among the comrades receiving treatment abroad at the expense of the Party or the Council. I suggest that the Politbureau should pass a proposal that Krestinsky should include Gorky among such comrades and see to it that he has all the money he needs for the necessary treatment.[468]

Lenin

Written on December 12, 1921
First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

546
TO N. OSINSKY[469]

Comrade Osinsky:

I have read and reread your letter with all possible attention. I resolutely disagree, and cannot bring it up at the Politbureau. It is, of course, your unquestionable right to bring it up at the plenum.

You have not a shred, literally not a shred, of business-like and organisational arguments.

You have made a mistake by insisting on Muralov's removal, seeing an "intrigue" where there was not a bit of it. But in order to direct such a People's Commissariat, as the People's Commissariat for Agriculture, and to do it in such dreadfully difficult conditions, one must not see "intrigues" or "counter-weights" in those who take a different view of matters or have a different approach, but must value independent-minded men. You must try out the trio in practice: you + a peasant (we do not yet know who and what kind of man he will be) + Teodorovich. There must be no haste to change it before it has come to life. Your *priority* influence is assured by the *law* and by many other things.

I have seen Mesyatsev at the *C.L.D.* and the *C.P.C.*, but very little. No one can prevent him from attending (and voting) if neither you nor Teodorovich is there. This could be formalised in a couple of minutes.

But there is no reason to change the Politbureau decision. It must be tried out; it is *organisationally* correct.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written between December 14 and 18, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the text in Lydia Fotieva's hand

547

TO L. B. KAMENEV

Comrade Kamenev:

I am sending you the letters of Osinsky and Teodorovich to me, of which we spoke today.

Osinsky has not a shred of "business-like" argument. It is nothing but a case of nerves and a repetition of the mistake of his sacking Muralov.

I strongly object to taking the question to the Politbureau as well, and am writing Osinsky about this. Let him take it to the plenum if he wants to. That is his right.[470]

Please, show this material and my letter to Stalin and Zinoviev, and return them to me.

Salut!

Lenin

P.S. I read Teodorovich *not* the whole of Osinsky's letter, but only its practical part, as marked off in red ink.

Written between December 14 and 18, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

548

TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

Comrade *Molotov*:

Please prolong my leave, according to the doctor's orders for a period up to two weeks (depending on the course of treatment).[471]

I shall attend the C.C. Plenum on some questions, at any rate.[472]

In accordance with the Politbureau decision, I shall give a short report at the Congress of Soviets.[473]

16/XII-21 *Lenin*

Dictated by phone
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

549
TO Y. A. LITKENS

Comrade *Litkens*
Copies to Comrade *Bogdanov* and Comrade *Lezhava*

In connection with the projects put forward by Comrade Voyevodin and Comrade Lezhava, I authorise you to set up a commission chaired by you, consisting of Comrade Bogdanov, with the right of substitution, Comrade Lezhava, with the right of substitution, and Comrade Voyevodin—to examine the question of establishing a cinema industry in Russia.[474]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

Written on December 16, 1921
First published in 1925
in the book: G. Boltyansky,
Lenin i kino
(Lenin and the Cinema),
Moscow-Leningrad

Printed from a typewritten
text signed by Lenin

550
*TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Please read this and give it *special* attention, doing everything possible to fulfil it (probably, through the Narrow Council).

Let me *know in advance* if there are any difficulties.[475]

17/XII. *Lenin*

Written on December 17, 1921
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from the original

551
TO J. V. STALIN

Comrade Stalin:

I draw your attention to this report from Krasin (enclosed) which I think is plausible and highly important.[476] As soon as Orjonikidze returns, there must be a conference with Chicherin on this question to work out a number of proposals for passage through the Politbureau.

17/XII-21 *Lenin*

Dictated by phone

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from a typewritten copy

552
INQUIRIES SENT TO PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIATS OVER THE PREPARATION OF A REPORT BY THE ALL-RUSSIA C.E.C. AND THE C.P.C. AT THE NINTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS[477]

The most concise information possible (2-3 figures) and so precise (or with a reservation of how close it is to the real thing) as to make it *worth while* for me to insert it in my speech at the Congress of Soviets?

please let me have the shortest possible replies, one or a maximum of two pages

1. *To Comrade Chicherin* (or, if he is unable to reply, to Litvinov) and to *Comrade Radek*

Will it be enough to say, in characterising the international position of the R.S.F.S.R., that from the side of Poland and Rumania, it is only their war party that threatens and not all their ruling classes?

— that the alliance of the four Powers (Britain, the United States, France and Japan) concluded at the

Washington Conference is, first, highly unstable, like all imperialist alliances; and, second, hostile to all the other peoples?

Should anything be added to this?

Is it all right to tell about the plan to invite Russia and Germany to the second conference in April 1922?[478] What source should I quote? How authentic or probable is this to be considered?

2. *To Comrade Chicherin* (Litvinov)

Is it all right to characterise our progress for 1921 by the increase in the number of trade treaties with European powers? If it is, list them (in 1920 only with Britain, and in 1921 with such-and-such countries).

If not, is it all right to characterise progress in this respect by means of data other than the volume of trade exchange (about which I shall inquire from the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade)?

3. *To Comrade Lezhava*

Is it possible to characterise our progress for 1921 in terms of developing trade with other countries by means of two or three figures, however general and approximate? For instance, purchases and orders in 1920—*about* so much; for so many months of 1921, to an *approximate* figure, giving a *probable* total of *up to* so much?

Is it possible to bring out Germany in this respect?

Is it possible to give two or three final figures on the volume of our exports in 1921 as compared with that in 1920?

4. *To Comrade Fomin*

Could you let me have the exact or rough figures about the number of new locomotives (and cars? and tank cars?) brought in from abroad in 1921? compared with 1920? and other products for transport?

ditto: ordered in 1921 for the amount of?

Is it possible for me to give in my report at the Congress of Soviets facts about the state of transport in 1921 compared with 1920, in the briefest form, stating the essential (one page)?

5. *To Comrade Trotsky*

Is it possible to add to your theses and your report something about the army's economic work? about the uninterruption of continuous ties with the labour army councils?[479] and in general according to the assignment formulated in a decision either by one of the C.C. plenums in 1921, or one of the Politbureau sittings in the autumn of 1921?[480]

6. *To Comrade Khinchuk*

Could you supplement the figures for the development of Centrosoyuz turnover which you have given me (1 million; 3 and 6 million in gold for August, September and October 1921),* first, with approximate figures for November? second, the figure for grain purchases? third, the figure for the number of gubernia societies which have submitted their reports out of the total? fourth, any other very brief results which I could cite in my report at the Congress of Soviets?

7. *To Comrade Osinsky*

Could you give me for my report at the Congress of Soviets 2-3 summary figures, first, on our fulfilment of the task of supplying peasants with seed for the autumn of 1921; second, on other tangible results or successes already in evidence in 1921 ?

8. *To Comrade Smilga* (or Trifonov)

Could you let me have, for insertion in my report at the Congress of Soviets, the most concise figures on fuel:

I have Pyatakov's report on Donbas. Could I have the results for 1920 and 1921?

ditto on oil?

ditto on peat?

ditto on firewood for 1920 and 1921?

9. **To Comrade Bogdanov**

Please let me have for my report at the Congress of Soviets the briefest information (not more than ½-1 page on each point)

on metallurgy for 1921 in comparison with 1920?

* See also Document 530 of this volume.—*Ed.*

on Yugostal?*
on the importance and prospect of the enterprise of Rutgers and his group?
on assistance to the Urals (Hammer's concessions)
on the textile industry?
on some results of the work of the Central Administration for the Farms of Industrial Enterprises
(task: the shortest, most indicative figures which could be cited in the report to show both the great difficulty of the situation and any small signs of improvement).

10. *To Comrade Gorbunov*

On electrification
the end of Levi's article[481]
increase in the number and capacity of electric-power stations
for 1918, 1919, 1920 and 1921.
The importance of Kashira and Utkina Zavod and their forthcoming start in the spring of 1922.
ditto about Volkhovsite.[482]

11. *To Comrades Lunacharsky, Pokrovsky and Litkens*

Please let me have for my report at the Congress of Soviets the briefest data for a graphic picture of the growing thirst for knowledge, for learning, and progress in this sphere (not more than 2 or 3 figures on the number of students, number of libraries, etc.; the most salient points).

12. *To Radchenko: about the hydraulic extraction of peat:*
what has been ordered in Germany? prospects for 1922?

Written on December 17, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from the original

553
TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV

Comrade *Bryukhanov*, People's Commissariat for Food

Please let me have the briefest replies, one or two pages, not more, to some of the questions to enable me to give a

*A mining and steel trust with mills in the Ukraine, the Northern Caucasus and the Crimea.—*Ed.*

more precise formulation of the corresponding sections of my report at the Congress of Soviets and to insert some of the most characteristic figures.

What results in your opinion would it be useful for me to cite in my report at the Congress of Soviets? On the results of the tax in kind? On the concealment of arable land? Or about the most vital and pressing tasks in this sphere?

It would be well if we could show, briefly and visually, the relief for the peasants from the tax in kind as compared with the surplus-requisition system.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on December 17, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from a typewritten copy

554
TO L. B. KAMENEV

Comrade *Kamenev*:

I am sending you this letter as a supplement to our last talk. I believe it to be absolutely necessary to have as many C.C. members as possible make a personal acquaintance with Yakovenko[483] at the forthcoming congress. Please send this letter to all the members of the Orgbureau first, and then pass it on to the other C.C. members. Ask Molotov to phone me after he reads the letter.

17/XII-21 *Lenin*

Dictated by phone
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from a typewritten copy

555
TO P. A. ZALUTSKY AND A. A. SOLTS

Comrade Zalutsky and Comrade Solts

I have learned about the expulsion from the Party of Nadezhda Sergeyevna Alliluyeva. I have personally seen

her work as a secretary of the C.P.C. Managing Department, i.e., at very close range. However, I consider it necessary to point out that I have known the whole Alliluyev family, i.e., the father, the mother and the two daughters, since before the October Revolution. In particular, during the July days, when Zinoviev and I had to hide out and the danger was very great, it is this family that hid me, and the four of them, with the complete confidence of the Party Bolsheviks at the time, not only gave us both asylum, but also rendered a number of other secret services without which we would not have been able to escape Kerensky's bloodhounds. It could very well be that in view of Nadezhda Sergeyevna Alliluyeva's youth, this circumstance has not been made known to the commission. Nor am I aware whether the commission was able, in examining the case of Nadezhda Sergeyevna Alliluyeva, to make a comparison of the facts about her father, who had worked in various capacities in assisting the Party long before the revolution, and had, I have heard, rendered important services to the illegal Bolsheviks under tsarism.

I consider it my duty to inform the Central Commission for Purging the Party of these circumstances.[484]

20.00 hours, December 20, 1921. *Lenin*

Dictated by phone

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

556
TO P. A. ZALUTSKY AND A. A. SOLTS

Comrade *Zalutsky* and Comrade *Solts*

I have had a letter from Comrade Kasparova-Popova (address: 3 House of Soviets, Flat 63, telephone 58-97). She writes that she is absolutely desperate about her expulsion from the Party, and asks me to intercede with the Central Commission for Purging the Party and request them to make a thorough verification of her case, referring to her brother Slava Kasparov and her husband Popov, who had been sent to the Far East by Comrade Sverdlov

and was killed there. She writes that, together with her brother, she began to take an interest in the Party at the age of 14, was a member of school study circles, and joined the Party at the age of 17, doing purely technical work.

I do not know this Kasparova personally, or have forgotten her, but I knew her brother very well abroad, where he was an émigré after the first revolution of 1905, was a member of the Bolshevik organisation, and enjoyed the well-deserved respect of all Bolsheviks with whom I had occasion to meet and who had seen Kasparov work. This Kasparov died in Switzerland before the 1917 revolution (his health being overtaxed by the difficult conditions of émigré life).

I shall try to collect information about anyone who may have known Kasparov's sister better.

For my part, I request the Central Commission for Purging the Party to verify the case of Comrade Kasparova's expulsion from the Party.[485]

Lenin

20.00 hours, December 20, 1921.

Dictated by phone

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

557

TO THE *IZVESTIA VTsIK* EDITORIAL BOARD

Comrade Steklov, Editor,
and Comrade A. Belyakov,
Izvestia Editorial Board

On December 20, *Izvestia* carried A. Belyakov's article, "New Ways of Reviving Railway Transport".[486] Will the author of the article inform me, giving the most precise indication possible of the corresponding publications:

1) What is the source of the information that the method of using the ordinary, slightly modified, lorry instead of a railway locomotive has been tested abroad and has produced excellent results in general?

2) The same thing concerning the fact that in America such lorries have been used on sidings.

3) About such lorries being successfully used in the American army during the war (there must be information about this, if the use was successful, in the American, French and British press).

4) About the fact that trials were staged in London on the Russian engineer Kuznetsov's idea, which have proved that a 30 h.p. lorry easily pulled a 9-10 car train at a speed of 20 versts an hour.[487]

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on December 21, 1921

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

558
TO V. M. MOLOTOV

Comrade *Molotov*:

I think that we should agree right away, and to make sure send a telegram about this both through Krasin, and via Berlin, and also via Christiania, by open text and not in code.

I am not quite clear about the terms of payment and control from the telegram read out to me. If the deadline is on the 26th, it is perhaps still possible to have this checked and clarified, but still we should not in any case let such an opportunity go by. It would be especially important to secure the possibility of using this grain not only to aid the starving, but also for the spring sowing.[488]

I request Molotov and Kamenev to phone me tonight.

21/XII-21 *Lenin*

Dictated by phone

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

559

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO V. M. MOLOTOV AND ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

Comrade *Molotov* and all members of the Politbureau

1. Please acquaint all members of the Politbureau as soon as possible with Teodorovich's communication concerning the Siberian peasant Yakovenko, which I have sent you.*

2. The same thing concerning today's memo from Eiduk on the American Government's proposal to let us have $20 million worth of grain on condition that we spend $10 million.[489]

Lenin

December 22, 1921

Dictated by phone

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from a typewritten copy

560

TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV[490]

Comrade Sokolnikov:

I am sending you this **secretly.**[491]

I think that Safarov is right (*partially*, *at any rate*).

I earnestly request you to examine this objectively to prevent any squabble, quarrel or revenge from spoiling the work in Turkestan.

Write me a couple of words.[492]

22.XII.

Greetings,
Lenin

Written on December 22, 1921

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

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* See Document 554 of this volume.—*Ed.*

561
TO L. B. KAMENEV

I consider Sokolnikov's pamphlet, *State Capitalism and the New Financial Policy*, a great success. I think that you should direct all efforts to do away with our Supreme Economic Commission and all its subcommissions with maximum speed.[493] I very much fear that we have been dragging out this business by holding forth, while the need was to concentrate all attention on immediately taking practical steps and verifying the results.

Lenin

Written on December 24, 1921
First published in 1933 in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*
Printed from a typewritten copy

562
TO G. I. SAFAROV[494]

Comrade Safarov:

Don't lose your nerve, this is intolerable and shameful, you are not a 14-year-old miss.

I passed your letters on to Sokolnikov, whom I shall recommend in the C.C. for dispatch to Turkestan to sort things out.

I have spoken with Sokolnikov, and have established (*entre nous!*) his consent to regard the case started against you as absurd.

Don't lose your nerve.

Carry on your work, and don't give up any of your duties. You must learn to collect the facts, calmly and purposefully, against those who have started this absurd case.

Yours,
Lenin

Written on December 24, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the text in Lydia Fotieva's hand

563

TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

Comrade Molotov:

I absolutely insist on an immediate Politbureau decision by telephone about Rudzutak's *urgent* dispatch (immediately after the plenum on the trade unions) to *Germany*: he is running a temperature and is spitting blood. Clearly, his TB is getting worse.

Over here, he won't be cured and, what is most important, he won't be given a strict regimen.[495]

Lenin

Written on December 24, 1921

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

564

TO Y. M. YAROSLAVSKY

Comrade Yaroslavsky:

Please let me have your own *opinion*, and collect that of all the responsible and influential Siberian comrades now here, about the peasant *Yakovenko* (I think he is chairman of the Kansk Uyezd Executive Committee, Yeniseisk Gubernia). The opinions should be as detailed as possible. They are for the purpose of discussing in the C.C. Yakovenko's appointment as *People's Commissar for Agriculture*.*

Age? — About 40 years old.**
Experience? — Direct experience in Soviet work.
Respect of peasantry? — Great.
Knowledge of economics? — Middle peasant, never had a very big farm.
Strength of mind? — Authoritative, firm.
Brains? — Intelligent, quick-witted.

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* See Document 554 of this volume.—*Ed.*

** In brevier are Yaroslavsky's replies which he wrote into the typed copy of the published letter.—*Ed.*

Loyalty to the Soviet power? — Proved his loyalty both in the partisan period and after.

Will you do this *fast* and properly.

Lenin

Written on December 24, 1921
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

565
TO L. D. TROTSKY

Comrade Trotsky:

I have not yet seen your letter with the amendment to my draft resolution, I have only heard about its content from the secretary. I quite agree with the main idea. I think, however, that the concept of specialists must include not only engineers and agronomists, but also merchants. If you can, get someone to send me a copy of your conclusion which is being sent to the C.C., because I shall be in Moscow today.[496]

Lenin

Dictated by phone on December 26, 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54
Printed from a typewritten copy

566
TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO A. M. LEZHAVA

Comrade *Lezhava*, People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade

The report of Comrade Yemelyanov, who can and must be regarded as absolutely reliable, concerning the stealing during the discharge at Revel, is a source of extremely great apprehension and raises a question of tremendous importance.*

* See *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Document 201.—*Ed.*

I draw the attention of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade to this fact, for the purpose of taking the most vigorous measures, with check-ups through reliable men, informing me of the results of the check-up and the measures taken. Send the reply to Comrade Smolyaninov.

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on December 26, 1921
First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

567

EXCHANGE OF MEMOS WITH Y. A. PREOBRAZHENSKY[497]

If this is true, it is not bad.[498]

Perhaps these two things could be done:

1) a weekly (monthly for a start) inventory for the whole R.S.F.S.R.

a) of the quantity of commodities held by the state (exchange fund)

b) quantity of bank-notes

2) by way of experiment in one or two uyezds issue (through co-operative establishments?) *exchange bonds*, fully secured by the commodity fund?

Inventorying the commodity fund is not the business of the People's Commissariat for Finance. This calls for some additional structuring or restructuring to take account of all the material budget. Still, we have authorised Syromolotov to do this.

The bonds could be issued when the commodities are available, and, I think, they will be all right, but in the initial period there will be little benefit for our own pocket.

{My purpose is not "benefit for the pocket", but experiment, *experience*.}

Written on December 26, 1921
First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

568
TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY

Comrade Krzhizhanovsky, copy to Comrade Smolyaninov

I am sending on to you, for your information, G. B. Krasin's opinion. This opinion confirms me in the view I wrote to you about yesterday.[499] I fear that the convocation of a conference was a strategically incorrect measure on your part. It would have been more correct to demand an opinion in writing from the solid specialists numbering two or three, no more, for each of the three establishments (Gosplan. People's Commissariat for Railways, and the S.E.C.'s Scientific and Technical Department). I believe the task is above all to "catch out" the scientists who have missed the foreign experience, as being idle and pedantic. I think neither Krasin's opinion, nor this memo of mine should be shown to anyone. Unless your conference reaches an absolutely negative conclusion, then we should think about who should be assigned the immediate practical performance. Please phone me about this.[500]

Lenin

27/XII-21

Dictated by phone

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

569
TO BÉLA KUN

Comrade Béla Kun:

I have received your letter, in which, as my secretary tells me, you request acceleration of my article about Serrati. Unfortunately, because of my ailment I have been unable up to now to start carrying it out on the basis of the material which has been sent to me, unfortunately, in excessive abundance.

It looks as if I shall be unable to write it by the stated deadline.[501]

Write a note to Fotieva about how things are, what

you are writing, and how you have arranged things for the 400 Hungarian Communists who have arrived.

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on December 29, 1921

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

570

TO THE HEADS OF CENTRAL SOVIET ESTABLISHMENTS

Dear Comrade:

It is necessary that an end should be put once and for all to the scandalous red tape and delays in your establishment. Time and again, there is neither reply to nor execution of the important and urgent matters being directed to you by the C.P.C. office for the purpose of settling the numerous complaints and applications addressed to the C.P.C. and its Chairman.

My suggestion is that you pull yourself together at once. The machinery of Soviet administration must work accurately, smoothly and swiftly. Any slackness in it does damage not only to the interests of individuals but to the whole business of administration, which becomes illusory and imaginary.

Assuming the real measure of labour productivity in each given establishment to be above all the extent to which all business passing through it is actually executed without delay, I demand that henceforth you submit the quickest and most exhaustive replies to all the cases and inquiries directed to you. To confine yourself to formal replies and dispatch to other establishments also means breeding red tape and wasting paper.

I warn you that if this manner of action continues the C.P.C. office is authorised to start proceedings against the guilty persons without regard for "rank".

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

Written in December 1921

First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from a typewritten
text signed by Lenin

571
TO P. A. ZALUTSKY

Comrade Zalutsky:

I am sending on this letter to you. Pass it on where it belongs, if it has nothing to do with you.

The charges against such an old Party member and revolutionary, known to every Latvian, and then to Trotsky and many others during the war, are clearly incredible. I have known Danishevsky *throughout* the Party's *history*, *years and years* before the revolution, and I request that everything should be checked carefully, rigorously and comprehensively.[502]

Yours,
Lenin

Written in December 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54
Printed from the original

572
TO L. B. KAMENEV

Put emphasis on the fact that Trotsky's mistakes at the Tenth Congress are being all repeated.

Another thing I forgot to say: in his "amendments", he *takes* an administrative approach ("threat", "shake up"—rearrange everything, "*one-man* responsibility") to that which should be dealt with

(a) through propaganda,
(b) through long *experience*.*

Written in 1921
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54
Printed from the original

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* The subject-matter has not been ascertained.—*Ed.*

1922

573
TO L. B. KAMENEV

Kamenev
Copies: *Bukharin* and *P. P. Gorbunov*

Comrade *Kamenev*:

I have just learned about Goldenberg's death. They say he had a heart attack. I very much fear, am almost sure, that it is our negligence that is to blame in this case, because he was an extremely sickly man, and we failed entirely to take care of him. It is my earnest request that you make arrangements: 1) for the funeral to be held properly (I wonder if it is convenient to do this through the Moscow Soviet or the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs); 2) then we should look after his wife, who is probably absolutely without any money and who, I happen to know, is absolutely helpless and unadapted to the present Russian life; 3) we should also have the press carry an obituary.

He was obviously sent to his grave by his life as an émigré and by our Russian negligence. We have been losing valuable workers in an absolutely unpardonable manner.[503]

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on January 1, 1922

First published on February 13, 1924 in *Pravda* No. 35

Printed from
a typewritten copy

574

TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

Comrade Molotov for all members of the Politbureau (concerning Chicherin's reference to Bogdanov's letter to Urquhart)

I think it would be useful to appoint an inquiry, but we should not disavow Bogdanov's move, let us consider; first, let all Politbureau members have a text of Bogdanov's letter; second, let us await the results of the inquiry; third, we still have enough time to decide on our terms after the resumption of the talks. [This]* does not bind us in any way, and may to some extent be useful to us.[504]

Lenin

Dictated by phone on January 3, 1922

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from a typewritten copy

575

TO V. M. MOLOTOV

To Comrade Molotov (concerning Chicherin's reference to the declaration proposed by Lloyd George)

I think that, far from it being necessary for us to make haste, the terms are in general absolutely unacceptable. Inform Krasin of this in strict secrecy, or perhaps we need not inform him at all, but wait for the conference at which we shall make a concrete statement.[505]

Lenin

Dictated by phone on January 3, 1922

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from a typewritten copy

* Omission in the text restored according to meaning.—*Ed.*

576

TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

To Comrade Molotov for members of the Politbureau

Comrade Preobrazhensky told me by phone that he would resign if Krasnoshchekov is appointed second deputy, and that is also the opinion of the whole Collegium with the exception, it seems, of Sokolnikov. Stalin believes that the decision should be confirmed but its execution held up until Sokolnikov's return, otherwise Krasnoshchekov may be badly badgered. I think that this danger will remain, unless the Politbureau comes out at once with full force against the Collegium, and unless it backs up and supports Krasnoshchekov to the hilt. I consider this question extremely important because a crying mistake is being made not only by the whole collegium, but also by Preobrazhensky, who are unable to see the need for making all-round use of a man who, with solid experience of work in America and in the Far-Eastern Republic, takes a practical approach to financial matters. That is the most important thing. That is precisely what Preobrazhensky and the other members of the collegium lack. Their whole opposition to Krasnoshchekov is a tissue of harmful prejudices. That is why I should favour immediate passage of the decision on Krasnoshchekov through Soviet channels.[506]

Lenin

Dictated on January 4, 1922

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from a typewritten copy

577

TO Y. A. PREOBRAZHENSKY

Comrade *Preobrazhensky*

Please write me a couple of words about Nazar Uralsky. Has he settled down, how and where, and what are his

present political attitudes, and have they been changing at all over the recent period or remain the same?[507]

4-I-22

Lenin

Dictated by phone
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from a typewritten copy

578
TO M. M. LITVINOV

9.I.22

Comrade *Litvinov*:

I am sending you Mikhailov's, letter. Perhaps, you will find it appropriate to arrange a conference with Scheinman and Lezhava or with anyone Lezhava may authorise, to prepare at once a draft decision on this urgent matter.[508]

Lenin

Dictated by phone
First published in 1961 in the magazine *Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 5

Printed from a typewritten copy

579
TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

Comrade Molotov

Having learned from Kamenev that the C.P.C. has unanimously adopted Lunacharsky's absolutely improper proposal to preserve the Bolshoi Opera and Ballet, I suggest that the Politbureau should resolve:

1. To instruct the Presidium of the All-Russia C.E.C. to rescind the C.P.C. decision.

2. Of the opera and ballet company, to leave only a few dozen actors for Moscow and Petrograd so that their

performances (both operatic and choreographic) should pay,* i.e., by eliminating all large expenses on properties, etc.

3. Of the thousands of millions saved in this way at least one-half to be allotted to wiping out illiteracy and for reading rooms.

4. To summon Lunacharsky for five minutes, to hear the last word of the accused, it being pointed out to him and to all People's Commissars that in future introducing and putting to the vote of resolutions like the one now being rescinded by the C.C., will entail stricter measures on the part of the C.C.[509]

Lenin

12/I-22

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580

TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE ORGBUREAU AND THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

Comrade Molotov:

In sending you Comrade Krestinsky's letter, I propose, for my part, to the Orgbureau, and to the Politbureau on some points, that we resolve:

1. To appoint, by agreement with the People's Commissariat for Health, one or two doctors to make regular examinations of Sokolnikov, Tsyurupa, and other comrades who have returned after treatment, instructing them to issue their orders in writing concerning the necessary regimen. This to be the personal responsibility of the doctor. Bind him to submit a short report to the C.C. Secretariat, or, if the C.C. Secretariat agrees, then to the C.P.C. Secretariat.

2. To impose on some definite person the responsibility for seeing that Sokolnikov abides by the regimen.

3. To bind Tsyurupa to spend three days a week (Saturday, Sunday and Monday) in Kashira at the home of his

* For instance, through participation by opera singers and ballet dancers in all kinds of concerts, etc.

brother G. D. Tsyurupa, under his supervision, in the sense of complete rest and good nutrition.

4. To place upon Tsyurupa the duty to reduce the amount of his work, in particular, to relieve himself almost entirely from work on commissions, concentrating his activity on supervising the practical execution of some of the most important decisions of the C.P.C. and the C.L.D.

5. To put upon Tsyurupa the duty to limit C.P.C. and C.L.D. sittings to no more than three hours in general.[510]

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on January 12, 1922

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581
TELEGRAM TO L. B. KRASIN

Krasin
Soviet Government Delegation
London

The People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade announced in December that 8 million poods of grain had been purchased but not shipped. Having received new credits, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade has undertaken the obligation to deliver 15 million poods of food grain by April 1, at five million a month. In January so far, not a single pood has been received, and there is no news of any ships sailing or of proposed shipments. In view of the extremely grave food situation, I propose that you inform us within two days: first, how much grain has been purchased; second, how much has been shipped, on which ships and to which ports; third, how much and when is to be shipped shortly; fourth, plan for meeting obligation to purchase 15 million poods.*

Lenin
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on January 12, 1922

First published in 1959
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a typewritten copy

* See Document 593 of this volume.—*Ed.*

582
TO A. S. YENUKIDZE

13.I.1922

Comrade Yenukidze:

Comrade Lalayants tells me that his family needs assistance through a grant to be able to carry on until March. Have a talk with Stalin: how could this be done? On behalf of the C.C.? or of the All-Russia C.E.C. Presidium? Please write to me through Fotieva—whether or not this can be arranged (Lalayants should be asked about the amount)? If there are any difficulties, which are they? where?

I shall then seek ways and means. Please, pass this on to Stalin: incidentally, I request him *to make an arrangement* with Lalayants about work for Lalayants. I see, after my talk with Lalayants, that I cannot settle this. It has to be decided by Stalin in the Orgbureau or with the Orgbureau's help.[511]

Yours,
Lenin

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583
TO P. S. OSADCHY

Comrade Osadchy:

In reviewing the plan for purchases in gold abroad, we must keep to the figure of *130* million in gold *a year*.

It should not be exceeded. Inform me *at once* if there is the slightest danger that *we may break out of this ceiling*.

13/I. *Lenin*

Written on January 13, 1922

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584
TO I. S. UNSCHLICHT AND V. V. FOMIN

16.I.1922
Personal
Secret

Comrade Unschlicht, All-Russia Cheka
and Comrade Fomin, People's Commissariat for Railways
Copy to N. P. Gorbunov

A few days ago, I had occasion to see for myself the state of the All-Russia Cheka *railway trolleys*, which are apparently in the joint charge of the All-Russia Cheka and the P.C.R. I think that railway trolleys are absolutely indispensable for the All-Russia Cheka, and the People's Commissariat for Defence (I have heard that the All-Russia Cheka has two) at the Moscow Junction for very fast assignments, for highly urgent and highly secret dispatch of small (5-10 men) detachments, etc.

I found the railway trolleys in the worst state possible. I saw utter neglect, semi-ruin (very many things have been stolen!), total disorder, the fuel appears to have been stolen, there is water in the kerosene, the engine running excruciatingly, stoppages on the way every minute, the traffic wretched, delays at the stations, station-masters completely uninformed (apparently without any idea at all that the All-Russia Cheka trolleys should have special travelling warrants, and that they should go through with maximum speed not in the sense of running speed—these machines are apparently "Soviet", i.e., are very bad ones—but in the sense of the shortest possible delays and waste of time, *with military precision*), there is chaos, slovenliness and absolute disgrace. Fortunately, being incognito on the trolley, I was able to hear and did hear, frank and truthful (and not the officially honeyed and lying) talk of the officials, and I understood from their talk that this was no exception, but that the whole organisation was incredibly disgraceful, with complete dislocation and clumsiness.

This was the first time I travelled along the railway lines not as a "dignitary", getting all and sundry to hustle with dozens of special telegrams, but as an unknown per-

son travelling with All-Russia Cheka men, and the impression I got was one of depressing hopelessness. If such is the state of a special small gear in the mechanism under the special supervision of the All-Russia Cheka *itself*, I can well imagine the state of things in the P.C.R. in general! The disorder there must be incredible.

I propose: to appoint at once, by agreement between the All-Russia Cheka and the P.C.R. (perhaps also getting the People's Commissariat for Defence to join, if it has any trolleys?), a responsible person who would be close to the actual thing, and not a high-ranking official. This person to be strictly responsible for any negligence.

Issue a short military-worded instruction about the All-Russia Cheka trolleys, about their secret and rapid movements, maintenance in good repair, storage of fuel, traffic without delays along the Circular Road, the junction *and everywhere*, etc., etc. Add to the instruction, by the way, that at the request of N. P. Gorbunov (who will be doing this only with my consent) a railway trolley is to be made available promptly and run to the place he designates.

Send detailed report on execution to N. P. Gorbunov, C.P.C. business manager.

I also authorise Gorbunov to verify execution from time to time, i.e., make unannounced trips on railway trolleys, noting down the minutes required for each operation (summons, running time, stops, etc.) and inspection.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.L.D.

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585

TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.[512]

Secret

To Comrade Molotov, at the Politbureau:

1) Perhaps we should demand special guarantees against the fascists (e.g., either an Italian warship with a

wireless at our disposal? the names of responsible persons in the Italian army and police, etc.)?

2) Perhaps we should at once inform them that *our delegates will number* from ... to ... ((+ staff))? When shall we call the All-Russia C.E.C. session?

3) On the whole (and about the rest) Chicherin is right.

4) Perhaps we should appoint on behalf of the All-Russia C.E.C. (as a subtle point):
Lenin —Chairman
Chicherin—Deputy with **all** the powers of the Chairman, in the event the latter cannot go.
{ Joffe ?? and ?? Krasin ?? } *2 assistant deputies*? or 3-4 *assistant deputies*?[513]

5) Perhaps we should start *at once* only personal talks (without any papers) in Berlin and Moscow with the Germans about *contacts* between us and them at Genoa?

6) Perhaps we should at once suggest secretly to *all* the plenipotentiary representatives to put out feelers with the governments concerned to find out whether or not they are prepared to start *unofficial* secret talks with us on a *preliminary* marking out of the *line* at Genoa?

16/I. *Lenin*

Written on January 16, 1922
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586

TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

16/I.1922

To Molotov
for all **members of the Politbureau**

1) Chicherin's papers show that he is sick.[514] We must ask the *best* doctors urgently whether it is better to

a) postpone his whole leave (six months) until after Genoa?
Will he be able to stand the pace?

b) or let him have a rest right away for one month or five weeks, from 18.I. to 22.II., which leaves two weeks until 8.III., and special leave after Genoa? (**b** seems to be the only correct approach).[515]

2) Things at the P.C.F.A. appear to be in a state of dangerous chaos. Is it not risky to dispatch all the best men from the P.C.F.A. to Genoa, leaving a hole at the P.C.F.A. here?

This question should be placed under the most immediate, *direct* supervision by the Politbureau.

3) Special responsibility must be placed on someone (perhaps Litvinov + Vorovsky + Joffe + P. P. Gorbunov?) for seeing that when Chicherin and the whole delegation leave for Genoa, *all* P.C.F.A. affairs are handed over to **specified** persons in *complete* order.

Someone of the most experienced diplomatists should be left to head the P.C.F.A. for the entire Genoa period.[516]

4) The best and completely reliable cipher clerks should be found right away with the assignment to prepare the most reliable codes for Genoa (with keys *changed every day*) for the entire Genoa period.

Lenin

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587

TO V. M. MOLOTOV

17.I.1922

Comrade Molotov:

I am sending on to you Vorovsky's inquiry and Axelrod's application. This needs a decision.

Axelrod has worked here in the Comintern and for the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. I have known him as a Bolshevik since 1916 in Zurich, and support his application for assistance to him and his wife in one form or another.[517]

With communist greetings,

Lenin

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588
TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV

17.I.1922

Comrade Smolyaninov:

I am sending you G. D. Tsyurupa's reports.*

This is shocking red tape.

The work of the People's Commissariat for Railways is wretched.

And to think that this is for Kashira, an establishment of exceptional importance! An establishment about which there is a *special* Politbureau directive, concerning the obligatory nature of all sorts of pressure and acceleration! And to think that this should happen after dozens of telegrams, etc., from me about Kashira!

What, in that case, happens to the *ordinary* freight? Apparently something quite crazy!

I propose to you:

1) to start proceedings for red tape, and take the case all the way to the strictest punishment;

2) put *pressure* on the P.C.R. and, *apart from the trial*, secure *measures* for enhancing responsibility and improving the work.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.L.D.

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589
LETTERS TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. ON THE STEINBERG CONCESSION

1

17.I.1922

To Comrade Molotov for the Politbureau

I enclose Lezhava's report on the Steinberg concession. Please have this matter raised in the *Politbureau* on

* See Document 595 of this volume and *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Document 218.—*Ed.*

Thursday, so as to allow the *C.P.C.* to pass the C.C. decision through Soviet government channels on Friday.[518]

Appoint two rapporteurs on this question for the Politbureau: A. D. Tsyurupa and a representative of the C.P.C. majority.

This is an important business, and I very much fear that the C.P.C. majority (opposing Tsyurupa) is about to make another mistake in the spirit of "communist conceit": they are afraid to allow a merchant who knows how to trade to make money, and their overriding *concern* is only to secure a majority for the Communists, most of whom may bawl a bit, but then they never touch the stuff.[519]

I draw your attention to §5: *three Communists* (ignorant of trade? I know of only two Communists who have shown an ability to trade: *Belov* (GUM) and *Serg. Malyshev*) are about *to teach* two merchants *how to trade*.

I am afraid that this "majority" will look very much like Shchedrin's accoucheurs.[520]

Perhaps §5 should be amended as follows: Steinberg, as representative, be empowered to decide everything *alone*, while the majority of the board should have the right *to know everything* and to complain to us about Steinberg's acts, *without suspending them* (i.e., the majority of three against two will nominally retain the right to reverse Steinberg's decisions, but we *shall tell* him that we shall not reverse anything without a *special C.L.D.* decision).

Meanwhile, the three Communists will be given the duty, by a special C.C. decision, to study and to learn the business in three years or so, otherwise they will be expelled with ignominy.

Lenin

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2

To Comrade Molotov (for members of the Politbureau)
To Comrade Tsyurupa and Comrade Lezhava with a request for their opinion

The C.L.D. is meeting in plenary session today. Perhaps, it could be possible, so as not to put off the matter,

to adopt by phone the following proposal concerning the Steinberg concession (Politbureau decision mandatory upon the C.L.D.): "To accept the Lezhava commission's proposal with an addendum of this kind: Steinberg, as representative of the board, shall act on his own, with decisions by the board majority (3 representatives of the board, 1—Steinberg, 1—capitalist), without suspending Steinberg's order, only referable to the C.L.D."[521]

This addendum should be adopted by the C.L.D., but not written into the board's charter. Then, by informing Steinberg of this decision, we shall, on the one hand, provide the possibility of really doing business commercially to a man who knows commerce otherwise than from reading communist booklets and, on the other, in the event of Steinberg committing any crime, we shall assure ourselves of the possibility of revoking our decision through the C.L.D., without altering the Society's charter in any way. I think that such a guarantee is quite sufficient.

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on January 23, 1922

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Printed from secretarial notes

590

TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV[522]

Comrade Smolyaninov

Having looked over some of the tables, I propose that

1) **clear** additions in ink, in a fine hand, should always be made of *absolute* monthly *figures* (thousands or millions) (as in Table V, 4).

2) The same *always* in the margins of the table
pre-war figure (1913 or 1916, etc.)
such-and-such (absolute figure).

3) The whole importance of these tables lies in their being visual and comparable. That is why tables for *3 6* months: 1920-1921-1922, should be made to fit in *the same form*
(have all the *3 6* months 1920-1922 in *one* table).

17/I. *Lenin*

+ 4) Instead of *heavy lines* (∧) light lines (∧) will do: this will be simpler, clearer and easier to draw and will require fewer officials.

5) A bit of day-dreaming: have all the tables clipped into one *sheaf* (2 or 3, if it is too thick) to facilitate paging.

17/I. *Lenin*

Written on January 17, 1922

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591

TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. SECRETARIAT

Comrade Molotov:

I am applying to the C.C. Secretariat (and if that is not within its competence, then to the Orgbureau) with a request about two comrades:

1) The daughter of Margarita Vasilyevna *Fofanova*, 15 years old, is afflicted with a grave form of bone tuberculosis. Please have her sent (with her mother, if necessary), to our sanatorium in Riga. Of course, they have no means.

I have known M. V. Fofanova as a vigorous and loyal member of the Bolshevik Party since the summer of 1917. In the autumn of that same year, before the October Revolution, she hid me at her flat in the most dangerous period.

Since the October 1917 Revolution, she has been working hard all the time, without a break. Her daughter's grave illness is putting a terrible strain on her and upsets her work.[523]

(Fofanova's address: 4 House of Soviets, 5 Vozdvizhenka, Flat 31.*)

2) I request that Nina Kotovich-Sammer, 14 years old, be placed at a model boarding school of the People's Commissariat for Education.

She should be admitted in the first form of the upper school.

* The address is in a secretary's hand.—*Ed.*

Address: Centrosoyuz hostel, 2/15 Maroseika.

I knew her father, the late Ivan Adamovich *Sammer*, very well: an old revolutionary and a Bolshevik. A member of the C.C. even before the first (1905) revolution. He died in the Ukraine in 1920, his health broken by overwork.[524]

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

Written on January 17, 1922
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592

TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV

January 18, 1922

Comrade Bryukhanov
(Copies to Comrade Kamenev and Comrade Tsyurupa, to Comrade Stalin)

I most definitely disagree with you. I think that in view of the terrible disorder at the Commissariat for Food in the Ukraine, Frumkin is needed there. It is my firm conviction that the Commissariat for Food in general has to pull itself together most decidedly. Perhaps, Klyshko or someone else will do for the purchases abroad. We must send a very strict telegram to Krasin.*

Lenin

Dictated by phone
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593

TO J. V. STALIN

19/I.

Comrade Stalin:

If you decide to send Frumkin to the Ukraine, Krasin should be sent an extra-vigorous telegram:

> Unless you buy 15 million poods of grain in January and February, we shall dismiss you from your

* See next document.—*Ed.*

office and expel you from the Party. There is a desperate need for grain. Red tape is intolerable. The Vneshtorg apparatus is bad. There are delays over foreign currency. Do everything you possibly can. Telegraph precisely on the execution twice a week.

Approve this tomorrow, 20/I, and send on behalf of the Politbureau,[525] in addition put all the pressure possible on Litvinov (for the sake of currency) and check up **personally** 2 or 3 times a week.[526]

Lenin

Written on January 19, 1922

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594

TO L. B. KRASIN

19.I.1922.

Comrade Krasin:

Concerning Larin, to the Politbureau decision of 17.I.[527] I add:

1. Keep him in London *as long as possible*.
2. If you take any of his figures on trust, we shall sack you.
3. Take care of his health, provide better treatment, appoint a *responsible* doctor.
4. Give him a **long** *literary* job with *German* and **English** sources (if he does not know English, teach him).

Carry out points 1, 3 and 4 with especial strictness and *especial tact*. Point 2—three times as strictly.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

P.S. The Vneshtorg apparatus is downright bad. Lezhava is **weak**. There is need for a better man. The grain is needed desperately and urgently. Put into this **everything** you have. *It is your responsibility.**

Lenin

Sent to London

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* See Documents 581 and 593 of this volume.—*Ed.*

595
TO V. A. AVANESOV

Comrade *Avanesov*

The chief engineer of the Kashira project, *G. D. Tsyurupa*, reports shocking delays of cars in their dispatch from Moscow to Kashira. There is red tape at the People's Commissariat for Railways.

With respect to the Kashira project, in view of its exceptional importance for the state, there are a number of the strictest directives on the extension of all kinds of assistance and binding all the departments to carry out assignments for the Kashira project with especial urgency and especial care.

Please appoint the strictest inquiry into these delays, to establish exactly who is to blame for the red tape, and be sure to institute legal proceedings against the guilty persons.

Carry out the inquiry in the most *urgent manner*. Communicate the results to Comrade *Smolyaninov* for reporting to me.[528]

Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on January 20, 1922

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596
TO A. D. TSYURUPA

Comrade Tsyurupa:

Having looked into the whole situation and the doctor's written orders, which you had shown me,[529] etc., I most insistently request you to take the following into consideration.

I shall be unable to return before three or, perhaps, four weeks. This is the most difficult period, and C.C. members cannot set aside other business so as to take a most direct part in C.P.C. and C.L.D. work. The doctor gave you permission to work for 8 hours. I absolutely insist that over

the next four weeks you confine yourself to 4 hours of work a day, and besides take a complete rest on Saturdays, Sundays and Mondays. The rest of the time should be spent on a sanatorium regimen, for which purpose I expect to find a room in Sokolniki for you and your wife, so that you may have your usual sick-nurse, good food, etc. I am quite sure that otherwise you will not be able to stand the four weeks of work, and that is something we need very badly because of the political situation. Of these four hours, you must spend 2 hours a day in attending the C.P.C. and C.L.D. meetings, which we shall hold twice a week, the other two hours being devoted exclusively to the signing of minutes and the necessary minimum of conversation in person and by phone. If things are arranged this way, our apparatus will not be weakened in any way within these four weeks. You will be getting intensive help on the technical side from Gorbunov and Smolyaninov, and on the political side, from Kamenev and Stalin, and I have already made arrangements with all of them. Once again I ask you to accept this plan and to carry it out punctiliously, because it is absolutely utopian to hope to protect your flat against an influx of friends from the Commissariat for Food, etc.

Please send your reply through Fotieva as soon as possible.[530]

21/I.22. *Lenin*

Dictated by phone

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the text in Lydia Fotieva's hand

597

TO L. D. TROTSKY[531]

Comrade Trotsky:

I have no doubt that the Mensheviks have now intensified and will go on intensifying their most malicious agitation. I think, therefore, that there is need to intensify surveillance over and reprisals against them. I have already spoken about this with Unschlicht, and request you to find ten minutes or so for a conversation with him not by telephone. As for the substance of the matter—I think I

agree with you. I now seem to be developing an urge to write an article on topics close to those you have referred to, but I shall nevertheless be hardly able to do this before a fortnight is out. Therefore, it would be perhaps extremely useful if you were to join open battle in the press right away, naming this Menshevik, explaining the malicious whiteguard character of his speech, and issuing an impressive call to the Party to pull itself together. The term "state capitalism" is, in my opinion (and I have repeatedly argued with Bukharin about it), the only theoretically correct and necessary one to make inert Communists realise that the new policy is going forward in earnest. But, of course, such malicious helpmates of the whiteguards, as all Mensheviks are, can pretend that they do not understand that state capitalism in a state with proletarian power can exist only as limited in time and sphere of extension, and conditions of its application, mode of supervision over it, etc.[532]

21/I.22. *Lenin*

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598

TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV

Sunday, 22/I.

Comrade Sokolnikov:

Concerning your letter of 18/I.[533]

About Basha and the State Depository of Valuables. I very much fear that you have been carried away here by the apparent "harmony" of the reorganisation plans. Basha, who had been recommended to me by reliable men, and who has *proved* his ability to safekeep, can (I felt) only safekeep, safeguard and no more. That is enough. That is a great deal. Under Trotsky's general supervision and pressure, let them safekeep, safeguard, fight stealing and realise. That is enough. That is very much.

Why then "reorganise Gokhran"? Why reorganise it into a "gold—currency—administration"?

I very much fear that reorganisation will be the death of us, without bringing any of the practical jobs to completion.

Let Trotsky and Basha carry out the State Depository of Valuables job to the end: which is to collect, to safeguard and to realise.

The currency administration must be separate. It was in Litvinov's charge. There is some mix-up between him and Krasin—the most painful question which caused a Politbureau decision a few days ago.[534]

At all costs this mix-up should be eliminated and their (Litvinov's and Krasin's) work made concerted *swiftly*, *immediately*.

If Litvinov is unable to devote himself entirely to this (because of the diplomacy), and if (you) intend to have Krasnoshchekov head the currency administration, why not bring this up before the Politbureau: the State depository of Valuables—safekeeps, collects and assigns for realisation; Krasnoshchekov—currency administration (instead of Litvinov or together with Litvinov?)?

I am in mortal fear of reorganisations. We are always reorganising things, instead of getting on with the practical business. You will do well to bear my words in mind: if the Commissariat for Finance does have a bitter enemy, it is the overdoing of reorganisation, and the underdoing of the *practical* business.

I cannot agree with you that the restructuring of our budget is at the centre of our work. Trade and restoration of the ruble is at the centre.

It is true (as you write) that Larin is "undoubtedly" the "father" of the monstrous confusion of the budget. It is also true that Preobrazhensky is the second guilty one. And what about O. Y. Schmidt? He has not got Preobrazhensky's excuses! This O. Y. Schmidt should he removed. He is a most harmful fumbler, and is the more dangerous because he fumbles with "pomposity" and is "superklug"*....

I think you should not engage in "restructuring" on the question of the budget: hand nine-tenths of it to the State Planning Commission and reduce all this to *practical*,

* "too clever".—*Ed.*

prudent amendments. Otherwise, the "restructuring" will run away with you, and in any case it is **impossible** just now, right away, to have a tolerable budget, and we shall perish because of the collapse of the monetary system, scattering our attention on tasks which are not feasible just now.

At the centre of everything just now is trade, first, domestic, and then, foreign trade; in connection with trade and on the basis of trade—a restoration of the ruble.

All attention should be concentrated on this. The important, the most important, the basic task is to make a *practical* start on this.

Development of trade, organisation of the State Bank's trade department, to have it **moving** *the whole* of trade, instead of sleeping—is the main thing.

What I mortally fear is that you, now *actually in charge* of the *most important* People's Commissariat, will be carried away with restructuring, reorganisation, and the theoretical line (you do have a weakness on this score)—instead of practice, practice and practice: raising trade, *increasing* and *collecting taxes*, restoring the ruble. Really and truly I am in mortal fear of this; do not succumb to this weakness, otherwise we shall collapse. Go on promoting Krasnoshchekov: he appears to be a practitioner.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on January 22, 1922

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Printed from the original

599

TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

To Comrade Molotov for circulating **secretly** (without making a copy) all members of the Politbureau *together with Radek's letter**

I propose:

1) to adopt Radek's proposal and to suggest right away to Krasin and Krestinsky to put out feelers, in a circular

* Karl Radek's letter has not been found.—*Ed.*

dispatch, with several powers separately (I once made this proposal: I don't understand why my *written* proposal has been lost. It was sent to Molotov*).

2) To hasten Rakovsky's arrival in Moscow and departure for Prague (having him return here a fortnight before Genoa).

3) To summon Krasin to Moscow by the same date.

4) To be highly careful and not to write abroad about our plans concerning Genoa, even in code, and to put off everything until the delegation conference in Moscow on 23.II (a fortnight before Genoa). This conference should also be attended by Chicherin, Krasin and Rakovsky (and Litvinov, and Vorovsky and Joffe, i.e., the *whole* delegation).

5) To issue a preliminary directive from the Politbureau:

(a) under no circumstances shall we recognise any debts, except those promised by Chicherin[535];

(b) we shall recognise these debts *only* provided they are *covered* by our own counter-claims;

(c) we give guarantees (if we are given a loan) only with timber in the north, and so forth;

(d) we put the most extensive interpretation on §1 of Bonomi's terms[536];

(e) we protect Germany and Turkey, etc.;

(f) we try to separate America, and in general to divide the powers.[537]

6) We instruct *each* member of the delegation to work out on that *basis* a plan for negotiations in detail by 23.II.

7) I propose that we *reverse* the decision permitting Chicherin to engage *Sukhanov* and Jordansky.[538]

Radek is absolutely wrong.

The windbag Sukhanov will do nothing but *harm*. Jordansky too. It *is extremely harmful*.

8) Considering that we here in Moscow are surrounded by *spies*, Mensheviks and semi-Mensheviks, this (and similar) proposals should not be entered into the Politbureau minutes, but taken down separately, getting all the members of the delegation to sign on the same sheet and to return this sheet to Molotov, undertaking *not* to mention the

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* See Document 585 of this volume.—*Ed.*

Politbureau directives *anywhere*, either in their papers, or in coded messages.

22/I. *Lenin*

Written on January 22, 1922
First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

600
TO A. M. LEZHAVA[539]

January 23, 1922

To Comrade Lezhava

About the project for Harriman's entry, let me tell you the following: unless I am mistaken, the main provision of the Derutra contract was that we and the Germans have an equal number of votes on the board. If Harriman joined up with the Germans, i.e., as part of the German half, that would, of course, be acceptable, but if the Germans plus Harriman have two-thirds of the votes, and we—one-third, that is, of course, unacceptable, In that case, a second society should be set up alongside Derutra, in which we and Harriman would have an equal number of votes. In these circumstances, the combined operations of the two societies would fully ensure our interests and those of Harriman.

Lenin

Dictated by phone
First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from
a typewritten copy

601
TO A. M. LEZHAVA, P. A. BOGDANOV AND V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

Comrades Lezhava, Bogdanov
and Molotov (for Politbureau members)

January 23, 1922

I believe that it is absolutely necessary for us to accept Krupp's proposal just now, before the Genoa Conference.[540] It would be immensely important for us to conclude at

least one, and what would be even better, several concession contracts, with German firms above all. That is why there must be the most relentless struggle against the prejudice among the top section of the S.E.C. against concessions, whether involving oil, agriculture or anything else.

Lenin

Dictated by phone
First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from
a typewritten copy

602

TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

1

To Comrade Molotov
(for Politbureau members)

I have just received two letters from Chicherin (dated the 20th and 22nd). He has raised the question of whether we should agree, for a proper compensation, to some small changes in our Constitution, namely, representation for the parasitic elements on the Soviets. He says this should be done to please the Americans.

This proposal of Chicherin shows, I believe, that he should 1) be immediately sent to a sanatorium, as any connivance in this respect, any allowance of delay, etc., will, in my opinion, be the greatest threat to all negotiations.* 2) This shows how timely my proposal (which I here enclose) is to have a formulation at once of our preliminary and approximate, but precise terms, for all members of the Genoa delegation.**

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on January 23, 1922
Published in 1961 in the book,
Leninskiye idei zhivut
i pobezhdayut, Moscow

Printed from
a typewritten copy

* See Document 586 of this volume.—*Ed.*
** See present edition, Vol. 42, pp. 390-93.—*Ed.*

2

To Comrade Molotov for all Politbureau members:

This and the following letter from Chicherin clearly show that he is sick and very much so.[541] We shall be fools unless we force him to go to a sanatorium **right away**.

24/I.1922. *Lenin*

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

603

TO L. B. KAMENEV AND J. V. STALIN

Comrades Kamenev and Stalin:

I have just learned—to my horror—from Sokolnikov that he *rejects* (!) the Politbureau's directive concerning the trio (he + Preobrazhensky + Krasnoshchekov).

This is chaos!

This is a scandal!

This means that the C.C. apparatus is not working! This should be reaffirmed not later than tomorrow.[542]

And—I insist again and again—that no question should be allowed to go to the *Supreme Economic Commission* without the written proposals and counter-proposals of the People's Commissars and their deputies or assistants *concerned*. Otherwise this is chaos,

red tape,
empty talk,
irresponsibility.

9.30 p.m. 25/I.

Lenin

Written on January 25, 1922
First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

604
TO A. M. LEZHAVA

People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade

Comrade *Lezhava*:

Comrade Lomonosov informs me that there has been fresh delay with the ordering of turbines for the Volkhov project.

I propose that this question should be immediately clarified and finally settled with Comrade Lomonosov, so as to avoid the slightest delays in the future over a matter that has been shockingly dragged out.

Send me the decision through Comrade Gorbunov not later than 26/I.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on January 26, 1922

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

605
LETTER TO G. V. CHICHERIN

Comrade Chicherin:

1. Please send me, if possible, the official text of Bonomi's proposals in the language in which you have received it (it is important for me to have the text of the provisions as formulated by them).[543]

2. Do you know if any influential Entente newspaper has carried the text of Clause 1 of these terms, which was initially published in our newspapers, namely: with the words "system of property" and not just "system", as, I believe, the official text sent by Bonomi puts it.[544]

I should also ask you to have the Russian Telegraph Agency's Foreign Press Service check up whether the words "system of property" have appeared in any foreign newspaper, and if they have, to let me have the issue.

Lenin

Dictated by phone on January 23, 1922

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from secretarial notes (typewritten copy)

606
TO I. T. SMILGA*

Comrade Smilga
Copies to Comrades N. P. Gorbunov
and Smolyaninov

For considerations not only economic but also political, it is absolutely necessary for us to have a concession with the Germans at Grozny, and if possible, at other fuel centres as well. If you sabotage this, I am going to regard it as a downright crime. We must act quickly to have some positive results before Genoa. Please reply. Briefly by telegram, details by letter.[545]

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on January 26, 1922
Sent to Berlin

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from
a typewritten copy

607
TO G. V. CHICHERIN

26/I.1922.

Comrade Chicherin:

Do you remember sending me Sun Yat-sen's letter?

The one in which he said something about his *friendship* for me, and you asked me whether I knew him?

Was the letter addressed to you or to me?[546]

Have you got it in the archives? and my reply with your inquiry?

If you do, could you send it to me (addressed to Fotieva)?

If not, what do you *remember* about it?

With communist greetings,

Lenin

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

* Typed on top of the text is the following: "Send in code through Krestinsky, with P. P. Gorbunov's special concern for accurate delivery."—*Ed.*

608
TO MARIA GLYASSER

26/I.1922.

Comrade Glyasser:

It is absolutely necessary that I have all the minutes of the Politbureau (and the "Duet")[547]

at the proper time
and *in full order*.

Order means *completeness*:

(a) *all* minutes
(b) *all* papers in each set of minutes, and not references to **absent** letters, "proposals", remarks, etc.

Make sure to arrange everything with Burakova and with anyone else concerned,

put everything in order (and get *all* the lacking documents in)

all the minutes during my absence (this means from 6.XII.1921?[548])

and send me everything.

I enclose the minutes.

Lenin

First published in part in 1944 in the magazine *Partiinoye Stroitelstvo* No. 1

Published in full in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

609
NOTE TO A SECRETARY WITH ASSIGNMENT TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV

Tell Smolyaninov to make a record of the following arrangement with Krzhizhanovsky:

Nazvanov will be appointed to an economic job by Krzhizhanovsky, with a full report submitted on the results of this work within two months, and this work should be arranged in such a way as to have every possibility of assessing Nazvanov's efficiency and qualities. Let Comrade

Smolyaninov give me a reminder of this upon my return to work.*

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on January 26, 1922

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from
a typewritten copy

610

FROM A LETTER TO I. S. UNSCHLICHT

Publicity for revolutionary tribunals should not be a rule; their panels should be augmented by "your" men, and their ties (of all sorts) with the All-Russia Cheka strengthened; the *force* and speed of their reprisals should be intensified and the C.C.'s attention to this increased. The slightest increase in banditry, etc., should entail martial law and shootings on the spot. The C.P.C. will be able to pass this swiftly, if you look sharp, and it could be done by phone.

Also have a talk with Stalin, and if you consider it necessary, show him this letter.[549]

Written between January 26 and 31, 1922

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from a typewritten text of I. S. Unschlicht's reminiscences

611

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO Y. V. LOMONOSOV

Comrade Lomonosov
Copies: *to Professor Ramzin, Transport Section, State Planning Commission*
Comrade Fomin, People's Commissariat for Railways

Please arrange with Gosplan, P.C.R. and the Thermal Technical Institute about the terms of a competition for diesel locomotives, taking account of the C.L.D. decision of 4/I-22. It is highly desirable not to lose time for using

* See *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Document 143.—*Ed.*

funds which may happen to be available during the fulfilment of orders for steam locomotives, to obtain diesel locomotives which are much better for us. Please inform me personally without delay about the results of any agreement you may reach.[550]

27/I.22 *Lenin*

First published on January 31, 1922 in *Krasnaya Gazeta* No. 25

Printed from a typewritten copy

612
TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Comrade Gorbunov:

This should be backed up. Have a talk with Scheinman. If he does not agree, tell Tsyurupa and me.

Collect references about Belov (Kiselyov's; did Nesterov collect them?) and keep them on file, after showing Tsyurupa.

Either you or Smolyaninov should give Belov *regular* help.[551]

28/I. *Lenin*

Written on January 28, 1922

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

613
*TO N. P. GORBUNOV[552]

Comrade Gorbunov:

Either you or Smolyaninov must keep this matter under special supervision. *This is very important*. Make a file of everything- relevant (the *C.L.D.* bonus decision, etc.). Have a talk with Lomonosov. He and Krzhizhanovsky and others will hold a meeting at Gosplan on Wednesday.* The

* February 1.—*Ed*.

minutes must be in your hands. Let me know the result. I have read this to Krzhizhanovsky. He says that the competition and Lomonosov's plan do *not* exclude each other.

29/I. *Lenin*

P.S. I believe Styunkel has some material about this. Someone should be collecting all the scientific literature on this question.

Written on January 29, 1922
First published in part in 1933 in the book, V. V. Fomin. *Lenin i transport* (Lenin and Transport), Moscow

Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

614

TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

To Comrade Molotov
for Politbureau members

I quite agree with Trotsky.[553]
I propose:

1) Radek should be *censured* for giving in to the Mensheviks.

2) The reprisals against the Mensheviks should be intensified, and our courts should be instructed to intensify them.

3) Accept this proposal of Trotsky's.

4) Authorise Trotsky to accelerate in every way a fierce attack on the Mensheviks over Georgia.[554]

30/I.1922. *Lenin*

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

615
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV[555]

January 31, 1922
Top secret

Comrade Zinoviev

I received only today your letter in reply to my application sent in many days ago about withdrawing my report.* You are entirely to blame for this incredible red tape. I find it ridiculous to read that you cannot see your way to agreeing to the withdrawal of my report on the economic situation. Unfortunately, my illness cannot accord with this. Unless you prepare another rapporteur in good time, the blame will fall entirely on you. I have not received any reply to my proposal to let Pyatakov give this report, although I made this proposal to Kamenev and you many days ago.** I began writing an article on this subject, but I now see that I can in no way guarantee its completion in time.[556] You are certainly right about the Mensheviks that the reply must be absolutely negative. I think that you, too, are at fault on this point with unwarranted indulgence. For instance, it was decided not to release Rozhkov. But he has been released without any Politbureau decision.[557] I think that nothing but harm will come of such a policy.

Lenin

Dictated by phone

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from a typewritten
copy verified with a text
in Lydia Fotieva's hand

616
TO I. S. UNSCHLICHT

31/I.

Comrade Unschlicht,

I am quite unable to be in the Politbureau.[558] I am feeling worse.

---

* See *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Document 232 (1, 2).—*Ed.*

** Ibid., Document 232 (3).—*Ed.*

I believe you can do without me.

The whole point now is the purely *technical* measures leading to our courts *intensifying* (and making swifter) reprisals against the Mensheviks.

Both the courts and the C.P.C. or the All-Russia C.E.C.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on January 31, 1922

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from a typewritten text of I. S. Unschlicht's reminiscences

617

TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

To Comrade Molotov for the Politbureau

Since Zinoviev insists on my fulfilling the assignment of the Comintern's Executive Committee to give a report on the New Economic Policy at an enlarged sitting of the Comintern Executive Committee on 12-II, and since I am quite unable to do this, because I am unwell,* as I have repeatedly told Zinoviev, I request the Politbureau to resolve:

1) To take into consideration Lenin's statement that he is quite unable, because of illness, to fulfil the Executive Committee's assignment.

2) To authorise the Russian members of the Executive Committee to cancel the decision appointing Lenin's report.

3) To authorise the said members of the Executive Committee to have Comrade Pyatakov appointed rapporteur on this subject.

4) To put on Pyatakov the duty to prepare, not later than next Sunday, first, detailed theses of his report, second, an outline of his report and a summary of the principal figures which are to be cited in the report, and to have

* See Document 615 of this volume, and *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Document 232.—*Ed.*

Pyatakov conform his theses to those submitted by Lenin to the Third Congress of the Comintern, and earlier approved by the Party C.C.*

5) To authorise Comrades Zinoviev, Bukharin and Lenin to correct and make a final editing of Pyatakov's theses and his outline report.

6) To have Pyatakov make his report about an hour long, at most one hour and a half.

7) To instruct Comrade Pyatakov to cite the most concise principal figures showing the successful development of industry and trade under the New Economic Policy, and the significance of this for rehabilitating the Republic's economy.

8) To take into consideration Lenin's statement that if his health allows him, he will attend Pyatakov's report and will take the floor after him for a short supplementary statement or communication, not in the nature of a report.[559]

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on February 2, 1922

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from
a typewritten copy

618
TO N. I. BUKHARIN

1

Comrade Bukharin

1. I am surprised and indignant at not having heard a single word from you in reply to my telephone message on a joint conference with the II and II½ Internationals.[560] Such things should be answered at least in a couple of words without delay.

2. Could you arrange for me to have someone who is a regular reader of European newspapers and those of the II and II½ Internationals to draw up for me a very short list

* See present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 453-61.—*Ed.*

(not more than two pages for newspapers in each language) of arguments used by them over our New Economic Policy. It would be enough for me to have such a list separately from the German, French and English papers, but only, I repeat, in the shortest telegraphic style, not more than two pages for each of these languages.

Please reply.[561]

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on February 2, 1922

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

2

Comrade Bukharin

Since there is now an answer in your letter, it is superfluous to argue that one had been necessary.

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on February 3, 1922

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from
a typewritten copy

619
TO J. V. STALIN AND L. B. KAMENEV

Only
to Comrade Stalin and Comrade Kamenev

Please have a look at this short report from Sokolnikov, which he has given me in reply to my inquiry of yesterday. First, the report is incomplete, and I have demanded additional information,* second, if it is correct, the implication is that Novitsky has been giving us downright incorrect figures. We must find out the whole truth on this matter, and, if it turns out that Novitsky gave us incorrect

* See *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Document 253.—*Ed.*

figures, the question must be raised in the Politbureau of prosecuting him.

4/II.22. *Lenin*

Dictated by phone
First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from a text
in Lydia Fotieva's hand

620

*TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Will you check up on the basis of which laws and rules over 143 private publishers are registered in Moscow, as *Izvestia* of 5/II reports, what are the administrative and editorial staffs responsible for each publisher, what is their civil liability and also responsibility in law generally, who is in charge of this business at the State Publishers, who is responsible for it.

Also have a secret talk about how and what kind of supervision of this business is organised on the part of the People's Commissariat for Justice, the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection and the All-Russia Cheka. All this is strictly confidential. Get a reply ready for me, even if only a preliminary one, by Wednesday.[562]

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on February 6, 1922
First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

621

TO V. M. MOLOTOV

Comrade Molotov

Comrade Molotov:

The papers say that an emergency conference of heads of gubernia and regional public education departments has been set for 20/III. I think that the following circular telegram, signed by you and me, should be issued:

"Every gubernia and regional department of public education is hereby bound to send in with their delegate or by mail for the conference precise and detailed information about outstanding local public educators of gubernia departments. This should include the delegates to the

conference. Information about each should contain his detailed record before the revolution and since, and a reference from local gubernia executive committees and local Gubernia Party Committees. The number of workers to be covered by such information—at least 2 Party and 2 non-Party men for each gubernia.

"Non-fulfilment or improper fulfilment of this proposal shall entail responsibility in Party and Soviet government procedures.[563]

In addition to this telegram, I propose the demand that Comrade Litkens should also submit reports on at least 10 workers of the People's Commissariat for Public Education among those who have been most outstanding at the centre in the last few years or months.

I consider all these reports to be absolutely necessary, because the People's Commissariat for Education has been quite incapable of enlisting workers from the localities, whereas we must find candidates for it to renew the Collegium.

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on February 6, 1922

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

622

ON DISTRICTING THE UKRAINE

The Ukrainian comrades are worried about the plan for districting the Ukraine. They are convinced that the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic should be preserved as a single district.[564]

What is the state of the matter? Where and when is the final decision to be taken?

Lenin

Find out *urgently*, today, by telephone
from Krzhizhanovsky
Yenukidze
Kamenev?
Tsyurupa?

Written after February 6, 1922

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

623

LETTER TO G. V. CHICHERIN ON THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. DIRECTIVES FOR THE SOVIET DELEGATION AT THE GENOA CONFERENCE

7/II.

Comrade Chicherin:

All your numerous assumptions are, I think, basically incorrect and spring, so to say, from polemical ardour.[565]

The directives do not say that we should not agree to *cover* in any form whatsoever any random claims of the adversary with our own counter-claims.

The chairman of the delegation (and the deputy chairman, in this case) seems to have a host of powers, which gives him almost autocratic power.

Your letter (and Krasin's even more so) shows—rather showed—signs of panic. That is the most dangerous thing. We are not the least bit afraid of a break-down: we shall have an even better conference tomorrow. Isolation and blockade will no longer intimidate us, nor will intervention.

We are proposing a broad agenda, and are hinting at our own "palliative" programme of general measures.

Suppose they reject it?

As they please! (we might publish our extensive programme on behalf of some member of the delegation, who may even resign (with the C.C.'s consent, of course).

You do not want an extensive one, let's have a narrower one: Wir nehmen auch Abschlagszahlung!*

We shall accept even the narrowest one, but we shall not accept anything disadvantageous. We shall not submit to ultimatums. If you want only "to trade"—let's have it, but we shall not buy a pig in a poke, and will not make any deal without calculating any "claims" *to the last kopek*.

That is all.

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* We also accept payment by instalments!—*Ed*.

We must prepare and deploy all our guns—there will always be time enough to decide which are to he used as a show, and which are to be fired off and when.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on February 7, 1922

First published in part in the book, *V. I. Lenin. Biografiya* (V. I. Lenin. Biography), 1960

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 44

Printed from the original

624

TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Comrade Gorbunov:

Give this the *most serious attention*.[566] I think, we should *allow everything* that is asked, i.e., 4 m.r. × 0.2 (?)= 800,000 *million*. That is the first thing.

Second. Do *not* separate from the Central Board for the Peat Industry (since Radchenko is not here, ask Morozov and Menshikov). Why separate? The need is to give *autonomy inside* the Central Board for the Peat Industry. It should be defined precisely, in writing, and established through the *C.L.D.*

Third. There is, after all, a *number* of *C.L.D.* decisions on priority for the Administration for Hydraulic Peat Extraction, etc., etc. These have been definitely "forgotten". That is a scandal! Those who are guilty of "forgetfulness" should be *found* and *prosecuted*. Without fail! (Let me know the result: what *has been done*.)

10/II. *Lenin*

Written on February 10, 1922

First published in 1934 in the book, *Lenin na khozyaistvennom fronte. Sbornik vospominanii.* (Lenin on the Economic Front. Collection of Reminiscences), Moscow

Printed from the original

625
TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV

11.II.1922

Copy to Comrade A. D. Tsyurupa

Comrade Sokolnikov:

1) Gorbunov has told you about Belov. We have the best references about Belov both on the Party side and on the *commercial* side. I feel that unless we give support to our "own" businessmen *of this caliber*, we shall be doing nothing but talk and talk. Those guilty of delays and red tape (at the State Bank) must be *punished*. Otherwise there will be no results. (Gorbunov has the references.)

2) The foreign trade theses have been pickled. A long, long time ago, I gave this two or three days.

Such delays should not be allowed to go unpunished.

3) Has any thought been given to the ways and means of bringing to book members of trust boards for incorrect accounting *and for operating* business *at a loss**? I wonder if our People's Commissariat for Justice is asleep? This calls for a number of *model* trials with the application of the *fiercest* chastisement. It looks as though the P.C.J. has failed to realise that the New Economic Policy demands *new* modes of the *greater infliction of fiercer* penalties.

4) In Smolensk Gubernia private capital is said to *have beaten* the co-operatives, and driven them to closure.

What about prosecutions for illegal trade?

What about taxes on private trade? etc., etc.

The Soviet bureaucrats have also missed all this?

Who at your place is responsible for this? Perhaps, we should set up commissions

1) from the People's Commissariat for Finance
2) " " People's Commissariat for Justice
3) anyone else

} for supervision measures

* See present edition, Vol. 35, Document 313.—*Ed.*

and reprisals for incorrect trade, etc.?[567]

With communist greetings,

Lenin

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

626
TO A. S. YENUKIDZE

Comrade Yenukidze:

From talks and reports here in Moscow, I conclude that there is something like slackness in the Presidium of the All-Russia C.E.C. and its work. This is not surprising, because all its members are loaded with 20 jobs, as is the practice in our "Oblomov"* republic.

This tends to strengthen the influence of men like Larin. He is a good fellow—as poet, as journalist, as lecturer. But we are fools to appoint him to legislative work, thereby spoiling and *ruining* both him and the job.

For Christ's sake, keep a stricter watch over him. Keep Larin in check. If he has already got somewhere, do not believe any of his plans or projects—do not let any pass without a triple check-up.

See that there is not the usual chaos, when efforts are made to get something through the Presidium of the All-Russia C.E.C. (by means of half-truths) in circumvention of the C.P.C. and the State Planning Commission.

Keep both your eyes peeled, and inform me (or Stalin with Kamenev) *in good time*.

Two other points:

1) Stalin's flat. Well, when? What red tape!

2) Lalayants. How is he? If he is going to Siberia, I must give him a letter and arrange a place for him in the car through Sklyansky and Fomin.

Regards!

Yours,

Lenin

* The sluggish hero of A. I. Goncharov's novel of the same name.—*Ed.*

P.S. I have just sent you a paper about flats for Strumilin and Ramzin. Please do your best about this, get it done, and write me.[568]

Yours,
Lenin

Written after February 13, 1922
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

627

LETTER TO V. M. MOLOTOV ABOUT THE WORK OF THE STATISTICAL, AND REGISTRATION AND DISTRIBUTION DEPARTMENTS OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

14.II.1922

Comrade Molotov:

Having filled in the questionnaire or the form of the last census of R.C.P. members,[569] I have come to the firm conclusion that the business of statistics at the C.C. (and probably, the whole of the registration and distribution) is very poorly organised.

Either we have a fool in charge of statistics, or there are fools and pedants sitting in important posts somewhere in these "departments" (if the said institutions under the C.C. are so called), and you have apparently no time to look into what they are doing.

1. The head of the Statistical Department should be fired.
2. This and the Registration and Distribution departments must be given a *thorough* shake-up.

Otherwise, we ourselves ("combating red tape"...) breed the most disgraceful and stupid red tape under our very noses.

The C.C. has vast powers. Its possibilities are gigantic. We are distributing 200,000-400,000 Party workers, and through them thousands upon thousands of non-Party men.

And this gigantic communist undertaking is being dead ruined by stupid red tape!

All the censuses must be finished in a month.

Their processing should be reduced to a minimum, so as also to complete it within a month.

After that nine-tenths of the Statistical and an equal proportion of the Registration and Distribution departments

of the C.C. should be disbanded, and their organisation started anew.

You *yourself* should *get rid* of minor problems (shift them on to your assistants and assistants' assistants) to concentrate entirely on the business of being a *political secretary* and *superintendent directing* the work of organisation, registration, etc.

Has there been a census of "responsible workers"? The result likewise appears to be a zero; it is worse, probably being a minus.

Write or phone me, and we shall talk it over in greater detail.

We need cards for several **hundred** (for a start) leading Party workers, classifying them as propagandists, administrators, agitators, teachers, etc., and containing *references* about their work (say, a record of the last five posts) given by *such-and-such* (4-6) persons. We have been chasing after thousands and hundreds of thousands, trifling our time away bureaucratically, *without learning* to place these men.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

628

TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

To Comrade Molotov for the Politbureau

I propose that we resolve:

1) Not a word about the amount or categories of our counter-claims .
   Write about the counter-claims in general;
2) in general write about the conference and about our pacifist programme as well.
   (Write = print.)[570]

14/II. *Lenin*

Written on February 14, 1922

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

629
TO D. I. KURSKY[571]

February 14, 1922

Comrade *Kursky*:

Please let me have, at the earliest possible date, an official report about the powers the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection has, under the legislation in force, concerning the inspection of private (non-state) enterprises.

I recall it being repeatedly said that the W.P.I.'s powers should not be restricted in any way as to any enterprises whatsoever which do not fall into the category of state enterprises.

Lenin

Dictated by phone

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from a typewritten copy

630
LETTER TO G. V. CHICHERIN

15.II.1922

Comrade Chicherin:

A telegram from Krasin dated 13.II (File No. 1466/c) says (Lloyd George): "If the Soviet Government refuses to recognise the Cannes resolutions that will *threaten* the break-down of the entire conference and will, *in any case*, make it easier for Poincaré to walk out...."

That is formulated more "threateningly" than accurately!

But the whole British press, judging by our papers, has made frequent statements to the effect that the invitation to the Genoa Conference *does not require* and *never has required the preliminary* acceptance of the Cannes terms and that the contrary opinion held by the French is-an incorrect one.

All the material must be collected to establish *precise* and *formally* indisputable facts.

It seemed to me that three facts were indisputable:

(1) when we were invited it was *not* required that we make a precise, clear and formal declaration of *acceptance* of the Cannes terms;

(2) we did *not* make any such declaration in our reply, and we have *not been informed* that our reply is *incomplete*;
(3) *the entire* British bourgeois press in its dispute with the French *recognised* that the preliminary acceptance of the Cannes terms is not obligatory.

With communist greetings,
Lenin

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

631

LETTER TO D. I. KURSKY AND ASSIGNMENT TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Comrade Kursky:

I enclose Koblents's reply to me.* After reading, please, return to N. P. Gorbunov:

1) I very strongly suspect that Koblents is poor, and that the whole of this department is poor too.

Koblents has clearly "forgotten" that an enterprise leased from the Soviet power is *still* a *Soviet* enterprise;

2) ——confused the question about subsequent or preliminary audit with the question of whether or not it is liable to auditing at all;

3) he has apparently "forgotten" that the rights of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection are *not narrower* than the State Control's old powers (Collection of Statutes, 1920, No. 16); he has forgotten many other things as well.

Conclusion: Koblents's opinion must be checked up, and if a careful study shows that Koblents has told a lie, he should be replaced by a more solid lawyer.

Let me know whom you will appoint as responsible for this check-up.

————If our laws are "contradictory" (of which there is no doubt), what are the People's Commissariat for Justice and the Legislative Proposals Department for?

---

* See *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Supplement, Document 16.—*Ed.*

What then is being done towards codification?—towards removal of contradictions?

In particular, *this is* just *the time* for *urgently* working out a clear and precise law on the extension of the W.P.I.'s powers to audit and inquire to all manner of establishments and enterprises (private, co-operative, concession, etc.).

Let me know who will be given this assignment.

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Comrade N. P. Gorbunov:

Please read this and *make a note of it for yourself* to keep an eye on execution.

Have this typed and sent to Comrade Kursky.[572]

Written on February 15, 1922
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the original

632

ON REORGANISING THE WORK OF THE C.P.C., THE C.L.D. AND THE NARROW C.P.C.[573]

LETTER TO A. D. TSYURUPA

February 15, 1922

Comrade Tsyurupa:

I believe you are right.

We should get the Politbureau's consent and start "reducing"[574]:

Roughly
1) composition: *five* men as indicated by you, plus 2 non-departmental (Belov + ?) = 7.
2) appropriations under the state estimates, first, to the People's Commissariat for Finance and the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection;

to the Narrow C.P.C. only by way of protest;

the rest, as you have it.

Think over once again and set down in writing these *principles for reducing* the Narrow C.P.C., obtain the opinion of the Narrow C.P.C. Chairman, get these *principles* through the Politbureau, and then swiftly elaborate them into a new statute.

Perhaps the commissions should also be reduced? their role in actual verification enhanced? *all* the work subordinated directly to the deputies of the C.L.D. Chairman?

With communist greetings,
Lenin

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

633
TO V. G. YAKOVENKO

Comrade *Yakovenko*,
People's Commissariat for Agriculture

On January 26, *Izvestia VTsIK* carried an article by Comrade A. Belyakov entitled "Yearning Motors and Proletarian Agriculture".

I advise you to give serious attention to this item. It turns out that 770 brand new motors with spare parts, in good condition, in their foreign packaging, with a total of almost 117,000 h.p., and costing over 14 million pre-war gold rubles, have been lying about at the war department for five years. These motors are of no use to the War Department, and are being handed over by it to the People's Commissariat for Agriculture, which can very well use them for the needs of agriculture. It is four months now since the P.C.A. has been informed of this, but not a thing has yet been done, apart from exchanges on paper.

This is sheer mismanagement and helplessness.

I propose that:

1. the P.C.A. should give me a written explanation;
2. those guilty of delays and red tape should be found, and a trial of this business should be arranged with wide publicity;
3. this thing should at once be got going in practice most resolutely, informing me within a month of what has been actually done (when the motors were accepted, how

used, to whom handed over, when and how they will start operating, etc.).[575]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on February 15, 1922
First published in 1942
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from a typewritten
text signed by Lenin

634
TO D. I. KURSKY

15-II-1922

Comrade *Kursky*
Copy to Comrade Tsyurupa
" to Comrade Gorbunov

Comrade *Kursky*:

I am unable to have a look at the draft decree on bills of exchange and civil obligations. I think it is absolutely necessary for us to have in this law complete guarantees of the rights of our state not only to full audit and control, but also to annulment on serious state grounds. Please let me have your opinion on this matter (a few lines, not more than one page) and send me two or three extracts of articles giving us such guarantees. I conclude from Comrade Gorbunov's words that there must be such articles in the draft.[576]

With communist greetings,
Lenin

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

635
TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Comrade *Gorbunov*

In conformity with doctor's orders, I instruct you:
1. To improve Comrade Miroshnikov's nutrition.

2. To arrange his departure, on April 1, for the Crimea for a three months' course of treatment.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on February 15, 1922
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

636
TO I. I. MIROSHNIKOV

Comrade *Miroshnikov*

On the strength of the orders issued by Dr. Levin, resident physician of the Kremlin Hospital, I instruct you:

1. To restrict your working hours to eight.
2. To get a deputy for yourself by April 1, and put him in touch with your duties, so as to leave for a long holiday on April 1.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on February 15, 1922
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

637
LETTER TO G. V. CHICHERIN AND ASSIGNMENT TO SECRETARIES

Please show Stalin and Molotov and send on to Chicherin this reply of mine:

Comrade Chicherin!

You are letting your nerves run away with you. We shall still have time on 22 or 23/II to discuss the plan of conduct at Genoa.

You and I have both fought against pacifism as a programme for the revolutionary proletarian party. That much

is clear. But who has ever denied the use of pacifists by that party to soften up the enemy, the bourgeoisie?[577]

Yours,
Lenin

Written on February 16, 1922
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

638
TO Y. A. LITKENS

Comrade *Litkens*
Copy to the Narrow C.P.C.

At the end of last December, I wrote to the People's Commissariat for Education about Prof. Krug's request to provide the Moscow Higher Technical College with premises for its electrotechnical department and Electrotechnical Institute, and asked that special attention should be given to it, and everything done to meet the request.*

On February 9, I received another letter from Prof. Krug, in which he says that the People's Commissariat for Education has not yet helped the College. Prof. Krug says that it would be quite possible, without causing any inconvenience at all, by way of more efficient use of space by others, to give the electrotechnical department and the Experimental Electrotechnical Institute some of the premises of the former Yelizavetinsky Institute, and have the Radishchev School, now housed at the Institute, transferred to another place by the spring, when the warm weather sets in.

If you do not agree with this proposal of Prof. Krug's—I instruct you on your personal responsibility to find and make available to the Institute premises within a fortnight.

Inform me of execution by March 3.

Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on February 16, 1922
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from a typewritten copy

* The letter has not been found.—*Ed.*

639

LETTER TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. ON CREDITS TO THE SHATILOV OATS TRUST[578]

To Comrade Molotov for Politbureau members
Copy to Comrade Osinsky

Comrade Osinsky writes to me to say that the Politbureau has cancelled all sorts of credits made available in addition to the initial budget, and that the credits to the Shatilov Oats Trust have also been cancelled. I have made a point of looking into this business, and I must say that according to my information this is an exceptionaliy important undertaking which must be supported by way of exception at any cost. Unfortunately, Osinsky does not give the figures in question. Please obtain from Osinsky, Sokolnikov and Tsyurupa a short report, running to a few lines, about this matter by tomorrow morning, and have another examination of this question at the Politbureau tomorrow, summoning Osinsky to attend in the event the data submitted by Comrades Tsyurupa and Sokolnikov do not clear up the question entirely.

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on February 17, 1922

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from secretarial notes
(typewritten copy)

640

*TO COMRADE N. P. GORBUNOV

Despite my letter,* I have yet to receive a report on the expedition to clarify the Ridder concession. Get such a report from a representative of the commission which has been there by tomorrow, but under no circumstances should it be longer than two pages.

I fear that, as usual, the report will run to a whole tome, which no one will read.

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* The letter has not been found.—*Ed.*

Make formal contact with the chairman of the commission and Krzhizhanovsky, who had given me a host of unfulfilled promises.[579]

17.II.22. *Lenin*

Dictated by phone
First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

641
TO A. D. TSYURUPA

18/II.

1

Comrade Tsyurupa:

When I was writing my book on imperialism,* I read about *two* systems for state banks (and banks in general) in the capitalist countries. One of the systems—the State Bank's great proximity to *trade*.

Perhaps we should get a couple of our "fin-scholars" (I feel like making a pun—fie-scholars?) to make a study of this question.

We need a State Bank which is a hundred times closer to trade than the most commercial of the state banks of capitalism. Our State Bank must have a *network* of commercial agents, starting from the top (something like a travelling bank inspector for commerce, in charge of thousands of millions in turnover) and ending with small and very small commercial agents at the bottom. If this whole network operates on the commission system and learns (and teaches us) to trade well, we shall have control of nine-tenths of the total amount of the trade turnover. This is the only way to restore the gold circulation and to *transform the New Economic Policy* from a system of fooling communist fools, who hold power but are incapable of using it, into a *base* for socialism, a base which, this being a peasant country, no power on earth can vanquish.

---

* *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 185-304).—*Ed.*

Show this to Sokolnikov. We should *harass* the State Bank and the People's Commissariat for Finance, until we *get* this *going*.

Yours,
Lenin

Written on February 18, 1922
First published in 1937
in the magazine *Bolshevik* No. 2

Printed from the original

2

Comrade Tsyurupa:

I should like to draw your attention especially to my letter to Sokolnikov on trade, the State Bank and the State Bank's Trade Department.*

The crucial thing is trade and its control by the State Bank.

It looks as though the State Bank's Trade Department has nothing to do with "*commerce*", and is just as sh..... bureaucratic as everything else in the R.S.F.S.R. I believe that we should concentrate *all our efforts* on this and *secure* the introduction of commission fees, veri fication by practice, and the *expulsion from* the State Bank's *Trade Department* of everything that is flabby, everything that is not commercial, everything that is unable to secure success in trade.

We do not need a "department for internal trade" (we have enough of such sh.. as *departments*), but one or two dozen *men* at the State Bank *who know* how to trade (and teach others to do so). This is crucial, without this the monetary system cannot be put straight.

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Written on February 20, 1922
First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

* See present edition, Vol. 35, Document 314.—*Ed.*

642

TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR ALL MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

No copy

Comrade Molotov

Please show this letter to all members of the Politbureau and return it to me with their remarks. I think Chicherin is quite right that Radek has given fresh proof in this case that, for all his numerous merits, he is absolutely unfit to be a diplomatist.[580]

Lenin

20/II.22.

Dictated by phone
First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from a text
in Lydia Fotieva's hand

643

TO L. B. KAMENEV AND J. V. STALIN

21/II.

Comrades Kamenev and Stalin

It is quite ridiculous to say that you are at fault or anything like it because of our long conversation. There are no objective symptoms in my illness (today, after an excellent night I am quite unwell), and I alone could estimate just how much strength I had. It was also my own fault, because you had repeatedly asked me whether I was tired or not.

I would very strongly advise that you should not forget

1) to remove Radek from diplomacy without fail*;

2) Lapinsky as well.

3) Over the enclosed letter from Smilga give someone (N. P. Gorbunov?) stricter instructions to get the thing *actually* done.[581]

4) This should be added about Myasnikov: either print the whole of my letter or meaningful and complete extracts

* See previous document.—*Ed.*

from it (otherwise it looks vague, and no one will understand anything: perhaps Lenin wrote in *favour* of Myasnikov?).[582]

5) I sent A. D. Tsyurupa my opinion of his project on the Narrow C.P.C. It needs *careful* thought, checking up and weighing again and again.*

6) I contest §8 of the Politbureau decision of 20/II. **It is not right**, *not right* at all to take Sokolnikov.[583]

7) The draft decree on Workers' and Peasants' Inspection should be rewritten, thought out, specified, *enlarged* and presented as an *interpretation and summary* of the laws *in force*.**

Lenin

P.S. We should have *Pravda* and *Izvestia* carry a dozen articles on "Milyukov merely contemplates". *Pravda* of 21/II.

If this is confirmed, make sure to sack 20-40 professors.

They are fooling us.

This should be thought out, prepared and *a strong blow delivered*.[584]

Lenin

Written on February 21, 1922

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644

TO N. P. GORBUNOV

21/II.

Comrade Gorbunov:

Both results are drawn up *badly*.[585] These people don't know how to distinguish technology from economics, conclusions from premises.

I propose that you:

1) have both the S.E.C. and the State Planning Commission separately give their conclusion signed by responsible persons, as soon as possible;

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* See present edition, Vol. 35, Document 309.—*Ed.*

** See Documents 629, 658 of this volume, and *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Document 306.—*Ed.*

2) at once take exploratory measures to enable us to obtain a written and signed conclusion from *all* the members of the Mikhailov commission *one by one*, *and leaving them the least possibility to make arrangements with each other* (it's up to you to do this cleverly: phone up everyone, find out who is free at what hour, send cyclists to "catch" them, **etc.**);

3) the conclusion should be drawn up in accordance with the following programme (explanations and notes separately)

1. Possible extraction worth ... million gold rubles
   α) now
   β) with additional expenditure of ... million gold rubles over a period of ... years
   (separately for Kyshtym, Ridder, Ekibastuz, Tanalyk).

2. Shall we manage without the concessionaire (probably) or not? if not, why?
   α) due to lack of capital?
   β) due to the impossibility of buying and bringing in first-class equipment?
   γ) due to the impossibility of employing first-class engineers?
   δ) due to the impossibility of buying and bringing in foodstuffs? clothes? workers?
   or for any other (which?) reasons?

3. Conclusion: α) shall we accept Urquhart's terms?
   β) modify them? how?
   γ) reject them altogether?

You must first manage (swiftly) to *catch* all the members of the commission *separately*, and get their written replies to these questions.

Then let me know the results, and *after* this we shall put pressure on the S.E.C. and the State Planning Commission.[586]

Lenin

Written on February 21, 1922
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the original

645
TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY

22/II.
Secret

Comrade Krzhizhanovsky:

In one of his letters to the C.C., Comrade Trotsky writes about the failure of our planning organs.

This is true insofar as, for instance, the *administrative* side of the work at Gosplan* *is* definitely *not organised*.

The *personal* responsibility of every member of Gosplan for *such-and-such* (principal) functions has not been established. There is no distribution between Gosplan members of the work of "general supervision" over the plan's fulfilment, without which everything = 0.

Etc.

Conclusion: we must hasten with the draft decisions (let's have them as soon as possible), both about Gosplan's staffs and its Presidium (of 15 men?? I think this will make it worse, because then there will be *even less* personal responsibility), and the 3-man *Presidium Bureau* (let's see your arguments: I think this Bureau should be the Presidium itself). I wonder who could substitute for Pyatakov for a time (until 15.V)?

The three members of the Bureau (if the C.C. confirms three: you + Pyatakov + Osadchy) should set up the administrative section anew. If Pyatakov + Osadchy are to be the administrators, *they will answer* with their heads for any "slip" (failure to appoint some Gosplan member to do such-and-such a job, failure to check up on his work, failure to bring some shortage to notice in good time, etc.).**

Hurry on with the final draft of the relationships with the planning organs of the People's Commissariats, the composition of the Bureau, etc.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on February 22, 1922

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

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* The State Planning Commission.—*Ed.*

** See *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Document 333.—*Ed.*

646

*TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE C.C. OF THE RED CROSS SOCIETY OF RUSSIA[587]

23/II.1922.

Dear Comrades:

I am very sorry and hope that you will excuse me for being unable, because of my illness, to let you have an article or a letter for your collection, something that ought to have been done. The Soviet power has been doing everything possible and a few impossible things, is doing and will continue to do this to help the starving. Best regards and wishes for the complete success of your publication.

With communist greetings,

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

647

TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

Comrade Molotov:

I believe that Chicherin is *absolutely* right, and propose that the *Politbureau* should decide: confirm Chicherin's standpoint. Pay out in time what has been promised without fail.[588]

24/II. *Lenin*

Written on February 24, 1922

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

648

TO L. B. KAMENEV

Comrade Kamenev:

Write me briefly about the mandate.[589] We can't have this pickled. Perhaps, we could decide it this way: leave the old text. Add five lines: trade instead of commodity

exchange. Accept the dates (twice a year or *even less often*), as the local people have decided.

Lenin

P.S. Reply about the German doctor.

About Peshekhonov, I propose that the Politbureau adopt the following decision: 1) instruct Popov to give him work involving trade and sanitary statistics, and no other; 2) impose on Popov personally the responsibility to see that Peshekhonov keeps out of politics; 3) inform Popov of §§1 and 2 orally, against his signature, without giving him any paper, with the serious warning that if he divulges this, he will be dismissed and prosecuted; 4) set Unschlicht the task of keeping a strict watch on Peshekhonov; 5) issue a reprimand to the Kharkov Gubernia Committee and the Ukrainian C.C. (for making this public) with an entry in the Party card.[590]

Lenin

Written in February, before the 25th, 1922

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

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649

MEMOS TO J. V. STALIN AND L. B. KAMENEV WITH PROPOSALS FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

1

Comrades Stalin and Kamenev

Please reply on this memo:

1. Do you agree with Chicherin about the immediate payment to the Turks of what has been promised?[591]

2. I have read Chicherin's proposal concerning the presidium of the Genoa delegation. I resolutely question this and insist on my earlier proposal.[592]

Please, make a note here of your opinion on both points and pass it on to me through my secretary.

Lenin

2

Comrades Stalin and Kamenev

Today I read in tho papers Italy's announcement concerning the postponement of the Genoa Conference.

I maintain with especial vigour the proposal I sent yesterday: authorise Chicherin to send as soon as possible a highly acid Note, proposing that the exact date should be set for March 15.* Show the draft Note to the Politbureau members before its dispatch.

I am awaiting your reply through my secretary.

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on February 25, 1922

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from secretarial notes
(typewritten copy)

650
TO G. V. CHICHERIN[593]

Comrade Chicherin or Litvinov
Copy to Comrade *Molotov*
(for Politbureau members)

February 25, 1922

Having read, apart from the telegrams, the leaders in today's newspapers, I come to the conclusion that the Note concerning the postponement of the Genoa Conference without any indication of date should be couched in the most insolent and derisive tone, so that the people at Genoa should feel the slap in the face. It looks as though the only way to create an actual impression is to be super-insolent. In particular, we could say that among our counter-claims we include the expenses incidental to the fact that these powers have failed to fulfil their initial obligation—to convene the conference at the appointed time. We must not miss the opportunity when we can, through an insolent and mocking Note, help bring about a situation

* See present edition, Vol. 42, p. 404.—*Ed.*

in which all the pacifist elements of the bourgeoisie will be strengthened all over the world.[594]

Lenin

Dictated by phone
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651
*TO THE SOCIALIST ACADEMY[595]

In reply to No. [577] of [February 23, 1922]*

Thank you very much. Unfortunately, I am quite unable, because of my illness, to perform the duty of member of the Socialist Academy, if only in the slightest degree. I do not want to be a fictitious one. I ask you, therefore, to delete my name from the list of members or not to enter it at all.

27/II. *Lenin*

Written on February 27, 1922
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

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652
NOTE TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV AND ASSIGNMENT TO N. P. GORBUNOV[596]

Comrade Bryukhanov:

It now remains to work out *practical* proposals:
Sell the People's Commissariat for Food so much?
For commodity exchange for grain give (on credit?) so much on such-and-such terms?
Use warehouses in this way?
Agreement on such terms?

27/II. *Lenin*

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*Square brackets indicate space left by Lenin for number and date.—*Ed.*

Comrade Gorbunov:

Send this off and keep track.

27/II. *Lenin*

Written on February 27, 1922
Note to N. P. Bryukhanov
first published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Assignment to N. P. Gorbunov
first published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

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653
TO A. D. TSYURUPA

1

27/II.1922.

A. D. Tsyurupa, C.L.D. Deputy Chairman. S.E.C. Chairman

Copies: Pyatakov (GUT*)
Morozov (Glavtorf**)
People's Commissariat for Finance
People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection

I hereby issue a *reprimand* for failure to perform their official duty and for allowing red tape on the Gidrotorf*** case.

To Comrade Pyatakov
Comrade Morozov
Comrades Zaks and Gorbunov.

Comrade Pyatakov, acting head of GUT, should not have "requested me to believe" (his paper of 22/II) or "requested me either to satisfy Gidrotorf over and above the estimates, or allow a reduction of its activity"—such a "request" addressed to me is failure to understand the elements of state relations—he should have given *thought* as to how to *fulfil the C.P.C. decision* (and not mine) on Gidrotorf of 30.X.1920.[597]

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* S.E.C. Central Fuel Administration.—*Ed.*
** S.E.C. Central Peat Administration.—*Ed.*
*** Administration for Hydraulic Peat Extraction.—*Ed.*

If Pyatakov had not been informed of this decision, it is necessary to arrest the numerous GUT specialists and red tapists, whose duty it was to know, to inquire, and to give Pyatakov a reminder. Not to put such scoundrels under arrest is to encourage red tape, which is stifling us.

The C.P.C. decision of 30.X.1920 makes it clear that, finding himself in a quandary, Pyatakov should not have written an empty paper No. 00770 (of 22.II), but should at once have called (or should have asked the S.E.C. Chairman or A. D. Tsyurupa to call) a conference of the People's Commissars for the S.E.C.+Finance+Workers' and Peasants' Inspection for the purpose of at once working out a draft C.L.D. and C.P.C. decision (to take so much from Tsutorf* or Glavtorf, so much from GUT for Gidrotorf, to allocate so much over and above the estimates, and to reduce the Gidrotorf programme by so much).

It was Pyatakov's duty to do this in pursuance of the C.P.C. decision of 30.X.1920, which *binds* all People's Commissariats in fact to recognise Gidrotorf as "*being of exceptional state importance*", and apply "*all privileges*" to it....

Comrade Morozov should have urgently requested the convocation of such a conference (and complained about any delay), instead of writing a purely squabbling piece of paper on 22.II (No. 184/л, in Register: 22/II.1922) in which the author engages in indecent whimpering instead of making business-like proposals.

Comrades Zaks and Gorbunov, if they had had any idea of their duty as members of the *Managing Department*, instead of being guided by the spirit of exchange of the most empty pieces of paper, should have found the C.P.C. decision of 30.X.1920, and should have themselves read from it the only correct, *the only lawful* way: immediate convocation of a People's Commissars' conference. The papers in the charge of Zaks and Gorbunov are even outwardly in disorder, because there is no reference to the law, nor a concise summary of the Gidrotorf application, nor any record of the date of this summary, or of my mark-

* Central Board for the Peat Industry of the S.E.C. Central Fuel Administration.—*Ed.*

ing. If such negligence is shown once again, I shall dismiss both Zaks and Gorbunov from their posts.

Comrade Tsyurupa, I ask you to have the above-named comrades sign immediately that they are aware of the reprimand issued to them, and to prescribe to the People's Commissars for the S.E.C., Finance and Workers' and Peasants' Inspection to convene, at once, if possible on Tuesday, 28/II, but not later than Wednesday, 1/III, in any case, an early morning conference with the personal participation of the People's Commissars (who may send in comrades who are quite competent and capable of deciding in their stead, to substitute for them, if they are absolutely unable to attend for a good reason) and of a representative from Gidrotorf, and also, of course, of GUT and Glavtorf.

The task of the conference: to carry out not only the letter, but the meaning of the C.P.C. decision of 30.X.1920, and try to give maximum satisfaction to Gidrotorf (if it is impossible to do so 100 per cent, then make sure anyway that the bulk of its 1922 work should be completed). Gidrotorf should be satisfied partly at the expense of Tsutorf and GUT, and partly over and above the estimates. Be sure to complete the work by the evening of 1.III, and bring it up at the C.L.D. administrative sitting on the evening of 1.III for subsequent approval by the C.L.D. and the Council of People's Commissars.[598]

Please, strictly instruct the Secretariat and keep a personal check on the speed and correctness of the execution of this order.

Conscious revolutionaries should, apart from their official duties, give thought to the economic reasons which had made the C.P.C. recognise Gidrotorf as "being of exceptional state importance".

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

2

Comrade Tsyurupa:

I am sending you a specimen of our vile red tape and obtuseness!

Just think—these are *our best* men, Pyatakov, Morozov and others!

If it weren't for the knout, they would have ruined the whole cause.

It is my *earnest* request that you do everything you can right away, hit those who are guilty once again more painfully and *get* the thing done *at once* (through Gorbunov and Lepeshinskaya, whom I told to prepare the 30.X.1920 decree, etc., for you). Let Gidrotorf have 90 per cent if not 100 per cent.

Yours,
Lenin

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654

*TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Show this to Sokolnikov and Scheinman and send to the archives. (Rigidity and sham science. Dead stuff.)[599]

28/II. *Lenin*

Written on February 28, 1922

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655

NOTE TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV AND ASSIGNMENT TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Comrade Sokolnikov:

The whole point is 1) in these "guarantees". The *first* thing to do is to work them out and *check* twice and thrice;

2) in our "apparatus". Can we manage to keep track? Shall we manage to keep an eye? No, everything imaginable will be *taken out* of the country.[600]

28/II. *Lenin*

To N. P. Gorbunov:

Send a copy of my remark to Kamenev
+Molotov,
Stalin,
Tsyurupa.

Give me another reminder.

Written on February 28, 1922

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

656
TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Comrade Gorbunov:

I cannot go into this in detail.[601] Put the finishing touches to this (yourself or through Zaks, Smolyaninov or Nesterov) and show to A. D. Tsyurupa, and then to me again with his opinion.

N.B. *Here are, I think*, the main **points** which should be verified, copied out and kept track of.

The rest **seems** to be noodles.

28/II. *Lenin*

1) Area? Dessiatines?
2) Value of annual product? Roughly.
3) Our predominance? (Krasin's §XIII)
Check up!
4) Foreigners' share? (Krasin's § XIV)
Check up!
5) Krasin's §XV is *important*.[602]

P.S. Find out and let me know whether these agreements are *final*? Have they entered into force?

Lenin

Written on February 28, 1922
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
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657
MEMO TO D. I. KURSKY AND ASSIGNMENT TO N. P. GORBUNOV

Comrade Kursky:

Prepare its draft together with the State Political Administration.[603]

28/II. *Lenin*

The legislating must be done with triple circumspection. *Look before you leap!* **I very much** doubt concerning Yakhontov. Make a personal check twice, three times and many more times.

Lenin

Comrade Gorbunov:

Have a copy made of my note and send it on to Kursky.

Lenin

Written on February 28, 1922
First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

658

TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

February 28, 1922

To Comrade Molotov
(for Politbureau members)

Please inquire from the Politbureau members by phone about the following: to speed up the question on the C.C. directive [to the delegation]* to the Genoa Conference, I propose that the initial draft of this directive, as apparently not meeting with great objections from the Politbureau members, should be sent this very day to Chicherin, telling him not to make a copy and to keep the document in total secrecy, while taking steps to have all the members of the delegation informed of this draft today, either at a general meeting or in some other way. Then, the discussion of the question may very well win a great deal in terms of time and definition. Let us have written amendments submitted to this draft.[604]

Lenin

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* Missing word inserted according to meaning.—*Ed.*

659

REMARKS ON A DRAFT ALL-RUSSIA C.E.C. DECISION ON THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' INSPECTION AND LETTER TO J. V. STALIN[605]

Draft

DECISION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The All-Russia C.E.C. has resolved:

1)

To entrust the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection with control and supervision over the activity of all public and private organisations, establishments and enterprises, without exception, from the standpoint of fulfilment of the obligations they have undertaken from state organs.

2)

In pursuance of this, the P.C.W.P.I. shall have the power of:
1. Subsequent control over all monetary and material

3)

resources, allocated by the state to the said organisations, enterprises and establishments, by way of financing, subsidy and credits, extended to them, or made available to them on the strength of contracts concluded by them with the state, and verification of all acts flowing from these obligations....

To Comrade Stalin

That won't do.

1) Not to "entrust", but to *explain* the laws in force and their incompleteness in the given sense.

2) Not only from this standpoint. But also from the standpoint of legality. And from the standpoint of collecting material for new laws. And from many other standpoints.

3) Not only "allocated by the state".

Very urgent!! This should be rewritten once again. Thought out three times more thoroughly. Many more details given. Everything set out so that the

whole should not have the appearance of a new decree, but of an elucidation and summary of the *old* ones.

Pass through the *C.P.C.* and *confirm* by the *All-Russia C.E.C.* on someone's complaint.

This is urgent! **Very urgent !!**

Please let me have ***both*** **this** and the new draft after reworking.

Lenin

Written between February 28 and March 16, 1922

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

660

*TO THE COMRADES WORKING AT GIDROTORF

With my help you have now obtained what you need for your works.* For all our poverty and wretchedness, you have been allocated large amounts over and above those issued earlier.

You must make quite sure:

1. that nothing is done to no purpose,
2. that you do not bite off more than the allocated resources allow,
3. that the experiments you stage should be backed up with all possible proof and should produce final answers on the practical and economic fitness of the new method of extracting peat,
4. to devote special attention to accounting for the expenditure of the amounts allocated to you.

The accounting should be arranged in such a way as to make it possible to judge about the cost of the peat extracted.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on March 2, 1922

First published in 1934 in the book, *Lenin na khozyaistvennom fronte. Sbornik vospominanii*, Moscow

Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

* See Document 624 of this volume.—*Ed.*

661

LETTER TO THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. WITH REMARKS ON THE THESES OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR FINANCE

To Comrade Molotov for the Politbureau members

March 3, 1922

Sokolnikov's theses ("Basic Provisions of the Financial Programme") are, I think, not bad, but on the theoretical side.

I am making a special study of one point (beginning of §12) and shall write about it separately.

For the rest, I propose: submit for opinion to the State Planning Commission, Preobrazhensky and Krasnoshchekov. Then print with cuts (*for the time being* throw out the point on substituting the cash tax for the tax in kind, etc.).

Now, on the substance of the matter. I think these two things are pivotal:

1) how to find fierce and clever men for *harassing* all the People's Commissariats (plus the Moscow, plus the Petrograd Soviets): reduce staffs in practice and severely;

2) how to teach our bureaucratic "*torgs*" (including the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade, Mostorg, Petrotorg, etc., etc.) to trade instead of engaging in red tape.

Perhaps we should authorise the All-Russia C.E.C. Presidium to adopt this decision:

All People's Commissariats plus the Moscow and Petrograd Soviets shall have the duty to submit within a week a draft decision transferring their staffs (all who are connected with economics) to percentage payments from turnover and from profits, with fierce penalties for losses, flabbiness and bungling, and with the obligation to reply to commercial inquiries within 3-6 hours, under penalty of prison terms of not less than 5 years.

For the best draft decision—a prize of 100,000 gold rubles, to be paid after a year's *successful* trial of the decision, so that payment is *proportional to the success* (100% success = 100% prize, 1% success = 1% prize).

Lenin

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662
LETTER TO L. B. KAMENEV[606]

3.III.1922

Comrade Kamenev:

I have been thinking for some time about our talk (with you, Stalin and Zinoviev) on Vneshtorg* and the Krasin and the Sokolnikov line.

My conclusion is that Krasin is absolutely right. We cannot now afford to retreat on our foreign trade monopoly beyond what Lezhava has proposed and is proposing in his theses. Otherwise, foreigners will buy up and carry away everything that is valuable.

Here and in all of his work, Sokolnikov is making a great mistake, which is sure to ruin us, unless the C.C. corrects his line in time, and actually secures implementation of the corrected line. His mistake is abstract enthusiasm for a scheme (something of which Sokolnikov has always been guilty, as a talented journalist and a politician who is easily carried away). An example: Sokolnikov has proposed a draft decree on importing foreign foodstuffs to Russia. In the decree he says, in passing: as for the "guarantees", special provision will be made for them (i.e., guarantees that the values taken out of Russia allegedly in exchange for foodstuffs do really and entirely go for food).

This is downright childishness!

The whole point is in the guarantees, and it is this point that Sokolnikov "puts off", shrugging it off with an empty phrase or a pious wish.

What are the real guarantees?

Is it to be a pledge?

Just think what this means:

1) I want to buy 100,000 gold rubles' worth of foodstuffs abroad. I deposit *this amount* at the State Bank ax a pledge?

In that case, all the red tape is still there (unless we "teach" Vneshtorg & Co. how to get rid of the red tape).

Furthermore, where are the "guarantees" that in remitting 100,000 gold rubles abroad, I am not remitting 20,000

* The People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade.—Ed.

gold rubles of them fictitiously? A check-up on the prices? By whom? How? This is a bureaucratic utopia!

Sokolnikov's project shows that our kind, talented and most valuable Comrade Sokolnikov knows nothing at all about practical commerce. And it is going to ruin us if it is set in motion.

It is the greatest mistake to think that *NEP* has put an end to terrorism. We shall yet return to terrorism, and it will be an economic terrorism.

The foreigners are already buying up our officials with bribes, and "carting out what there is left of Russia". They may well succeed.

Monopoly is a polite warning: my dear sirs, the time will come when I shall hang you for this.

The foreigners, knowing that the Bolsheviks are in earnest, have to reckon with this seriously.

That is why

1) the foreign trade monopoly should not be undermined, in any case;

2) Lezhava's theses should be adopted not later than tomorrow;

3) publish right away (we have lost heaps of time), on behalf of the All-Russia C.E.C. Presidium, a firm, cold, fierce statement that we do not intend to retreat in the economy any farther, and that those who attempt to cheat us (or circumvent the monopoly, etc.) will face terrorism; this word should not be used, but the likelihood of it should be "hinted at subtly and politely".

If this is not done through the All-Russia C.E.C. Presidium, it can be done otherwise (a letter of mine? that is worse!); but it *needs* to be done and fast. Then, here is an example.

The Moscow Gubernia Economic Conference offers to buy tinned food (or any kind of food) for Soviet rubles. The talks with Vneshtorg last for two weeks. It objects.

The deal falls through.

Conclusion?

Are we to give the Gubernia Economic Conference the necessary rights? This would mean "duplicating" a bad Vneshtorg with bad little Vneshtorgs, of which the capitalists will *buy up* 90 per cent.

Another conclusion: stop this game of decrees (there was an indispensable *period of propaganda by decree*; that was necessary for the success of the revolution. *This is over*).

There should not be the slightest trust in decrees or institutions. The only thing is to verify practice and *take* people *to task* for red tape.

That is the only thing clever people should engage in. Anything else should entail ... prison *for the rest*.

Here is what I would propose: authorise the All-Russia C.E.C. Presidium to adopt the following decision right away:

In view of the scandalous red tape on the deal (such-and-such) involving the purchase of food for Soviet rubles, order the State Political Administration (*they need a little scaring!*) to find those guilty of red tape and incarcerate for 6 hours those working for the Moscow Gubernia Economic Conference, and for 36 hours those working at Vneshtorg (of course, with the exception of All-Russia C.E.C. members: after all, we enjoy almost parliamentary immunity).

After this, instruct the press to ridicule both groups and *pour dirt on them*. For the disgraceful thing here is that Muscovites (in Moscow!) have failed to cope with the red tape. For this they should be beaten with a stick.

They "did not know how" to send a telephone message saying:

> "urgent advantageous deal. Demand Vneshtorg's reply within 3 hours. Copy to Molotov for the C.C., to Tsyurupa and Yenukidze for the C.P.C. and the All-Russia C.E.C."

No reply within 3 hours? Another 4 lines of complaint by phone.

But we find these idiots walking around and talking for two weeks! They deserve to be left *to rot in gaol* instead of being given exemptions. The Muscovites deserve 6 hours in the bughouse for stupidity. The Vneshtorg people, 36 hours in the bughouse for stupidity plus for "central-responsibility".

That is the only way to *teach* them. Otherwise, Soviet personnel, local and central, will never learn. We cannot afford to trade freely: that is Russia's ruin.

But we can and will learn to transfer our red tapists

FROM MARX TO MAO NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

on to a percentage basis: on every deal you get so much per cent (fraction of a per cent), and jail—for failure to work.

And the men at the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade need to be changed. The same applies to our state trusts, which are "headed" by holier-than-thou members of the All-Russia C.E.C. and "famous" Communists, who are being duped by businessmen.

Order to the People's Commissar for Finance: either you will manage to expel these holier-than-thou Communists from the state trusts through the State Bank (no credits; I prosecute you for delinquency, for inefficiency, etc.), or, the whole of your People's Commissariat for Finance and the State Bank are quite useless, being nothing but empty talk and a paper chase.

That is how the work both of the C.P.C. and the C.L.D. (I have already written to Tsyurupa, and have worked out the draft of a relevant directive*) *and of the Politbureau* should be re-arranged; otherwise, our ruin is inevitable.

Please, let the members of the Politbureau and Molotov read this *in secret* and return to me with each one's remarks in a couple of words at least.

Yours,
Lenin

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663

LETTER TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

March 3, 1922

To Comrade Molotov for the Politbureau members
Copies: to Comrades Pyatakov and Sokolnikov

I am sending you the minutes of the conference on the question of financing industry, called on March 3, at the request of C.P.C. Deputy Chairman, Comrade Tsyurupa.

* See present edition, Vol. 35, Document 310.—*Ed.*

Please have this circulated to all members of the Politbureau and raise urgently in the Politbureau the question of financing industry.

Summon Comrades Pyatakov and Sokolnikov as rapporteurs.[607]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

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664

MEMO TO MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.[608]

To Politbureau members

Sokolnikov is missing the mark. What are the guarantees that everything valuable will not be *hauled out*?

There are none.

Stealing is now going on; it's true; let's *learn to catch people* for stealing, instead of making it easier for rich foreigners to steal.

5/III. *Lenin*

Written on March 5, 1922
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665

TO N. P. GORBUNOV

5.III.1922
Secret

Comrade Gorbunov:

I wanted to speak with Unschlicht about the enclosed book.[609]

I think it looks like a "literary screen for a whiteguard organisation".

Have a talk with Unschlicht, not by phone, and let him write me confidentially and return the book.

Lenin

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666
TO G. L. PYATAKOV

Comrade *Pyatakov*, *Head of the Central Fuel Administration*
Copy to the *State Planning Commission Presidium*

In view of the large appropriations for *Gidrotorf*, your *Glavtorf* estimates should have some released credits, which had been earmarked for *Gidrotorf* before this appropriation went through.

It is my request that you devote special attention, through the use of a part of these released credits, to intensifying the working of peat in the area of the projected construction site of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk District Electric-Power Station, about which there are appropriate decisions taken by the Presidium of the S.P.C. in December 1921 and in February 1922.*

Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on March 5, 1922

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667
TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

Comrade Molotov

I propose that we get the votes of the Politbureau members to have a vote without delay on the following proposal (about which I have already had a short preliminary exchange with Stalin and Kamenev, and Zinoviev):

---

* See Document 516 of this volume.—*Ed.*

1) Put upon Comrade Rudzutak the duty to start out immediately for a sanatorium and not to leave it until the congress,* strictly keeping to the established regimen.

2) Put the duty upon Dr. ... (what is the name of the one who is working at the C.C.? And if he is not there, then upon Semashko) to arrange at once a high-calory diet and treatment against TB for Rudzutak, in one of the better sanatoriums, to give him a chance to receive as much treatment as possible and rest, before the Party Congress and the plenary meeting (24/III).[610]

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on March 6, 1922

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668

TO S. Y. CHUTSKAYEV

Comrade Chutskayev, Siberian Revolutionary Committee

I am sending you *M. Bagayev*'s letter. Have a check carried out of the facts given in his letter, and an investigation of the reasons for the establishment of rates out of all proportion to the crop, meting out punishment to those guilty of abusing power in the collection of the tax in kind and the harassment of the peasants, and also show the picture of tax collection in other volosts of Novonikolayevsk Gubernia.

The most vigorous steps have to be taken for the full provision of seeds to the areas which have suffered from the wrongful collection of the tax in kind.

Write me about execution.[611]

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on March 6, 1922

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

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*A reference to the Eleventh Congress of the R.C.P.(B.).—*Ed.*

669

TO L. M. KHINCHUK[612]

Copies to Gorbunov and Smolyaninov

Comrade Khinchuk:

I am unable to see the co-operative men because I am unwell. My speech in which I tell about this ailment is to be published tomorrow.* About the co-operative men. I fear that they may have fictitiously blown up their liabilities, when handing them over to you. I am passing your memo on to Gorbunov and Smolyaninov, and request you to send also to them the final exact calculation of the assets and liabilities, to enable them to tell me the results.

How are things with the loan which you were expecting before your departure, from the co-operative societies abroad?

I shall be expecting short reports from you about the development of the co-operative apparatus in Russia (I have only the old figures: September—1 million, October—3, November—6 million gold rubles). Do you now have the 10-day figures? Are there any precise data on how many gubernia societies have and have not been submitting correct reports to you? Do you apply the remuneration of co-operative workers depending on the volume of their turnover and the success achieved, and expressed in a reduction of the percentage cost of our apparatus?

Please reply as briefly as possible to these questions and inform me in addition about any serious measures the Centrosoyuz Board has taken to see that our co-operative establishment is truly a commercial and not a bureaucratic organ. Tikhomirov's letter, which I received a short time ago and to which I have replied,** produced quite a few doubts in my mind on this score, just as did the attempt to publish a weekly newspaper called *Kooperativnoye Dyelo*.*** It looks as if you have bureaucrats and intellectuals

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* A reference to Lenin's speech "The International and Domestic Situation of the Soviet Republic" (see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 212-26).—*Ed.*

** See present edition, Vol. 36, p. 569.—*Ed.*

*** Ibid., Vol. 42, pp. 398, 399.—*Ed.*

sitting in unduly high places, who are capable of carrying on a paper and a newspaper game, but are incapable of trading.

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on March 7, 1922

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670
TO Y. S. VARGA[613]

8/III.

Dear Comrade Varga:

I am ill. I am quite *incapable* of undertaking any work at all.

If you compile a collection (of quotations from my works or parts of them) I do not, of course, object to this, but you must state that you are responsible for the selection. Here is my request:

1) quote as fully as possible my works of the spring of 1918 against the "Leftists", about "state capitalism" and the difficulties of *administration*, as a *specific* task;

2) (quote more fully) my pamphlet against "Infantile Disorder" (general rules of tactics and strategy)*;

NB 3) **never** quote my speeches (their text is always bad, always imprecisely conveyed); quote only my **works.**

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

P.S. *Nor* can I promise an afterword. *You* will declare yourself responsible for the selection of the quotations.[614]

Written on March 8, 1922

First published in part
in 1923 in German
in *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaft, Politik und Arbeiterbewegung 1922-1923*, Hamburg

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Printed from the original
Translated from the German

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* A reference to the book, "*Left-Wing*" *Communism—an Infantile Disorder* (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 17-118).—*Ed.*

671
TO L. B. KRASIN

Top secret

Comrade Krasin

Comrade Krasin:

You told me at one of our latest meetings that you had had a talk with an English merchant about setting up a mixed society for the sale of precious stones, etc.

Please write me a few lines: has this plan produced anything? The same concerning Germany.

Then I ask you to answer this question: can you order from anyone a short (not more than 2 or 3 pages) summary of actual data characterising the development of our foreign trade over the last few months, for instance, over the last 6 months. I would find such a thing extremely necessary for my report at the Party Congress.* Here is a rough list of the questions:

The number of trade treaties with other powers, stating the month and year of their conclusion.

The number of mixed societies set up for trade with the capitalists of various nations.

The monthly turnover of exports and imports in pre-war rubles over the last few months.

Orders and imports with a division into foodstuffs and items of industrial equipment.

The number of merchants enlisted by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade on a commission basis, Russian and foreign separately, etc.**

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on March 10, 1922

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from a text
in Natalya Lepeshinskaya's hand

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* A reference to the forthcoming Eleventh Congress of the R.C.P.(B.).—*Ed.*

** See present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 283-84.—*Ed.*

672

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CONCESSIONS COMMITTEE UNDER THE STATE PLANNING COMMISSION[615]

11/III.1922

Comrade Krzhizhanovsky
Copy to Comrade Smolyaninov

The S.P.C. Concessions Committee is to have the duty of collecting and keeping on file detailed material on *all* concession negotiations and concession matters of the R.S.F.S.R. with foreign capitalists, which are being carried on both in Russia and abroad. The material should also be collected for the past period.

The Concessions Committee must keep a precise register of this material under the following heads:

a) agreements concluded;
b) serious negotiations on which agreements may be concluded in the immediate future;
c) broken-off negotiations (give reason);
d) all other negotiations.

The list should give a short summary of the content of the matter (roughly: state of negotiations, object of concession, name of those seeking concession, rough or precise amount of capital, and number of the case on file).

A copy of this list is to be sent to the C.L.D. Managing Department, with monthly additions of new information.

The Concessions Committee should appoint a person responsible for the collection of material and compilation of the list (business manager, Secretary), whose name should be urgently communicated to the C.L.D. Managing Department.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

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673

LETTER TO G. V. CHICHERIN

14.III.1922.

Comrade Chicherin:

I have read your letter of 10/III. I think yours is an excellent exposition of the pacifist programme.[616]

The whole point is to have the skill to expound it and our commercial proposals loudly and clearly *before* the fold-up (if "they" do try to fold it up in haste).

You and our delegation have enough skill to do this.

I think you have made some 13 points (I enclose your letter with my remarks), which are excellent.

We shall have everyone intrigued by saying: "We have a most broad and comprehensive programme!" If they prevent us from making it public, we *shall print* it with our protest.

In every case we make this "little" reservation: we Communists have *our own* communist programme (the Third International); *nevertheless* we consider it to be our duty as *businessmen to support* (even if the odds are 10,000 to 1) the *pacifists in the* **other**, i.e., bourgeois, camp (taking account **of its** Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals[617]).

This will be "genteel" and have teeth, and will help to demoralise the enemy.

If we adopt such tactics we shall win out, *even if* Genoa is a failure. We shall *not accept* any unprofitable deal.

With communist greetings,

Yours,

Lenin

14/III.

P.S. Comrade Chicherin:

Why not add even more "genteel" bite and say the following:

We propose (§14) abolition of *all* war debts and (§15) *revision* (on the basis of the 13 §§) of the Versailles and *all* military treaties,[618]

but not through the majority riding roughshod over the minority, but on the basis of an *agreement*, because **in this case** we are businessmen and *cannot* put forward any other principle *here* than the commercial one! We don't want to have it all our way with the United States through a majority; we are businessmen; we want to *persuade* it!! A *poll* **of all** the states and **an attempt** *to persuade* those who do not agree. This is both genteel and unacceptable to the bourgeois. We shall disgrace and humiliate them in a very "genteel" way.

Here is a variant: submission of a minority of countries (in population) to the majority can be proposed *separately* within each of the two camps: the bourgeois and the Soviet (the one recognising private property, and the other not recognising it).

Let us put forward both the project and the variant. *Les rieurs seront avec nous!**

×)** an additional point: an exemption to be made for small-holders *insofar as* it can be precisely proved that these are not fictitious but actual toiling small-holders.

MARGINAL NOTES ON A LETTER FROM G. V. CHICHERIN

COMRADE LENIN

March 10, 1922

Esteemed Vladimir Ilyich:

I earnestly request you to read through the proposals made below and let me have your instructions. We have to put forward "a broad pacifist programme", that is one of the most important elements of our forthcoming act; we have not, however, got one. We have only the separate fragmentary points in the first directives of the Central Committee. I am here making a first attempt to approach the task.

The chief difficulty is that the present international political and economic forms serve as permanent fig-leaves covering the predatory acts of the imperialists; in particular, these forms serve as a weapon against us. The League of Nations is simply a tool of the Entente, which has already used it against us. You have yourself pointed out that arbitration between the bourgeois and Soviet states is impossible; nevertheless arbitration is an indispensable weapon in the pacifist arsenal. The internationalisation of the Chinese-Eastern Railway is a euphemism for its alienation from us and from China and its seizure by the Entente. A foreign bank of issue in Russia and the introduction of the dollar into Russia, like the introduction of a universal single gold unit in general, would be the most effective weapon for complete economic bondage to America.

We have to introduce something new into the customary modern international forms to prevent those forms from being turned into a tool of imperialism. This new something is provided by our experience and our creative activity as

* We shall have the last laugh.—*Ed.*

** This symbol is not to be found in the text.—*Ed.*

well as by the creative action of life itself in the process of the growing ruin and break-up of the imperialist world. The world war has resulted in the intensification of the liberation movement of all oppressed and colonial peoples. World states are coming undone at the seams. Our international programme must bring all oppressed colonial peoples into the international scheme. The right of all peoples to secession or to home rule must be recognised. The African Conference of 1885 resulted in the horrors of the Belgian Congo, because the European powers at that conference indulged in philanthropy towards the Negroes and that philanthropy turned out to be a fig-leaf covering the most barbaric exploitation. The novelty of our international scheme must be that the Negro and other colonial peoples participate on an equal footing with the European peoples in conferences and commissions and have the right to prevent interference in their internal affairs. Another novelty is the obligatory participation of working-class organisations. The demand for trade unions to take part in a future European congress was very popular in British working-class literature during the world war. We have actually realised this by including three members of the All-Russia Central T.U.C. in our delegation. We must lay down that one-third of the votes in the international organisation we are going to propose should belong to the working-class organisations represented in each delegation. These two novelties, however, are not sufficient to protect the oppressed peoples and downtrodden countries from the domination of the imperialists because the upper stratum of the colonial peoples may well be puppets in the same way as treacherous labour leaders are. The inclusion of these two opens up the way for future struggles. Working-class organisations will be confronted with the task of struggling for the liberation of the colonial peoples, for aid to the Soviet power and against imperialist depredation. The leaders, however, will try to betray them. Therefore another thing to be established is the principle of non-intervention on the part of international conferences or congresses in the internal affairs of various peoples. Voluntary co-operation and aid for the weak on the part of the strong must be applied without subordinating the former to the latter.

1) true!

2)

3)

As a result we have a very bold and completely new proposal—A WORLD CONGRESS with all peoples of the world participating on a completely equal footing, on the basis of the declaration of the right to self-determination,

the right to complete secession or home rule for all oppressed peoples, and also with the participation of working-class organisations to the extent of one-third of the entire congress. The purpose of the congress will not be compulsion of the minority but complete agreement. The congress will help by its moral authority. In practice it will set up technical commissions for the implementation of our extensive economic programme of world-world rehabilitation.

4)) precisely ((

All the projects for a League of Nations or Association of Nations contain only two types of proposals concerning methods of compulsion to ensure fulfilment of the decisions of an Association of Nations—either the establishment of composite armies with contingents from all states or the investment of a punitive mandate in a certain power or several such powers. In the first case we would have something incompetent because a composite army made up of contingents from numerous countries is of no use. In the second case the League of Nations or Association of Nations is nothing but an excuse to justify fresh conquests by the more influential powers. And so it is essential to eliminate completely the element of compulsion or punitive expeditions and leave to the World Congress only its moral authority, allowing it to be an arena for discussions aimed at reaching agreement. The prevention of war is a matter for arbitration. There are two types of arbitration—the voluntary appeal of the two parties to an arbiter, to The Hague Tribunal, for instance—in such cases the decision of the arbiter is binding—or the second method, an example of which is to be found in the article on arbitration contained in the treaty between Great Britain and the United States according to which, in the event of there being a danger of war, special conciliation commissions are set up to which the two parties must appeal but whose decision is merely advisory although for a definite period, for instance a year, the proceedings of the commissions continue; this second method has as its purpose the postponement of the beginning of military action to enable the passions of both parties to subside in the legally established interval and lessen the conflict. In the first case appeal to the arbiter is not obligatory but decisions are binding. In the second case appeal to the arbiter is obligatory but decisions are not binding, and the parties are bound only for the legally established period.

correct!

At the present moment we cannot avoid this alternative. The proposed World Congress could take over The Hague Tribunal with its advisory arbitration and other services. We shall, however, consider that the only court of arbitration between a capitalist state and the Soviet state can be that

(5)
in which an equal number of members is appointed by each 5)
party so that half the members will be imperialists and half will be Communists. At the same time we shall propose a gen-
(6)
eral reduction of armaments based on the theses we have 6)
established with the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic; developing the traditions of The Hague and Geneva conventions we shall propose adding a number of prohibitions to the rules of war—the abolition of submarines, 7)
chemical gases, mortars, flame-throwers and armed air battles.

The technical commissions set up by the World Congress 8)
will guide the implementation of a broad programme of world-wide rehabilitation. This programme will not be imposed by force. It will be a voluntary proposal that appeals to the advantage of every participant. Aid will be given to the weak. In this way world railways, river and sea 9)
routes must be laid down. The internationalisation of those routes will be a matter of gradual development since the compulsion of those who resist will not be allowed. International technical commissions will propose to individual countries economic and technical aid for the creation of super-main lines, for the regulation of traffic on international rivers, for the use of international harbours and for the technical improvement of world sea routes. We shall propose that the capital of the advanced countries should build a super-main line London-Moscow-Vladivostok 10)
(Peking) and we shall explain that it will open up the incalculable wealth of Siberia for the use of all. In general, aid from the strong for the weak will be the basic principle of world rehabilitation which must be based on economic geography and the planned distribution of resources. A world gold unit can make its appearance only as a result of the improvement of the economically weak countries with the aid of the strong: this improvement is in the interest of all since world ruin affects the strong countries as well, giving rise to unparalleled unemployment, even in America. The strong, by helping the weak, are opening up for themselves markets and sources of raw materials. Proceeding from these premises we shall propose the planned distribution 11)
of the gold that is at the moment lying idle in the vaults of the American banks. This planned distribution of gold

in all countries must be combined with the planned distribution of orders, trade, supplies of scarce materials, in general, with all-round economic aid for the ruined coun-

12) tries. This aid may take the form of loans, since under a planned economy the return of the money would begin in a few years. Under this heading we place the Barter Institute plan (Keynes), or the Zentralstelle, or national trade centres. If Germany opposes us by a single Zentralstelle in place of individual merchants it will be bad for us since it would be a means of imposing bad goods on us at high prices. If, however, the Zentralstellen are instruments for the planned, world-wide distribution of essential commod-

13) ities and a means of rendering aid to weak countries by the strong, they would be essential components of an extensive programme of economic rehabilitation. The grain sent to us by America is the beginning of the international distribution of food. Within the Entente there was a partially planned distribution of fuel during the war; one of the chief elements of the broad programme should be the systematic distribution of oil and coal, but in this case, too, the element of compulsion and repression must be eliminated. The international technical commissions must elaborate, in very general outline, a programme for the planned distribution of fuel and energy resources. All these points, taken together, provide a picture of what is theoretically possible under the bourgeois system, but which in historically conditioned reality will come up against national egoism and the predatory acts of the capitalist oligarchy.

With communist greetings,

Georgi Chicherin

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Printed from the original

674

TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV

Comrade *Sokolnikov*
People's Commissariat for Finance

Considering that the press, both Soviet and Party, had earlier, namely, in connection with the Glavzemkhoz*

* See Note 619.—*Ed.*

exhibition from September 18 to 25, 1921, unanimously assessed Comrade *Runov*'s work as being exceptionally successful in founding proletarian agriculture, and considering that this assessment had been confirmed by a decision of the Council of Labour and Defence of 30/IX-1921, I think that Runov's enclosed application should be unconditionally and fully satisfied.[619]

I ask Comrade Sokolnikov to reply to me without delay, in substance, through Comrade Gorbunov.[620]

Dictated by phone
on March 15, 1922

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in *Pravda* No. 36

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675

TELEGRAM TO THE TERRITORIAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE OF THE SOUTH-EAST

To South-Eastern Territorial Economic Conference
Copy *to Salsk District Executive Committee*,
Don Region

Krupp's concession for 50,000 dessiatines, to deal with which People's Commissariat for Agriculture representatives Adamovich and another comrade, and Krupp's representatives Klette and Fulte, Zechgau, have left for *your* parts, is of enormous economic and political importance. You must do everything you can to help conclude the concession, and I shall regard as a crime any lack of zeal in this case. Telegraph execution in brief. Send all details by mail.[621]

Lenin
Chairman, C.L.D.

19/III-22

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676
TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV

20.III.1922

Comrade Sokolnikov:

Please write to me,

1) whether you have received and read Comrade Belov's note: "Plan for Financial Campaign until the New Harvest of 1922", and your opinion.

2) How is supervision of the collection of cash taxes arranged?

Give the facts on one page. What about the 10-day reports? telegraphic or postal?

How many gubernias submit accurate reports?

Average percentage of arrears and *from—to*?

3) What is the arrangement for the State Bank's supervision over our lousy state trusts, in which adroit swindlers dupe conscientious and totally canonised Communists, chairmen of boards, etc.?[622]

With communist greetings,

Lenin

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Printed from the original

677
TO L. B. KRASIN[623]

20/III.

Comrade Krasin:

I do not agree with you. Lezhava is a very nice comrade, but he has fully demonstrated his weakness.

There is need for a different collegium (Politbureau), and a trio inside it: you + Frumkin + Radchenko, because you are away very often, and *authority* should reside in Russia. What is more, you are *also* a diplomat. And you are not doing any of the spade-work, purging the swindlers, seeing to the order, flogging and thrashing for non-fulfilment. You are responsible for the direction, but the

spade-work needs **strong-minded** men, and not Lezhava. They will learn how to work.

Yours,
Lenin

Written on March 20, 1922
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678
TO M. I. FRUMKIN AND I. I. RADCHENKO[624]

21/III.1922.

Comrades Frumkin and Radchenko:

In a talk with me yesterday, Comrade Krasin expressed the fear that both of you are freetraders, which is why the future of the foreign-trade monopoly is being predetermined in a negative sense. I protested most vigorously; I referred to the fact that both of you are old Party men, tried and tested in every way, and that there was not the slightest ground for assuming that an absolutely precise directive from the C.C. Politbureau (which confirmed the theses recognising the foreign-trade monopoly) could be unfulfilled by you. In addition, I expressed great doubt about Comrade Frumkin being a "freetrader". If Comrade Radchenko had earlier spoken out (something I, too, had heard from him) in the sense that the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade could "*not cope*" with the monopoly, what he had in mind, first, was the unsatisfactory apparatus of the P.C.F.T., which is the very thing we are now going to improve, and, second, apparently, the "absolute" monopoly of foreign trade, now substituted by a *liberal* monopoly, a monopoly unconditionally and in any case.

I consider it my duty to inform you about that talk with Krasin. Write me a couple of words. I hope that on the basis of "mixed societies", if we all, you especially, see to it that there are no "compuppets", communist puppets, up there on top for the sake of appearances, while specialists, swindlers, etc., handle all the business—that on this basis we shall restructure the whole economy of trade and

restructure it precisely in the way necessary to ensure socialist construction.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

679

TO M. I. FRUMKIN

Comrade Frumkin:

I had just finished writing to you and Radchenko,* when I received your letter.[625] I cannot agree with you. The Politbureau decision is precise, clear and, I believe, correct.

What are your "differences of principle with Krasin"?? I should like to know. Are there any? What are they about? Which are they?

Even if there are any in fact, that is no hindrance.

With Stomonyakov, you and Radchenko will make arrangements here, now. You and Radchenko will each *travel* abroad at least once a year. It is not far from here to Berlin, and Berlin is the centre.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on March 21, 1922

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680

LETTER TO J. V. STALIN AND L. B. KAMENEV

Comrades Stalin and Kamenev

I have received the draft of an additional resolution by the congress.[626]

I agree on the main points. After a first reading, I propose these amendments:

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* See previous document.—*Ed.*

1) away with the word "new" (page 1, line 1 from bottom),

2) at the end, instead of "the congress authorises the commission" say: "the Congress authorises the Central Committee, with the enlistment of Comrades Tsyurupa and Kiselyov (two non-members of the C.C.)."

I think:

a) also to propose less essential amendments;

b) add something on the subject of trying out men and checking up on performance.

We shall arrange the details by phone.

How is this to be introduced?

I shall prepare a letter for the C.C. Plenum (by 24.IV?).

In this letter I will

1) give a brief plan of the report,

2) refer to Trotsky's letter,[627] saying that I am basically in favour,

3) tell about my arrangement with Tsyurupa and Rykov,*

4) add your draft on my own behalf,

5) ask the C.C. Plenum to take a vote: do they approve this? do they permit me to say all this on behalf of the C.C. in my report?

P.S. This is the best form.

Add: against inflating the All-Russia C.E.C.: not more than 3 per gubernia.

21/III-1922 *Lenin*

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681

TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

To Comrade Molotov for Politbureau members

I have a letter from Solts, who has come out, on the basis of the available experience, against the newspaper

* See present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 247-48.—*Ed.*

Rabochy. He says it is used only to feed superfluous writers, without in any sense producing a new type of newspaper or a different readership. I think it would be more correct to close down the newspaper, allowing it a short period for liquidation, and to make use of the released manpower and facilities to improve the existing newspapers.[628]

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on March 23, 1922

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682
TELEGRAM TO Y. V. LOMONOSOV

Code

Lomonosov, Plenipotentiary Representation,
Berlin

I propose that you strictly abide by the following: do not enter into any negotiations on loans, do not conclude any loans or other credit transactions without special C.P.C. permission in every case.

The Kremlin, Moscow.
27/III-22

Lenin
Chairman, C.P.C.

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copy signed by Lenin

683
TELEGRAM TO N. N. KRESTINSKY

Do everything you can to obtain at once a visa for Avanesov, Deputy People's Commissar for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. Visiting German doctors have found him to be dangerously ill. The spring is especially dangerous for him. He must go immediately. Do your best. We give all guarantees. Reply at once.[629]

Lenin

Written on March 29, 1922
Sent to Berlin

First published in 1945
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684

TO V. M. MOLOTOV FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

30.III.1922

To Comrade Molotov for *Politbureau* members

I have had a talk with Krasnoshchekov. I see that we, the Politbureau, have made a big mistake.

We have harassed this man, who undoubtedly has brains, energy, knowledge and experience, to a state when one is quite capable of abandoning everything and getting away from the whole thing.

He knows all the languages, English excellently. He has been in the movement since 1896. Fifteen years in America. Started out as a house-painter. Was headmaster of a school. Knows commerce. Has shown himself to be an intelligent chairman of the government in the Far-Eastern Republic, where he organised virtually everything.[630]

We took him away from there. Here we placed him in the People's Commissariat for Finance, where complete anarchy reigns. Now, just when he was down with the typhus, he has been dismissed!!!

We have done everything possible and impossible to repulse this highly energetic, intelligent and valuable worker.

He has had differences both with the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade and the People's Commissariat for Finance, because he favoured *greater* "freedom to trade".

He says: "Let me prove myself at work, allow *me* to complete it without keeping on at me." That is, of course, a legitimate desire.

We must make efforts to give him a job at the S.E.C. At any rate, we *must strive* at all costs *not to lose* this worker, but to meet his *most legitimate* desire: give him a *specified* job and allow him, *say*, *at least one year* of trial, to test him without harassing him. (He says he is willing to work anywhere, provided he is not pulled about.)

(He would like to work at the People's Commissariat for

Foreign Affairs. He has had some differences with Chicherin on the foreign policy of the Far-Eastern Republic.)

Lenin

First published in 1965
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Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

685
TO N. P. GORBUNOV

March 31, 1922

Comrade Gorbunov:

The German doctors who have examined you say that you need to be taken off your work at once, in view of which I propose that you immediately hand over your duties for the period of your leave and carry out all the doctors' orders.

Comrade Tsyurupa has been assigned the task of seeing that these instructions are carried out.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

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Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

686
TO A. I. RYKOV

4/IV.1922

Comrade Rykov:

Please see to the business indicated by Comrade Martens.[631] If it is confirmed that the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs had impeded things, they should be given exemplary punishment. Of course, we should be very cautious about the immigration of workers to Russia, for, on the other hand, we have very inadequate experience. When all the formalities in the restrictive sense have been

observed, it is downright criminal to allow any delays, for if the economic work is to be started, the immigrants must arrive just now, before the spring operations begin.

Lenin

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Printed from
a typewritten copy

687
TO A. I. RYKOV

4/IV.1922

Comrade Rykov:

I am sending on to you a letter from Yezhov,[632] who has been recommended to me as an extremely reliable and efficient worker. Unfortunately, I have been unable to carry out my intention of making a closer acquaintance with him. The warehouse business is in a shocking state and, I believe, the whole is in the charge of Troyanovsky, whom I remember as a Bolshevik during my stay abroad. Subsequently, he went over to the Mensheviks, and now, it seems, has deviated from the Mensheviks. I strongly suspect that he is doing nothing about the warehouses, but is engaged in politics, and that nothing good will come of his warehouse activity. I think that Troyanovsky's efficiency should he thoroughly checked.

Lenin

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688
TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV[633]

4/IV.

Comrade Sokolnikov:

I am sending you this *confidentially*; please return to me with your reply.

I think that Alsky should be chased out (he is of no use);

Krasnoshchekov should be returned. He is right. The policy has now been laid down; he can do nothing against you.

He will arrange the *apparatus*. There is *no* apparatus. Alsky will never do this. I have a similar reference about him from A. D. Tsyurupa. You are to give direction; you will have no chance of dealing with the apparatus. You do *not* have to appoint Krasnoshchekov to the Narrow C.P.C.

Please reply today, because I want to leave tonight.[634]

Yours,
Lenin

Written on April 4, 1922
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689
TO A. I. RYKOV

Comrade *Rykov*
Copy to Comrade *Tsyurupa*
Copy to the C.P.C. Managing Department

This business of a concession granted to *Rutgers* and a group of American workers, as *Martens* informs me, is in a very bad state. This requires a check-up and serious attention. It is an exceptional concession granted by us to American workers by special permission of the Politbureau.

The whole undertaking may go to pieces without special support and check-up.

Please ask *Martens* for information and strictly check up on the whole course of this business.

Lenin

Dictated by phone on April 5, 1922
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690

TO A. I. RYKOV

Comrade *Rykov*

Copy to Comrade *Tsyurupa*
Copy to the C.P.C. Managing Department

Please pay attention to the concession of the American *Hammer*, who is now in Russia, as *Reinstein*, who knows him personally, has informed me.

According to *Martens*, we've already made one great blunder, to put it mildly, namely: the *goods* sent to America under the contract with *Hammer* by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade turned out to be of bad quality. We must demand information about this business both from the P.C.F.T. and the S.E.C. and also from Comrade *Reinstein*, who knows *Hammer* personally. We must see to it that our obligations under this concession are performed with absolute strictness and accuracy, and in general we must pay greater attention to the whole business.*

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on April 5, 1922

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

691

TO A. I. RYKOV[635]

Comrade *Rykov*

Copy to Comrade *Tsyurupa*
Copy to the C.P.C. Managing Department

I draw your attention to the exceptional importance of the work of exploring the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly. Comrade *Krzhizhanovsky* has informed me, that, according to the engineers with whom he has talked, it has been virtually proved that we have there an incredibly rich reserve of pure iron. Comrade *Martens* believes that it has been proved already. He intends to go there within three weeks. We must discuss whether we should send along with him some engineer from the State Planning Commission with a better

* See Document 503 of this volume.—*Ed.*

knowledge of Russian conditions and who is capable of checking up whether there is no exaggeration of any sort there.

I think we should not let the press have any information about this and should take steps to see that nothing is said about this in the press, because otherwise we may expect that the interventionist plans may very well be intensified. For the same reason, perhaps, it would be better not to have *Martens*'s report made either to the C.P.C. or the C.L.D., but to have it heard only by both deputies, Bogdanov and some C.C. members.

If the report of *Martens* and the engineer who is to go with him on behalf of the S.P.C. confirms that the matter is serious, we must get the work going as fast as possible, without in any case stinting the necessary gold appropriations, and establishing special supervision to have the necessary equipment received from abroad (diamond, drilling, etc.) with the maximum speed. I very much fear that this business will be carried out without sufficient energy. But the fact is, according to *Krzhizhanovsky* and *Martens*, that we have there almost surely a stock of wealth unequalled anywhere in the world, and capable of revolutionising the whole of metallurgy.*

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on April 5, 1922

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

692

TO G. I. KRUMIN, G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY, P. I. POPOV AND V. A. SMOLYANINOV

Comrade Krumin, *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*
Comrade *Krzhizhanovsky*, *State Planning Commission*
Comrade *Popov*, *Central Statistical Board*
Comrade *Smolyaninov*

There has been no practical solution to the question of studying local experience from the reports of the economic conferences. The reports received by October 1 have not

* See Document 726 of this volume; present edition, Vol. 35, Doc. 316; and Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Doc. 365.—*Ed.*

been sufficiently made use of for practical work or for the press and have not been processed by the Central Statistical Board. The fact is that only given a correct and regular study of the reports (by the C.S.B., the S.P.C. and *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*) and publication of the results of the study in the press is it possible to make the reports truly most-valuable material suitable for political and economic conclusions. This task should be set before the S.P.C., *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*, the C.S.B. and the C.L.D. Managing Department, and its fulfilment secured.

I authorise you to call a special conference and to outline a programme for studying the reports.[636]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on April 10, 1922
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

693
TO Y. S. VARGA

10/IV.1922

Dear Comrade Varga:

Unfortunately I am still ill and unable to work. Please reprint only my articles (the old ones); extracts from my spring 1918 article* (already printed in the pamphlet on the tax in kind**) would be important. Perhaps, too (by way of exception), some passages from my speech at the 1922 Party Congress: *but I myself have been unable to read the speech* in the press: the whole thing might be terribly distorted. Please make sure that you show me beforehand the extracts (well edited by some competent comrade!) you intend to reprint.***

Best regards,
Yours,
Lenin

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the original
Translated from the German

* A reference to the article "'Left-Wing' Childishness and the Petty-Bourgeois Mentality" (see present edition, Vol. 27, pp. 323-54).—*Ed.*
** See present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 329-40.—*Ed.*
*** See Document 670 of this volume.—*Ed.*

694

TO V. V. KUIBYSHEV

C.C. Secretary
(for the Agitation and Propaganda Department)

I recommend Comrade Adoratsky, a writer, and a *knowledgeable Marxist*. He should be given every possible assistance.

He has submitted the manuscript of a "Programme for a Study Circle on the Basic Questions of Marxism".

Please have it published quickly; with the author's name; *do not pickle it*.[637]

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Written on April 10, 1922

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from a typewritten copy

695

*TO THE CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION[638]

I confirm the above. I have known Comrade Adoratsky (and I know him well) since the post-1905 period of reaction. In face of the trend to the right, he was a Bolshevik already at the time, and has remained one. He arrived from Germany in 1919 in very poor health. He is a theorist and propagandist. I should think it absolutely right to date his membership in the R.C.P. from 1904.

10.IV.1922. *V. Ulyanov* (*Lenin*)

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

696

*TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE SOCIALIST ACADEMY

I hereby certify that the bearer, Comrade Vladimir Viktorovich Adoratsky, is a Bolshevik, whom I have personally known since 1911; he deserves full trust; he is a member of the R.C.P.; and a writer.

He is working on a collection of Marx's selected letters, a work we have discussed together.

It is my earnest request that he be rendered all possible assistance, supplied with the necessary books, and, in particular, that he be given the opportunity of working at the Socialist Academy for about 4 hours every morning, and of using its library.

10.IV.1922. *V. Ulyanov* (*Lenin*)

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

697
TO V. V. ADORATSKY

10/IV.1922.

Comrade Adoratsky:

I am enclosing what you have requested.* I am writing to Kamenev.** I am ill and will probably be unable to see you or help with Marx's letters. Kamenev will help you; so you will have someone to consult with. Concentrate on the letters: this is an important *international* undertaking. Select the *most important* ones. The notes should be brief, clear and precise (+ a comparison of Marx's comments with those of *such-and-such* "authoritative" bourgeois *reactionary* scientists).

Regards!

Yours,
Lenin

First published in part
in 1924 in the magazine
Proletarskaya Revolutsia No. 3

Published in full in 1933
in the book, V. V. Adoratsky,
K voprosu o nauchnoi biografii Lenina (Some Ideas About a Scientific Biography of Lenin), Moscow

Printed from the original

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* See previous document.—*Ed.*
** See next document.—*Ed.*

698

NOTE TO L. B. KAMENEV AND REMARKS ON V. V. ADORATSKY'S LETTER

Comrade Kamenev:

This is from Comrade *Adoratsky*. See him and help him.

Yours,
Lenin

Dear Vladimir Ilyich:

... I should very much like to carry on and complete the initial plan, namely, to compile a collection of "Selected Letters of Marx and Engels on Questions of Theory and Politics". I am now much more confident, because I have gained greater mastery of the subject....

I should like to see you and discuss some of my doubts. If this is possible, call me. I am always at the Central Archives, 8 Vagankovsky, telephones 1-78-38 or 1-75-86.

It would be well if you wrote me a paper or something, saying that I have been authorised to do this work, and that I should be given assistance at the Socialist Academy in my studies there. If I were able to devote 4 hours or so to the work at the Socialist Academy every morning, I could have everything ready for the printer's within a couple of months. I do not quite understand what means assigning "the concern" about the letters to Comrade Kamenev. If it means giving me a shove now and then to keep me from forgetting about them, that is not necessary—I remember it very well. If it means assistance, consultation and help—that would be really fine. I should be very glad to be able to consult with someone.

But I should like to have your final review and sanction...

I have a general outline of the plan of this book, and I should like to make a final arrangement. The publication is to be in chronological order. Some letters, for instance, the one to Annenkov—in full, others—only in extracts.

× Vladimir Viktorovich Adoratsky

have written*

Sometimes it also pays to do this!

× I'm afraid I can't.

×× Quite right!

* See Document 696 of this volume.—*Ed.*

The material to be selected on theory: philosophy, economic theory, the theory of history, the revolution, the class struggle, historical remarks; on politics: the proletariat and other classes, the labour movement in the various countries, assessment of political leaders, petty-bourgeois democracy.

Am I to confine myself to theory and politics, or devote some space to letters shedding light on Marx's life, and being of interest for a biography? I think this is not necessary.

And so do I. (*Lenin*)

There is to be an introductory article dealing briefly with all the questions and indicating the most important parts of the letters relating to them.

To make the letters *understandable*, they must have notes.

Written on April 10, 1922

Remarks on V. V. Adoratsky's letter first published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Note to L. B. Kamenev first published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

699
TO A. I. RYKOV AND A. D. TSYURUPA

April 12, 1922

Comrades Rykov and Tsyurupa

I request you to call a conference of deputy commissars this very day to work out practical and most vigorous measures for getting the Kashira Station to start supplying electric current to Moscow. It is quite an intolerable outrage when a ready station, with all the lines strung up, is unable to supply the current because of our administrative muddle.[639]

Lenin

Dictated by phone

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from a typewritten copy

700
TO P. M. KERZHENTSEV

13.IV.1922

Comrade Kerzhentsev:

It is my earnest request that you show the fullest trust in, and give *every* assistance to, Comrade Béla Kun and his family in settling in Stockholm and obtaining rest and treatment (which he *very much* needs) and everything else.

Best regards!

Yours,

Lenin

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

701
TO BÉLA KUN

Dear Comrade Béla Kun:

I enclose herewith letters to Kerzhentsev and Smirnov. I have written to Karakhan. If you need anything else, please write me at once (at *Fotieva*'s address).

Best regards!

Yours,

Lenin

Written on April 13, 1922

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original
Translated from the German

702
NOTE TO J. V. STALIN, L. B. KAMENEV AND L. D. TROTSKY

Comrades Stalin, Kamenev and Trotsky

Litvinov's telegram on the signing of the agreement with Germany[640] raises the question of whether it is appropriate to

publish this right away or to postpone it until there is more clarity on whether or not a break at Genoa is inevitable.[641] I believe this question should be settled this very day.

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on April 18, 1922

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from secretarial notes

703
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Comrade Zinoviev

Top secret
Not to be retyped

Comrade Zinoviev:

Please raise at the Executive Committee of the Comintern (I am not sure whether it should be raised at an enlarged Sitting or at a sitting of the narrow bureau) the question of sending a special correspondent or several correspondents from the Comintern to South Africa to collect the most detailed information and the fullest set of local literature, both legal and illegal, relating to the recently suppressed workers' uprising. This should be done as soon as possible, and not otherwise than with the maximum precautions because the British are sure [to do everything]* to prevent the slightest possibility of any contact between us and the insurgents who have not yet been shot or jailed.[642]

We, for our part, should at all costs establish the rule that Comintern agents should manage to put in a secret appearance at all places of such uprisings to make timely collection of the fullest material on the history of the uprising.

Please reply in a couple of words.

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on April 18, 1922

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from a text
in Natalya Lepeshinskaya's hand

* Omitted words inserted in accordance with meaning.—*Ed.*

704

NOTE TO J. V. STALIN, L. B. KAMENEV AND L. D. TROTSKY WITH A DRAFT TELEGRAM TO GENOA

Comrades Stalin, Kamenev and Trotsky

I propose that we send the following telegram (and communicate to the editorial boards of *Pravda* and *Izvestia* as a directive to our press):

"To Chicherin and Sosnovsky

"All information from Genoa indicates that we are succumbing to deceit. Lloyd George, who is making noises against France, is covering up his main urge—to force us to pay debts in general and those to the former owners in particular. It is time we started a systematic exposure of this old manoeuvre by British diplomats, doing this both in our press and the communist press abroad."[643]

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on April 21, 1922

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from secretarial
notes (typewritten copy)

705

NOTE TO J. V. STALIN WITH A DRAFT TELEGRAM TO G. V. CHICHERIN[644]

Comrade Stalin

Please have the following telegram of mine sent to Chicherin, if the Politbureau members have no objection.

"To Comrade Chicherin

"I have never had any doubts that Lloyd George is acting under the pressure of British sharks and that Britain will not stay on without France, but I think that this should not alter our policy in the slightest, and that we should not be afraid of the conference breaking up. We

cannot accept recognition of the private debts under any circumstances. I think I know the actual situation.

Lenin"

Dictated by phone
on April 21, 1922

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from secretarial
notes (typewritten copy)

706

LETTER TO J. V. STALIN FOR MEMBERS OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. POLITBUREAU WITH A DRAFT TELEGRAM TO G. V. CHICHERIN

April 24, 1922

Comrade Stalin for the Politbureau

Rudzutak's telegram protesting against the letter sent to Lloyd George shows, I believe, that Chicherin either has already made or is quite capable of making an obvious mistake and of violating a C.C. directive. The mistake consists in the fact that Chicherin, without achieving anything in practice, could well deprive us of the only explanation of a break-up which is quite advantageous and important in principle and which gives us a sure gain in the future: namely, a break-up over our refusal to restore the private property of foreign capitalists.

I propose, therefore, that the Politbureau members should be polled by phone today, and that the following telegram should be sent on my behalf:

"To Chicherin for all the members of the delegation

"I consider Rudzutak's opinion, stated in his telegram of April 22, to be quite correct. I regard as a very dangerous mistake any step and any phrase capable of depriving us of the only advantageous ground for a break-up, which, besides, assures us of complete diplomatic and commercial victory in the very near future, namely, the ground that we absolutely refuse to restore the private property of the foreign capitalists.

"I repeat once again that we have communicated to you the absolutely exact text of our maximum concessions, from which we will not depart in the least. As soon as it becomes quite clear that agreement on the basis of these concessions is impossible, we authorise you to break-off, retaining for agitation and for a subsequent diplomatic offensive two trumps:

"1) The fundamental importance of the Russo-German treaty.

"2) Our divergence on the question of restoring the capitalists' property."

Please, let me know the opinion of all or at any rate of a majority of the Politbureau members.[645]

At 7 o'clock tonight let us meet together, and if possible with Kamenev as well, for a quarter of an hour.

Lenin

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

707
TO A. I. RYKOV AND A. D. TSYURUPA

26.IV.1922
Top secret

Comrades Rykov and Tsyurupa

I am sending you Varga's German letter.

I am sure that we have *a great many* scandalous things of this kind.

Varga is apparently right (I have written to him to say that in future he must let me know his informant's name). Please appoint (through Krestinsky? or otherwise) a *strict* inquiry at Berlin to *catch* the guilty persons at this B.F.S.T. and then to reorganise it *radically*.

Make sure that Yevgeny *Varga* is on the commission for inquiry and restructuring.[646]

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

708

*TO THE C.C. SECRETARIAT

Comrade Stalin:

I am sending on to you a letter from Comrade Shklovsky (G. L. Shklovsky). I knew him very well while abroad (1908-1914), where he emigrated being already a Bolshevik and a Party member. He wants to work in Russia and in the Party. He used to work in Moscow—in the city administration (Vladimirsky saw him on the job), and at the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs and at the People's Commissariat for Agriculture; it seems he quite "hit it off" only with the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, where he was valued. In the other places he was either not in tune or not in full tune, or something of that sort, for it turned out that it was impossible for him to arrange for work in Russia. Shklovsky is a veteran Party man, and he is extremely upset (as his letter shows) that he is "not being allowed" to work in Russia. He is nervous, he has fears that he is being "put off", etc. (He has a family and children; it is not easy to adapt oneself to cold and starving Russia. Both Zinoviev and Safarov and all those who were in Switzerland in 1908-1917 knew Shklovsky abroad.)

Please write yourself or have your secretary write to Shklovsky (through Krestinsky in Berlin), asking him what he would like, and then raise the question in the Secretariat. People should not be "squandered", he should be given the closest attention.[647]

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on April 27, 1922

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from a typewritten copy

709

PROPOSAL FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.[648]

Only one thing should be done right away: send a coded telegram to Chicherin requesting a summary or theses for a manifesto.

Lenin

Written on April 28, 1922
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 45

Printed from a typewritten copy

710

TO THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.*

I propose the dispatch of the following telegram:

To Stomonyakov

"Discuss with Krestinsky and Lomonosov measures to influence Krupp. Inform about decision. Act only on unanimous decision of all three."[649]

Written on April 29, 1922
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

711

TELEGRAM TO G. V. CHICHERIN[650]

The best thing for us is another conference in about three months or so. At the closing of the Genoa Conference do not in any case undertake the slightest financial obligation, do not make even a semi-recognition of the debts, and do not be afraid of a break-up in general. Comrade Krasin's minority opinion shows that his line is absolutely wrong and inadmissible. Regardless of the course and out-

* There is a typewritten copy of this document with a printed signature of Lenin.—*Ed.*

come of the financial negotiations, once again bring out strongly to the fore the question of the mutual obligation to maintain peace, and support it even if it has the unsatisfactory form given to it by Lloyd George.

Written on April 30, 1922
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 45

Printed from a typewritten copy

712

NOTES TO THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. WITH A DRAFT TELEGRAM TO G. V. CHICHERIN[651]

In view of the unprecedentedly disgraceful and *dangerous* hesitations of Chicherin and *Litvinov* (to say nothing of Krasin) I propose this *castigation*.

My draft:

"We highly regret that both Chicherin and Litvinov in part have slid down to Krasin's *absurdities*. In view of such hesitations we order the delegation to break unconditionally and as soon as possible, clearly and precisely motivating it by the refusal to restore private property, and to declare that we agreed to make partial concessions only on condition of a very advantageous and immediate loan, unconditionally insisting on a treaty between two systems of property, as between equals. (In the event of the slightest further hesitations we shall disavow you publicly in the Central Executive Committee and dismiss you from your office.) Litvinov's open telegram clearly shows that they want to fool us."

Lenin. 2/V

I do *not* agree with Stalin's amendment to delete the threat of disavowal. *Lenin*

Comrade Stalin:

I propose another addition to the telegram to Genoa: A session of the All-Russia C.E.C. has been set for May 12. By then, at least three members of the delegation must

be in Moscow with all the material. Chicherin is to stay in Germany and complete his treatment.[652]

Lenin. 2/V

Written on May 2, 1922
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 45

Printed from the original

713
TO F. E. DZERZHINSKY

2.V.1922

Copies to Comrade Rykov and Comrade Tsyurupa

Comrade Dzerzhinsky:

Please inform me—in the *briefest* form—whether anything is being done and how quickly to carry out the C.L.D. decision on classifying the railways in three categories and closing down the railways in the third category.

The closure should be speeded up to the maximum, and secured quickly and at all costs. How else are we to fight the crisis?[653]

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.L.D.

First published in 1924 in the magazine *Vestnik Putei Soobshchenia* No. 6

Printed from the facsimile

714
TO A. D. TSYURUPA AND A. I. RYKOV

This is a request to Comrades Tsyurupa and Rykov for support in the *C.P.C.* on Thursday,* and if necessary, to carry on to the Politbureau.[654]

2/V.1922. *Lenin*

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

* May 4.—*Ed.*

715

TO LETTER TO G. Y. SOKOLNIKOV ON QUESTIONS OF FINANCIAL POLICY

Copies to Comrades Tsyurupa,
Rykov and Stalin (for the Politbureau)

Comrade Sokolnikov:

I have heard Comrade Tsyurupa's account of your project for an internal grain loan, and have looked over the draft text myself. This looks to me like self-deception. How can you prove that this will yield anything practical at all? It seems to me that, on the contrary, we should conclude that this will worsen our situation by wrecking the emission, i.e., inducing the speculative market to resort to the very measure of fighting against us which it has been using with such success. In fact, the market has learned, it seems, to inflate prices following the growth of emission so fast that the emission has ceased to extract any real values from the population whatsoever, becoming an empty game and empty self-consolation on our part. (By the way, there should be precise data about the real values being extracted through the emission. They should be summed up in the briefest form at least weekly. Is this being done?)

I think it is time we abandoned the harmful self-consolation, and turned to really revolutionary measures, on the one hand—an increase in the collection of all taxes; on the other hand—a most rapid and vigorous reduction of staffs. In doing this, we should not stop at closing down, partly without any designation of date, partly until the autumn, of a number of the largest departments in some People's Commissariats, and even of this or that People's Commissariat.

I wrote to Dzerzhinsky today to check up on whether we are seriously working to close down the third category railways. I very much fear that without revolutionary measures of this kind the congress resolution on financial policy[655] remains on paper, and that in general we are

lagging behind life, risking to find ourselves helpless in face of the impending disaster.

Let me have your opinion.[656]

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on May 2, 1922

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from secretarial notes
(typewritten copy)

716
TO Y. A. PREOBRAZHENSKY

At present, *before* the question *has been prepared*, this will be purely bureaucratic and harmfully bureaucratic.

Preparations should be started at once in every way in *a number of* commissions.[657]

Written on May 3, 1922

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

717
DRAFT TELEGRAM TO G. V. CHICHERIN

Be sure to make a break and quickly over the new allied memorandum,[658] because we shall allow no concession to the owners, and a better opportunity will not be found. Delays weaken us. With the German treaty in hand, we shall now never abandon a long-term effort to stand only on its basis. Start a highly circumspect flirtation with Italy separately.

Written on May 5 or 6, 1922

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 45

Printed from the original

718
TO J. V. STALIN

This telegram has been directed to the Politbureau quite wrongly. This matter should be decided through Soviet government channels. Such a telegram must be dispatched

with the signature of both deputy chairmen, the chairman or deputy chairman of the Concessions Committee and, finally, the head of the Central Fuel Administration. These are the persons who are alone responsible, and should normally be responsible for the accuracy of the figures given here, and for seeing that the instructions issued here conform with statutes and decrees issued by the Soviet institutions concerned. I therefore refuse to vote on the substance of this telegram.[659]

Lenin

Dictated by phone
at 9.00 on May 6, 1922

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

719
TELEGRAM TO M. M. LITVINOV[660]

We should think that the generally unacceptable nature of the latest memorandum of the powers is a suitable pretext for a break-off, but if you do not agree with this, we consent, considering a break-up predetermined, to leave it to your discretion to find the most suitable moment for the break.

Written on May 8, 1922

First published in 1964
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 45

Printed from
a typewritten copy

720
TELEGRAM TO G. V. CHICHERIN[661]

Considering the importance of the Russo-German treaty, its acceptance by Germany, its influence on Italy, and the dogfight between the powers over oil concessions, we arrive at the conclusion that it would be most correct for us now to build up all our foreign policy on everything resting, over a certain period of at least a few months, only on the Russo-German treaty, declaring it to be the only specimen from which we shall depart only for the sake of exception-

ally great advantages. Try to prepare this through the form of break. Together with the ratification of the Russo-German treaty we want to include such a statement in the declaration of the All-Russia C.E.C. Urgently telegraph your opinion.

Written on May 9, 1922
First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 45
Printed from a typewritten copy

721

CONCERNING THE DRAFT LIST OF NARROW C.P.C. MEMBERSHIP[662]

About Goikhbarg, I have had a number of complaints saying that as chairman he browbeats and intimidates the public. In other *respects*, I personally value Goikhbarg highly. Perhaps this could be checked or he *specially cautioned*.

10/V. *Lenin*

Written on May 10, 1922
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54
Printed from the original

722

TO ARMAND HAMMER

11.V.1922

Dear Comrade Hammer!

Excuse me please; I have been very ill; now I am much, much better.

Many thanks for Your present—a very kind letter from American comrades and friends who are in prison. I enclose for You my letter to Comrade Zinoviev or for other comrades in Petrograd if Zinoviev has left Petrograd.

My best wishes for the full success of Your first concession: such success would be of great importance also for trade relations between our Republic & United States.

Thanking You once more. I beg to apologise for my bad English. Please address letters & telegrams to my secretary (*Fotieva* or *Smolianinoff*). I shall instruct them.*

Yours truly,
Lenin

First published on January 21, 1926 in *Krasnaya Gazeta* No. 17

Printed from a photocopy of the English original

723
TO LYDIA FOTIEVA AND V. A. SMOLYANINOV[663]

Fotieva and *Smolyaninov*

Have this translated for you both, read it; make note of *Armand* **Hammer** and *in every way help* him on my behalf if he applies.

11/V. *Lenin*

Written on May 11, 1922
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

724
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

1

11.V.1922

Comrade Zinoviev or his deputy

Petrograd
To Comrade Zinoviev
(to Comrade Zinoviev or his deputy)

I beg You to help the comrade Armand Hammer; it is extremely important for us that his first concession would be a full success.

Yours,
Lenin

* See next document.—*Ed.*

I beg you to give every assistance to the bearer, Comrade *Armand Hammer*, an American comrade, who has taken out the *first concession*. It is extremely, extremely important that his whole undertaking should be a complete *success*.

With communist greetings,

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from a photocopy
of the original
(the first half—in English)

2

11.V.1922

Telephone message to Zinoviev and his deputy in Petrograd (make sure this is not lost in the event of Zinoviev's departure or absence)[664]

Today I wrote a letter of reference to you and your deputy for the American Comrade *Armand Hammer*. His father is a millionaire and a Communist (he is in *prison* in America). He has taken out our first *concession*, which is very advantageous for us. He is going to Petrograd to be present at the discharge of the first wheat ship* and to arrange for the receipt of machinery for his concession ((asbestos mines)).

It is my earnest request that you issue orders at once to see that there is no red tape and that reliable comrades should personally keep an eye on the progress and speed of all operations for this concession. This is of the utmost importance. Armand *Hammer* is travelling with the director of his company, *Mr. Mishell*.

Lenin

First published in 1965
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Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

* See Document 503 of this volume.—*Ed.*

725
TO V. S. DOVGALEVSKY

Comrade *Dovgalevsky*
Copy to the C.P.C. Managing Department

Comrade Dovgalevsky:

I read in *Izvestia* today that the Nizhni-Novgorod City Soviet has petitioned the All-Russia C.E.C. to award the Order of the Red Banner of Labour to the Nizhni-Novgorod Radio Laboratory, and to enter the names of Prof. Bonch-Bruyevich and Prof. Vologdin on the Honour Board.

Let me know your opinion. I, for my part, would consider it necessary to support the petition.

Incidentally, in connection with your letter to me, please let me know whether you are quite satisfied with the work of the Nizhni-Novgorod Radio Laboratory; also send me, if possible, the briefest comment from Bonch-Bruyevich about the progress of his work in making the megaphones capable of broadcasting to the masses what comes in over the wireless telephone. This work is of exceptional importance for us because its success, which Bonch-Bruyevich promised long ago, would be of enormous benefit to agitation and propaganda.

It is necessary, therefore, to make some sacrifices to back this work. In particular, I have heard that in America such work has already resulted in practical success.

There should be a check to see whether the Nizhni-Novgorod Radio Laboratory has at its disposal all the latest American literature on this question.

Please let me have your opinion as soon as possible, to give me time, in case of need, to sign any required communication or petition at the All-Russia C.E.C. session which opens tomorrow.[665]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Also please inform me in a separate confidential letter about some of the details of Nikolayev's removal from the office of head of the radio department to another post; and also about what qualification Comrade Trofimov, who,

I believe, is now in charge of the department, has for doing so; also about the qualification of the specialist who is directly responsible for this work at the central department.[666]

Written on May 11, 1922

First published in part in 1934 in the book, A. M. Nikolayev, *Lenin i radio* (Lenin and Radio), Moscow

Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

726

TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV

May 13, 1922

Comrade *Smolyaninov*:

Please check up whether I am being correctly informed in private that Academician Lazarev, who has long been working on the Kursk Anomaly, is discouraged by the reported refusal of any financial support.

Find out the amount he expected to receive and what he has been given.[667]

Lenin

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from a typewritten copy

727

TELEGRAM TO L. B. KRASIN, G. V. CHICHERIN AND V. V. VOROVSKY[668]

Krasin, Chicherin and Vorovsky
Genoa

I attach enormous importance to such a treaty. I think we should offer the Italians a coal price lower than that which they pay to their usual suppliers. Please speed up reply.*

Lenin

Written on May 13, 1922

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from a typewritten copy

* See Document 733 of this volume.—*Ed.*

728
TELEGRAM TO G. V. CHICHERIN[669]

If we have correctly understood the press comments over the situation created by our reply, Lloyd George is prepared to separate an immediate political agreement on peace from financial-economic agreements which are to be referred to a long commission.[670] This would be the best outcome and an unquestionable victory, that is why we recommend: 1) to continue the absolutely uncompromising line in the economic sphere, agreeing to a long commission, 2) to give every support to Lloyd George in his urge for a political agreement (guarantee treaty), 3) in every way to strive for separate agreements with various countries, 4) to make every possible use of Lloyd George's approach to the question of the eastern boundaries of Poland and Rumania, indicating that these boundaries are obstacles to the establishment of peace, but this should be done cautiously, so as not to draw criticism about departures from the Riga Treaty.[671] We repeat our request that you urgently communicate to us basic propositions for an All-Russia C.E.C. resolution on Joffe's report, especially in connection with the Rapallo Treaty—see our telegram No. 3535/c.*

Written on May 14, 1922
First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 45
Printed from a typewritten copy

729
TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV**

15/V.

Comrade Smolyaninov:

I have to reprove you and Comrade Zaks—with the warning that stricter penalties will be applied next time—over the fact that having checked up on the work of Comrade Ulrikh, who for several months now has been following the

* See Document 720 of this volume.—*Ed.*
** Over the text Lenin wrote: "Have this retyped on a letterhead in 4 copies and let me sign it. 15/V. *Lenin*."—*Ed.*

execution of the C.P.C. and C.L.D. decisions, I discovered immense disorder.

The card, which is here enclosed, defines the form and order of Comrade Ulrikh's work. You will see, however, that this is not being fulfilled; neither you nor Zaks have seen to this, although it is your primary duty to do so. I have instructed Comrade Ulrikh to fill in the card with the *strictest* accuracy, severely to the point of pedantism.

I charge you, together with Comrade Zaks, to secure the most precise fulfilment of this; if Comrade Ulrikh fails to learn, she should be replaced, and an absolutely accurate worker found.

The enclosed cards show that Comrade Fotieva has also started, like Comrade Ulrikh, to alter the card on her own. This I absolutely do not allow. *Only deputy* chairmen, by their joint signatures, have the right to prescribe or permit any alteration of the card. Any other alterations should entail dismissal from office.

It is better to verify only a *part* of the C.P.C. and C.L.D. decisions (as marked off by the deputies or business manager), but they should be verified with pedantic accuracy.

It is the duty of every People's Commissar at once to appoint several comrades with responsibility for verifying execution (business manager, his assistant; secretary, his assistant, etc.) and to communicate their names to the *C.P.C.* and *C.L.D.* business manager. For negligence these persons should be relentlessly punished by arrest or dismissed by order of the deputies. For carelessness, a People's Commissar should be punished by a reprimand, simple or with entry in his Party card. To watch over this—most strictly—is the duty of the C.P.C. business manager, and I will not hesitate to dismiss him from his post, unless he fulfils this with pedantic precision.

The task is to teach the People's Commissariats to be accurate, jailing and dismissing the careless workers.

What has been said about the People's Commissariats applies to all the separate institutions (State Planning Commission, Central Statistical Board, Concessions Committee, People's Commissariat for Internal Trade, etc.) and to the gubernia executive committees, regional economic conferences, etc.

You and Zaks shall have the duty twice a month to write me (briefly, in telegraphic style) about how the accurate verification of execution is organised. Failure to do so will entail dismissal.

I enclose the cards filled in by Comrade Fotieva (which she has done carelessly and inadmissibly) and the clean cards corrected by me: don't dare dirty them, don't dare make any unnecessary entries, don't dare make the slightest departures. Otherwise, I shall sack both the secretaries and all the business managers.

Show this paper to both deputies at once. Have them sign (before my departure, i.e., within not more than 3 or 4 days) a most precise order on how, in accordance with my instructions, they are to verify execution, fill in the cards, and punish for carelessness.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

Written on May 15, 1922
First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*
Printed from the original

730

LETTER TO J. V. STALIN AND M. I. FRUMKIN AND ASSIGNMENT TO SECRETARY

Comrades Stalin and Frumkin:

I think that we should issue an *official ban* on all talks and conversations and commissions, etc., on weakening the foreign trade monopoly.

I do not agree with Frumkin that state trade will always be beaten. Throughout the world it is the department stores that beat everyone else. Yet, in what way are they better than state trade?

There is need systematically to go over to *bonuses* for employees for turnover and profit. Unless this is done the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade (and all of us) will be a flop. Frumkin does not think about this, and that is his fault.

15/V. *Lenin*

Send this confidentially to Stalin and Frumkin, requesting them to return it with a couple of words of comment. See that it is returned as soon as possible (2-3 days).[672]

15/V. *Lenin*

Written on May 15, 1922
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

731
TO A. I. RYKOV AND A. D. TSYURUPA[673]

For comment by Rykov and Tsyurupa.

I object to the merger of the People's Commissariats. We should confine ourselves to uniting and simplifying the apparatus and the departments. Introduce *bonuses* for simplifying the apparatus and for rapid expansion of turnover.

15/V. *Lenin*

Written on May 15, 1922
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

732
TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV[674]

Comrade Smolyaninov:

V. M. Smirnov's figures are quite different. I propose that we pass through the C.L.D.:

1) People's Commissariat for Finance
2) Central Statistical Board
3) State Planning Commission
4) *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*

shall have the duty to submit *confidentially* to the *C.L.D.* monthly data on the revenue from the emission (in the briefest form).

Show this to Rykov and Tsyurupa.

15/V. *Lenin*

Written on May 15, 1922
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54
Printed from the original

733
TO A. I. RYKOV[675]

Comrade Rykov:

It is necessary to carry through by phone the C.L.D. decision on sending two shiploads of the *best* Donets coal and to *press* on with execution (Frumkin's *personal* responsibility). Designate responsible persons *by name* at Bakhmut and Taganrog.

Lenin

Written on May 16, 1922
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

734
TO N. OSINSKY[676]

16-V-22
Secret

Comrade Osinsky:

I think the editor of *Selskokhozyaistvennaya Zhizn* should be removed, and Vainstein and Oganovsky placed under special surveillance. Such is my conclusion after reading *Selskokhozyaistvennaya Zhizn* No. 34 (75). Show this letter in strict secrecy to Comrades Yakovenko and Teodorovich (the latter is especially to blame) and return to me with the addition of information about the editor, A. N. Morosanov (?), and the other two in greater detail. Their record, etc., in more detail. They are probably Right-wing S.R.s to whom you three "have fallen" victim.

What measures are you three taking to prevent a repetition of this?

Lenin

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from a typewritten copy

735

LETTER TO A. V. LUNACHARSKY AND ASSIGNMENT TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV*

17.V.1922

People's Commissar for Education

I have received some information showing that the high price of books, considering our "enthusiasms" and the exaggerations of *NEP*, is depriving the people of useful books.

I should think it is necessary to lay down some kind of rule or pass a law on roughly these lines: specified amounts should be apportioned from local taxes to be paid to a centre for a fund to cover the cost of several thousand books (say, Skvortsov, *Electrification*, etc.) for *distribution to all uyezd libraries*.

Please discuss this and let me know your opinion.[677]

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

To Comrade Smolyaninov for Comrades Lunacharsky, Pokrovsky, Rykov and Tsyurupa.**

Letter to A. V. Lunacharsky first published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Assignment to V. A. Smolyaninov first published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

736

LETTER TO A. I. RYKOV AND REMARKS ON HIS TELEPHONE MESSAGE

Comrade Rykov:

If the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade and its men are "confusing" everything(×××), we should make sure

* Over the text Lenin wrote: "*See to the reply.*"—*Ed.*

** A copy of the letter was also sent to G. Y. Sokolnikov, Deputy People's Commissar for Finance.—*Ed.*

not to do likewise. And if we write "reportedly"(×) and postpone things "until the question is cleared up"(××), it looks as though we are *encouraging the confusion*. Why not put an end to the confusion by having Smolyaninov (or someone else, but someone definite, to enable you too to make a personal check *right away*) get on the direct line to find out immediately and without any "reportedly". Who is responsible at the Ukrainian People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade? What has he been doing? Has he sent, is sending or will send one or two ships? When? to whom? how many?

We seem to have the P.C.F.T. in a terrible state of chaos, yet we *are encouraging the chaos* instead of carrying on any *real* fight against it. Is that how you used to work under the "Chuso"? And is it possible to overcome the chaos unless the methods of the old "Chuso" are used?[678]

18/V. *Lenin*

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO V. I. LENIN

Vladimir Ilyich:

We discussed at the C.L.D. the question concerning the dispatch of the two ships to Italy. We established that the Ukrainian Commissariat for Foreign Trade has a special organisation for the sale and export of coal to Italy which has reportedly[x)] sent out one ship. That is why we confined ourselves to a decision on selecting the best brands of coal for the needs of export to Italy—for the purpose of winning the Italian market. As for the question of the two ships itself—we have postponed it until the question of how much coal has already been sent to Italy is cleared up.[xx)]

Please note that our representatives at Genoa have been confusing[xxx)] us all the time, making demands which they cancel within a few days. I shall send a telegram tomorrow asking them to bring up with Moscow only motivated and considered questions and proposals, as it is quite impossible to do one thing at the request of Litvinov and Chicherin only to abandon it on Krasin's proposal. Krasin's telegram shows that he himself is out of touch and does not know that the coal is already on the way and has been partially sold. The telegram on which you have made an inscription does not even say

to which of the Italian ports the coal is to go, where the buyer is to be found, and who is to be responsible for the sale of coal in Italy.

A. I. Rykov
Deputy Chairman, C.L.D.

19.25, May 17, 1922

Written on May 18, 1922
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

737
TO V. A. PAVLOV

18/V.1922

Comrade Pavlov:

I have received a communication from M. A. Bonch-Bruyevich. Please find out from him by phone what amount (in pre-war rubles) would be required *all together* for running the business well. If he cannot give you one figure, let's have no more than two (from—to; or minimum and maximum). Please send reply by telephone message or urgent note addressed to my secretary, Comrade Lepeshinskaya.[679]

With communist greetings,
Lenin

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

738
TO J. V. STALIN[680]

Comrade Stalin:

In sending on to you this letter of Comrade Skvortsov-Stepanov, I strongly support his request. He is a sickly person, but an especially valuable worker. He should be given a rest in accordance with his request; I strongly support this. Once he has recovered and taken a rest, he will be of very great use both as a *professor*, nota bene, and a writer.

18/V.1922. *Lenin*

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

739

TO F. E. DZERZHINSKY[681]

Comrade Dzerzhinsky:

On the question of deporting the writers and professors helping the counter-revolution.

This needs more thorough preparation. Without it we shall make mistakes. Please discuss these measures of preparation.

Call a conference of Messing, Mantsev and some other persons in Moscow.

Put the duty on the Politbureau members to devote 2-3 hours a week to looking through a number of periodicals and books, *verifying* execution, *demanding reviews in writing*, and securing the dispatch to Moscow of all non-communist publications without delay.

Add to this the reviews by a number of Communist writers (Steklov, Olminsky, Skvortsov, Bukharin, etc.).

Collect *systematic* information about the political record, work and literary activity of the professors and writers.

Assign all this to an intelligent, educated and scrupulous man at the *G.P.U.*

My opinion on the two Petrograd publications:

Novaya Rossiya No. 2.[682] Closed down by the Petrograd comrades.

Perhaps it has been closed down too early? Circulate it to the *Politbureau* members and discuss *more thoroughly*. What is its editor *Lezhnev*? Is he from *Dyen*? Could information about him be collected? Of course, *not all* the people working on the magazine are candidates for deportation.[683]

The Petrograd magazine *Ekonomist*, published by the XIth Department of the Russian Technical Society, is another matter.[684] I think this is clearly a whiteguard centre. Its No. 3 (*only* No. 3!!! this *nota bene!*) carries a list of its members on the cover. These, I think, are *almost all* the most legitimate candidates for deportation.

These are all patent counter-revolutionaries, accomplices of the Entente, an organisation of its servitors and spies and corrupters of the student youth. We should make arrange-

FROM MARX TO MAO NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

ments to have these "military spies" caught and once caught constantly and systematically and deported.

Please show this confidentially, without making any copies, to the *Politbureau* members, *returning it to you and to me*, and inform me of their opinion and your conclusion.

19/V. *Lenin*

Written on May 19, 1922
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Printed from the original

740
TO F. E. DZERZHINSKY

Comrade Dzerzhinsky:

I have a serious apprehension: there seems to be some "excess" in the expenses on my garage, which I believe is under particular *G.P.U.* supervision. Isn't it time that this establishment is "compressed" and the expenditures on it reduced? Everyone is reducing all expenditures.

Please show this to my "deputies" Rykov and Tsyurupa, and assign a reliable, intelligent, knowledgeable man to check up on whether the expenses under this head can be reduced and compressed, and reduced to the utmost.[685]

19/V. *Lenin*

Written on May 19, 1922
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Printed from the original

741
TO J. V. STALIN

Comrade Stalin:

I am sending on to you a letter from Comrade Anikst, who attacked me yesterday (18/V). He is offended, embittered, alarmed. He is nervous, he is sick. I advised him to complete his treatment and to keep a grip on his nerves. He seems to be a good worker. His treatment should be

completed in Germany or in Riga. (Nothing will come out in Russia.)[686]

19/V. *Lenin*

Written on May 19, 1922
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Printed from the original

742

TO J. V. STALIN FOR THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. SECRETARIAT

Comrade Stalin:

Please pass on for decision by the C.C. Secretariat (or the Orgbureau; I do not know whose competence this is) the following petition of mine:

to send the surgeon, V. N. Rozanov, physician of the Soldatenkovskaya Hospital, for leave *in Riga in July*, together *with his son*.

This is the request I had from V. N. Rozanov, who has not charged me any fees now, as he had not done in 1918, although he has been to see me repeatedly. Comrade Semashko says that he is the best surgeon, but has little rest.

This is why I request that he should be granted this holiday, and ask that a secretary should be assigned to inform me of the decision of the Orgbureau or the *C.C.* Secretariat.[687]

21/V.1922. *Lenin*

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

743

TO THE HEADS OF ALL CENTRAL ESTABLISHMENTS AND ORGANISATIONS

Secret. Personal

To All People's Commissars (to the deputies of those who are absent)

Also to *all* separate establishments: Central Statistical Board, State Planning Commission, Concessions Committee, People's Commissariat for Internal Trade under the C.L.D.,

Centrosoyuz, etc., All-Russia Central T.U.C., Comintern, Profintern, etc.

As I am going on holiday for several months, it is my earnest request that you should keep me informed of the most important matters and the fulfilment of the most important decisions, plans, campaigns, etc., as follows:

—send me once or twice a month the briefest (not more than 2 or 3 pages) communications on the subject, and give instructions to send me the most important of the current publications by the People's Commissariat and also the texts of the most important published decrees and drafts. If the People's Commissar should find it inconvenient to do this work himself, please inform me who specifically (deputy, member of collegium, business manager or secretary, etc.) is to have this duty, instructing that person to maintain regular contacts with my secretary (Fotieva, Lepeshinskaya). Through these same secretaries it is always possible to send inquiries by telegraph or by mail, with the current and urgent inquiries addressed not otherwise than to my deputy (Rykov or Tsyurupa) and only copies sent to me.

21/V. *Lenin*

The secretaries will have the duty to watch accurately that this is done, informing me of the incoming publications, not sending in the whole lot, but only the most important ones (the rest—only a list).

Of the Russian newspapers supply regularly *Pravda*, *Izvestia* and *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*.

Maintain regular contacts with the *Communist International* and the *People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs*, asking them to supply the *most important* foreign publications, especially pamphlets on current questions.

Of the Russian publications abroad send in *Nakanune*,[688] *Sotsial-Demokrat* (Menshevik), *Zarya* (Menshevik), *Sovremenniye Zapiski* (S.R.), *Russkaya Mysl*[689] and a *list* of the other publications, pamphlets and books.

Written on May 21, 1922

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

744
TO J. V. STALIN

Comrade Stalin

I think this should be shown *in strict secrecy* (without making any copies) to Dzerzhinsky and *all the members of the Politbureau*, and a directive issued: "Dzerzhinsky (*G.P.U.*) is authorised to work out, with Semashko's assistance, a plan of *measures* and report to the Politbureau within a period of ——— (2 *weeks*?)."[690]

22/V. *Lenin*

Written on May 22, 1922
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Printed from the original

745
TO J. V. STALIN FOR MEMBERS OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. POLITBUREAU

Urgent
Secret

To **Comrade Stalin** with a request to circulate all Politbureau members (being sure to include Comrade Zinoviev)

On the strength of this information from Comrade Reinstein, I am giving both Armand *Hammer* and B. *Mishell* a special recommendation on my own behalf and request all C.C. members to give these persons and their enterprise *particular* support.[691] This is a small path leading to the American "business" world, and this path should be made use of *in every way*. If there are any objections, please **telephone** them to my secretary (Fotieva or Lepeshinskaya), to enable me to clear up the matter (and take a final decision through the Politbureau) before I leave, that is, within the next few days.[692]

24/V. *Lenin*

P.S. 27/V. I have held this back pending a reply from Comrade Zinoviev. The reply came in on 26/V.

Lenin

Written on May 24 and 27, 1922

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

746
TO LYDIA FOTIEVA

Lydia Alexandrovna:

You can congratulate me on my recovery. The proof is my handwriting, which is *beginning* to look human again. Start preparing books for me (and sending me lists) of 1) science, 2) fiction, 3) politics (the latter last of all, because it is not yet allowed).

Will you complain to Rykov (Tsyurupa has left, hasn't he?) about all the secretaries: they are misbehaving, suffering from malaria, etc. Let him arrange for their rest in Riga, in Finland, near Moscow, etc. I think Rykov should issue a reprimand to Smolyaninov and yourself for failing to take good care of the secretaries.

Regards,

Lenin

Written on July 13, 1922

First published in part in 1942 in the book *Lenin Vladimir Ilyich. Kratky ocherk zhizni i deyatelnosti* (Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Short Essay of His Life and Work), Moscow

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Printed from the original

747
TO J. V. STALIN

Comrade Stalin:

I have given your reply very careful thought, and do *not* agree with you.[693]

You can congratulate me; I have been permitted *to read the papers*! Old papers from today, and *new ones* from Sunday*!

Yours,
Lenin

Written on July 13, 1922
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54
Printed from the original

748
TO M. K. VLADIMIROV

21/VIII.

Comrade Vladimirov:

As regards the apparatus, you are being unjustly aggrieved. I quite agree with you, and am informing both Stalin and Rykov about it.—— As regards catching out "NEPmen" I advise that we give very careful thought (perhaps, assign to this in a highly secret manner Rozengolts and another one or two comrades) about what we should do shortly: either introduce an income tax or a compulsory loan? or: which earlier?

Local finances have already yielded considerable data. They should be systematically collected and processed, *winkling out the names* and then deciding the matter raised.

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Written on August 21, 1922
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

749
TO A. I. RYKOV

Comrade Rykov:

I am sending you a cutting from *Izvestia* (of 25.VIII, I believe).[694] I advise that you issue instructions to have this given particular attention. Check up (through the business manager or a secretary).

If it is true, *give every support*.

Has Rutgers achieved anything? I doubt it.

If anything has been achieved here, we should award the Order of the Banner of Labour;—send a letter to America (on your behalf or mine);— make the *State Bank* work out easier *loans* for such enterprises; and make the People's Commissariat for Finance or the People's Commissariat for Agriculture **urgently** work out easier terms for recruiting more tractors (in the autumn; now, to manage in time).

This appears to be an efficient example; business-like assistance; while we over here have *no end* of red tape!

Instruct secretary or business manager to write me a reply.[695]

Yours,
Lenin

N.B. *Carry out Getier's orders strictly!*

Written between August 25 and September 1, 1922

First published in 1942 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*

Printed from the original

750

LETTER TO J. V. STALIN FOR THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. OVER LESLIE URQUHART'S CONCESSION*[696]

Urquhart should be given a concession only provided we get a big loan.

All members of the Politbureau should acquaint themselves with the report of the Mikhailov Commission, which had gone out for an on-the-spot inspection of the plants to be handed over under concession to Urquhart, and which expressed a negative opinion.

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*At the top of the document Dzerzhinsky wrote: "V. I.'s directives—4.IX." and "To Comrade Stalin", and after the text: "Correct. Dzerzhinsky." There is also Stalin's remark: "Comrade Lenin's opinion."—*Ed.*

Our enemies hope to see the fixed capital in our transport and industry completely ruined. It is necessary to find the resources to rehabilitate this capital by imposing taxes on all articles of consumption, raising them to the maximum on such articles as sugar and *beer*.

Bear in mind an internal compulsory loan and an income tax.

Dictated on September 4, 1922

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from a record made by F. E. Dzerzhinsky

751
TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV

Comrade Smolyaninov:

I thank you for your information.[697] Will you be so kind as to find out the *exact* address of Comrade Zhidelev in the Crimea. I want to send him a letter (it would be more reliable to send it along with someone; please find out when there is an express train for the Crimea).

With communist greetings,
Lenin

I forgot another assignment (1) send me *I. Besprozvanny*'s pamphlets: (a) *Planning Bureau at a Small Industrial Enterprise Organised on the Taylor System*, Nizhni-Novgorod, 1915.

and (b) *also his*: *Modern Organisation of American Plants*, Moscow, 1919.

Also *find out* at the S.E.C. archives *who* gave permission or submitted for publication this *latter* pamphlet, the 1919 one. *It is* the S.E.C. that has published it.[698]

Written in September, not later than the 7th, 1922

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

752
TO N. I. BUKHARIN

7/IX.1922.

Comrade Bukharin:

I have read (in *Sotsialistichesky Vestnik*) Gorky's vile letter.[699] At first I thought of attacking him in the press (over the S.R.s), but then decided that this would be too much. Let us consult about this. Perhaps you see him now and then and talk with him? Please, write me your opinion. I have seen few newspapers (almost no foreign ones). This means that I have scant knowledge of the "situation". Write me your opinion in the greatest possible detail.

Best regards from all of us to your wife and yourself.

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. I am almost well.

P.S. I am writing to *Krestinsky* to get me the *original* of Gorky's letter published in *Sotsialistichesky Vestnik* of 20/VII.1922.*

If he forgets, will you send it along.

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

753
TO M. P. TOMSKY

9/IX.

Dear Comrade Tomsky:

I shall fulfil your request with great pleasure.[700] Please write me whether or not there are any special subjects that you want me to deal with in my letter. I have fallen very far behind, and don't know whether it is all right to confine myself to a general and plain message of

* See *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Document 444.—*Ed.*

greetings, or whether I should discuss more or less circumstantially any special subject.*

With warm communist greetings
to the whole Presidium,

Lenin

Written on September 9, 1922 Printed from the original

754

TO J. V. STALIN FOR MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. ON REJECTING THE AGREEMENT WITH LESLIE URQUHART

12/IX.

Comrade Stalin:

Having read Krasin's agreement with Urquhart, I express my objection to its approval. While promising earnings for us within two or three years, Urquhart is taking our money just now. This is absolutely inadmissible. Mikhailov, chairman of the commission, who had made a special on-the-spot study of the Urquhart concession, has proved that it is not we *but the foreigners* who are guilty of the destruction. And after this it is we who have to pay!! We shall allegedly obtain relief within *X* years, but we ourselves have to start paying right away!

I propose that this concession be *rejected*.

This is bondage and plunder.

I remind you of the conclusion of the Mikhailov commission. It was against the concession.

Not a single serious argument has been added. It should be rejected.

I ask you to communicate this to the Politbureau members.

With communist greetings,

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)

P.S. It is a ruse to say that this concession will not be a precedent.

* See also Document 755 of this volume.—*Ed.*

It is bound to be and is sure to be a precedent. That is how it is sure *actually* to shape out regardless of all the talk and assurances.

And in general, absolutely no account has been taken of *everything* uncovered by the Mikhailov commission. There are a *number* of arguments against such a concession.

Lenin

Written on September 12, 1922
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

755
TO J. V. STALIN

Comrade Stalin:

Please show Comrade Tomsky this draft letter (and if necessary, also to Kamenev, Zinoviev, Rykov, etc.) and please *return to me*, *retyped*, *not later than tomorrow*.

I shall send it in to the congress by the 16th, or whenever necessary.[701]

Lenin

Written on September 13, 1922
Printed from the original

756
TO A. I. RYKOV

17/IX.

Comrade Rykov

Comrade Rykov:

I see from the papers that the situation over Donbas and Baku is desperate. What do you think? Shall we risk taking *a few millions* from the gold stock? Will not things be made worse if we miss this business and leave it without assistance? Perhaps you will ask Smilga or his

deputy to prepare a *short* report (no more than 5-10 lines) to help me get a *clear* view of the situation?[702]

Yours,
Lenin

Written on September 17, 1922
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the original

757
TO M. K. VLADIMIROV

17/IX.

Comrade Vladimirov

Dear Comrade:

Will you be so kind as to inform me

1) how much gold we have left? (a) total, (b) including that free from any obligations?

2) how many other valuables (*very briefly*, in the most general terms);

3) the size of the deficit now (the last quarter or month);

4) have you thought about the income tax and the compulsory loan? **Briefly**: what are your conclusions (only the final ones).[703]

With communist greetings,
Lenin

Written on September 17, 1922
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

758
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Comrade Zinoviev:

About the rapporteur I agree *conditionally*: 1) Trotsky must also be there as a substitute (*and for his own* report as well); 2) I should be allowed to *back out*, but only if my health or my work *prevents* me.[704]

Concerning Urquhart, I withdraw my hesitations. There are already some American proposals. Baku is much better and more important. There is a *decision* by a C.C. com-

mission (Smilga + Andreyev + Krasin) which has been *directly* violated by Krasin. There are all the other minuses (99 years; the immensity of the dimensions, etc.).[705]

P.S. Let the Politbureau members read this.

Yours,

18/IX. *Lenin*

Written on September 18, 1922
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54
Printed from the original

759
TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV

Comrade Smolyaninov:

Please get together 1) the *decisions*, as they are published in the newspapers (*C.P.C.* and *C.L.D.*), and newspaper cuttings,

2) part of the especially important *minutes*.

3) *all* the old C.C. minutes (the Politbureau and the plenum).

Then **keep** a close **watch** on the business of the American oil concessions[706] and inform me by notes and by phone through my sister.*

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on September 19, 1922
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the original

760
TO V. A. SMOLYANINOV

Comrade Smolyaninov:

I am coming on 1 or 2.X. Will be in the chair on Tuesday, 3.X.[707] Meeting 5-9 hours. With a 1/4-hour break.

Warn smokers. *No smoking. Strictly*. Tea and smoking during the break (in the adjoining room).

* Maria Ulyanova.—*Ed.*

Is Tsyurupa here? When he returns, arrange a *meeting here* of all three deputies.

If he does not arrive, have a 2-3 hour meeting *on Monday*: either from 11 to 2, or from 5 to 7.

You should arrange all this *properly*.

On Tuesday *morning* have the *material* prepared for me on the *whole* of the agenda.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Find out about a congress on the questions of *normalisation*. When? Try to attend. I am *extremely* interested. Have a man from the State Planning Commission attend who takes a *very great* interest.[708]

Written on September 23, 1922

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

761
TO MARIA GLYASSER

1

Comrade Glyasser:

I am writing to Smolyaninov.

Let him show it to you and to *all* the secretaries.

I shall come on 2/X (or 1.X). Please have everything ready by Tuesday.*

I have received the C.C. minutes. They are *almost* in order (some enclosures are missing). But this is quite enough for the time being. It will be well to have extracts from the C.P C. and C.L.D. minutes (*newspaper cuttings*) arranged *conveniently* for looking through.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

Written on September 23, 1922

First published in 1958 in the magazine *Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 4

Printed from the original

* October 3.—*Ed.*

2

Comrade Clyasser:

I have not yet received the *exracts* from the C.L.D. and *C.P.C.* minutes? I have written to Smolyaninov.* Please arrange this with him. and send them on right away.

Second: find out from Svidersky what Tsyurupa has written. If he does not know, find out from *Stalin*. I must know *exactly*; let them give me an extract from Tsyurupa's *letter*, saying why he is not coming back, *for how long* he has put it off.[709]

Regards,
Lenin

Written in September, later than the 23rd, 1922

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

762

TO G. L. PYATAKOV

25/IX.

Comrade Pyatakov:

Here is a rough record of our conversation of yesterday.

1) Comrade Pyatakov is to organise (and tighten up in a military fashion) the State Planning Commission apparatus itself (or tbe apparatus of the State Planning Commission itself); mainly through an executive business manager. He himself should give this matter some 30 minutes a day as a maximum.

2) Comrade Pyatakov's main task is: a) verification of the state-wide plan, above all the economic plan, chiefly from the standpoint of the apparatus as a whole; b) reduction of the apparatus, including our trusts; c) verification of the proportion between the various sections of the state apparatus; d) work to reduce the cost of the state apparatus on the lines of an American trust: eliminate all unproductive expenditures.

3) Comrade Pyatakov is to be released from the State

* See Document 759 of this volume.—*Ed.*

Planning Commission's current work to a maximum (roughly, an hour a day).

Think this over, show Krzhizhanovsky and reply to me.[710]

Yours,
Lenin

Written on September 25, 1922
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54
Printed from a typewritten copy

763
TO N. V. KRYLENKO

25/IX.

Kursky's Deputy (if Kursky is absent)

Comrade Krylenko:

What are you doing for the publication of a code of laws of the Soviet power? Is the codification department asleep or is it preparing something for the fifth anniversary?

Will you wake it up and write me a couple of words.[711]

Yours,
Lenin

Written on September 25, 1922
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from the original

764
TO A. I. RYKOV

25/IX.

Comrade Rykov:

I think it is absolutely necessary to carry out a one-day census of all officials and employees of the city of Moscow. We had one, but too long ago.

To do this at the minimum expense (only on paper, and even this can be obtained partly from the general stock of the Central Statistical Board), put an obligation on all those who are on the payroll of the Soviet government and the *trusts* to submit information on personal

cards *themselves* (in accordance with a *short* programme which the Central Statistical Board must work out *within a week*, *together with the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection*, *the State Planning Commission*, etc.). *No one is to be paid any salary until this is properly done.*

Then we shall get this quickly (fines for delays and unsatisfactory performance).

Our apparatus is such an abomination that it has to be radically repaired. This cannot be done without a census. And the Central Statistical Board deserves being taken to task for its academism: there they are sitting and writing their "tomes", giving not a thought to the vital problems.

Reply or pass the reply on to Comrade Smolyaninov.

Yours,
Lenin

Mobilisation should be applied, if necessary, but under a special law. All the employees of the Central Statistical Board should be mobilised and a certain percentage of the others as well.[712]

Written on September 25, 1922

First published in 1945
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

765
TELEGRAM TO V. Y. CHUBAR

Bakhrnut, *Chubar*

Please inform me urgeutly about the bank-note requirements in Donbas. How much was promised and how much was actually received. Give data for the latest period.[713]

Lenin
Chairman, C.P.C.

The Kremlin, Moscow,
28/IX-22

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from
a typewritten copy

766
TO L. B. KRASIN

Comrade Krasin:

You have working for you a man called *Yermakov* (head of the transport-materials department?) with the rights of member of the Collegium. I saw him two or three times during the Civil War years, carrying out the most difficult, responsible and dangerous assignments. He is no ordinary man. It turns out that he is *most gravely* ill (bleeding from the throat). He has tried to receive treatment, but has *never* completed the full course, because the local "boys" have always diverted him to local work. He has a big family; his salary is 200 million—next to nothing.

This won't do. It is our duty to provide treatment for such men and see that it is completed. He should be sent to Germany for a few months, and his family should be helped. (Write me a couple of words confidentially.)[714]

Yours,
Lenin

Written on October 4, 1922
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from the original

767
TO L. B. KAMENEV

1

Kamenev

Comrade Kamenev:

I have just seen Mikhailov. I am having second thoughts *again*. I am *against* the Urquhart concession. Let's get together at my place at 9.30 today (I shall be at the dentist at 8.30).[715]

Lenin

Written on October 4, 1922

2

Comrade Kamenev:

Today I have a swollen cheek and am running a temperature. I plan not to leave either for the C.C. this morning or for the *C.L.D.* tonight.

Let's keep in touch by paper.

Then, could I see Comrade *Chubar*?

Ask him whether he can come to see me this morning, now, before 2 o'clock?[716]

Yours,
Lenin

Written on October 6, 1922

3

Comrade Kamenev:

You haven't forgotten to take from Krasin the formulations of the *second* argument against the Urquhart concession (our dissatisfaction with the trade agreement, its defects)? You must take it.

Lenin

P.S. What's new at the plenum?[717]

Written on October 6, 1922
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54
Printed from the original

768

LETTER TO G. L. PYATAKOV ON LESLIE URQUHART'S CONCESSION

Comrade Pyatakov:

Yesterday you spoke out, like myself, against the Urquhart concession. That is why I think you are able and will agree to check once again the matter of this concession (especially since our decision of yesterday in essence puts off the question once again).

It is my opinion that the check-up should deal *mainly* with the question of monopoly; that is the central point of the matter. Then there is the question of the financial benefits from the concession.

1) A map of the concession should be obtained at the Mining Council—I. K. Mikhailov (chairman of the commission which went to the place) says that he gave them the map.

2) There is need to compile a table: a list of the main products; percentage of their production at our other plants (copper, zinc, and other products); where else they are produced, *whether very far* from the centre or nearer, etc.

3) Conclusion: in what branch, for what product Urquhart is to get a monopoly, its significance.

4) The chief of all the questions—Ekibastuz and its importance for the Urals.

I was very surprised at Bogdanov's slip: "Kuzbas is nearer" (it is much farther), while Comrade Krzhizhanovsky said that I was adhering to Mendeleyev's obsolete and rejected views. What is there to argue about when Ekibastuz has a branch-line running to the Irtysh, and provides much shorter and cheaper water transport to the Urals? What is the essence here?

If Kuzbas is much more expensive and distant (no water transport), we *have no right* to let Urquhart have the *whole* of Ekibastuz; he is welcome to take one-half.

Please show this letter only to Krzhizhanovsky; do not assign this check-up to anyone else; do it yourself (of course, any official will let you have all the statistical figures about the volume and place of extraction of zinc, copper, etc., without knowing what they are for); write me whether you undertake to do this, and how soon you expect to finish it.

With communist greetings,

Lenin

6.X.1922.

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

769

TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE NEWSPAPER *PUT MOLODYOZHI*[718]

6/X.1922.

Dear Friends:

I thank you whole-heartedly for your message of greetings. For my part, I send you my best regards and wishes.

Yours,
V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

First published in 1924 in the magazine *Smena* No. 2

Printed from the original

770

TO B. G. ZAKS

Comrade *Zaks*

I want you to make an absolutely exact check-up and let me have by 10.X a statement of our gold stock, signed by you and by a responsible worker from the People's Commissariat for Finance whose duty it is, in virtue of his official status, to report on the gold stock.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

Stock of all types and all origins from the People's Commissariat for Finance, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade, etc.*

Lenin

Written in October, before the 10th, 1922

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from a typewritten text with Lenin's additions and signature

* This sentence is in Lenin's hand.—*Ed.*

771

TO B. G. ZAKS

Comrade *Zaks*

I want you, together with ths People's Commissariat for Finance, urgently to work out a draft secret decree on the accounting of our *overall* monetary fund as of the first of each month.

Introduce this draft at the C.L.D. or pass it on for signature by Deputy Chairman of C.L.D. Comrade *Kamenev*.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

Written on October 16, 1922
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

772

*TO THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR FOREIGN TRADE

I propose that you let me have, through the C.P.C. business manager Comrade Gorbunov, a short monthly table of the P.C.F.T. turnover and earnings. This item of our revenue budget is most important.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on October 16, 1922
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

773

TO G. K. ORJONIKIDZE

16/X.1922

Comrade Sergo:

Both Stalin and Sokolnikov have turned out to be against appropriations for an electric-power station near Tiflis.

Compromise: Tumanov's trip.

Pay *particular* attention to this (it also involves the question of *tea*, etc.).

Collect all the material (for the business manager).

Send me both the material and a **short** summary (for me personally). This will be a hard fight.[719]

Yours,
Lenin

First published in part in 1925 in the book, M. D. Orakhrlashvili, *Lenin i ZSFSR* (Lenin and the Transcaucasian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic), Tiflis

Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

774

TO L. B. KAMENEV AND N. P. GORBUNOV

17.X.1922

Comrades Kamenev and Gorbunov

I support Comrade Shotman's application for the construction of a paper mill in Karelia and the working of mica. If there are no special obstacles, please speed up the matter.[720]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, C.P.C.

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

775

LETTER TO THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. ON AN AGREEMENT WITH A CONSORTIUM OF GERMAN FIRMS[721]

Comrade STALIN for the POLITBUREAU
Copy to Comrade KAMENEV

I have given a careful reading to the agreement with Otto Wolff. I find that Comrade Kamenev's objections are

based entirely on a misunderstanding, and I believe the question should be brought up for decision by the Politbureau not later than tomorrow, because the difference between Kamenev and myself calls for an authoritative and final decision.

Kamenev writes in his note that "we are under an obligation to Wolff to buy his goods". This is a complete misunderstanding. When reading the agreement, I saw in several clauses that we have the right to check the list of goods given us by Wolff. We do not undertake the slightest obligation to buy Wolff's goods. If Wolff fails to draw up a list of goods which we agree to buy, then the agreement extends only to that part of Wolff's goods which we have agreed to buy. I clarified this matter in detail today both with Lezhava and Frumkin, and both have confirmed that not the slightest obligation in any sense falls on us to buy Wolff's goods.

A similar misunderstanding on Comrade Kamenev's part explains his allegation that Lezhava has "enhanced" his doubt. Actually there is quite a different explanation to Stomonyakov's proposal, which is formulated on page 2 of Protocol No. 62, and which was unanimously accepted by all our economic executives. The proposal is that, in the interests of our reviving industry, Wolff should develop to the utmost the delivery to us of machine-tools and other implements necessary, for example, for the electric trust. Wolff may accept this because such an order will also give him earnings, and it happens that the German metal industry is in need of orders in general. We are absolutely in need of machine-tools and machinery for the electric trust, let us say, because this industry of ours is beginning to revive, and it is of extreme importance for us to develop this industry here, by finally reinforcing it with German means of production.

Consequently, the amendment tabled by Lezhava flows from the correctly understood economic interests of Russia, which now needs protectionism, especially for her whole light industry, because then it will be easier for us to rehabilitate this industry, thereby ensuring the interests of our proletariat. Lezhava's amendment has nothing in common with free trade of any sort or even with the open-

ing of frontiers, assuming the retention of customs tariffs. At the end of his note, Comrade Kamenev writes:

"The result: for a deferment of our payments to Wolff for a year, for unknown goods, we are now giving him a monopoly right to purchase and export raw materials. That is cheap."

This is total misunderstanding. It is impossible to imagine a more advantageous agreement than the one we are concluding with Wolff. We pay him 10 per cent a year, whereas even Britain now pays 7 per cent, and the German Government pays 12 per cent. That's the first thing. The second is that we are not buying from him any unknown goods, but only those we have checked by list and permitted for import. The third fact is that we are giving him a monopoly right to buy and export for a sharing of the profits which can have nothing to do with any kind of customs tariffs. Namely: first, we receive a 10 per cent dividend, second, we receive a 10 per cent profit, like Wolff, and third, if the profit is in excess of 40 per cent, we receive 75 per cent of the rest, whereas the consortium receives only 25 per cent.

I think the agreement with Wolff is a typical agreement with German capitalist enterprises.

Such an agreement is immense]y advantageous to us if only because we receive a half share of the profits which might go up to hundreds of per cent. In the process, the interests of our reviving industry and consequently of our industrial enterprises are fully protected. There is not a trace of the devastating consequences which would flow for us even from a conditional, even from a temporary opening of the frontiers. That is why I absolutely insist on approval of the agreement with Wolff, and in view of the extreme urgency of the matter I request that this question should be raised in the Politbureau tomorrow, and enclose herewith the agreement with Wolff and Comrade Kamenev's note.[722]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on October 18, 1922

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 45

Printed from a typewritten copy with Lenin's corrections and signature

776

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PERM GUBERNIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

October 20, 1922.

The American tractor team, led by Comrade Harold Ware, which is working in Okhansk Uyezd, on the territory of Perm Gubernia, has achieved considerable results, although it has been working only a short time. Altogether, up to 1,500 dessiatines has been ploughed up, of which almost 1,000 dessiatines has been sown to winter grain crops.

But for the usual drawbacks in our practice, the said group would have undoubtedly succeeded in achieving even greater results.

Your report, however, mentions the shortage of gasoline and lubricating oil, and the shortage of building workers, but says nothing about what the Gubernia Executive Committee has done to straighten things out.

It is absolutely intolerable that such a useful undertaking does not meet with every possible support, especially on the part of local organisations, which are in a better position to analyse any obstacles and help to remove them.

Please give the maximum support to this group, and, in particular, help implement their proposals for the efficient use of tractors, supply of gasoline, establishment of a repair shop, housing construction, etc.

The assistance being extended to us by the American agricultural groups is most desirable and timely. Our task in all this is mainly to help them carry out their ideas with the least possible delay.

Please inform me of the results of your measures through Comrade Smolyaninov, and also of any specially important current needs which you are unable to meet yourself.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from a typewritten
text with Lenin's corrections
and signature

777

TELEGRAM TO K. M. TSINTSADZE AND S. I. KAVTARADZE[723]

21/IX-22
Code

Tsintsadze and Kavtaradze, C.P.G. C.C., Tiflis
Copy to Orjonikidze, C.C. member and
Orakhelashvili, Secretary of the Transcaucasian Territorial Committee

I am surprised at the indecent tone of the direct wire message signed by *Tsintsadze* and others, which was handed to me for some reason by Bukharin instead of one of the *C.C.* secretaries. I was sure that all the differences had been ironed out by the *C.C.* Plenum resolutions with my indirect participation and with the direct participation of *Mdivani*.[724] That is why I resolutely condemn the abuse against *Orjonikidze* and insist that your conflict should be referred in a decent and loyal tone for settlement by the R.C.P. C.C. Secretariat, which has been handed your direct wire message.

Lenin

First published in 1927
in the book, M. Kakhiani, *Partiya i trotskistsko-uklonistskaya oppozitsiya v Gruzii*
(The Party and the Trotskyite-Deviationists Opposition in Georgia), Tiflis

Printed from
a typewritten copy

778

TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

24/X.1922

A number of newspaper articles have noted the absolutely extraordinary success scored by some American agricultural communes and teams who had brought their tractors along with them. It has been established in a special check-up that excellent work has been done by the

tractor team led by Harold Ware in the Toikino State Farm, Perm Gubernia. Besides, the Industrial Immigration Department of the Supreme Economic Council is in possession of similar information concerning the work of agricultural communes in Kirsanov Uyezd, Tambov Gubernia, and in the village of Migayevo, Tiraspol Uyezd, Odessa Gubernia.

The American Society for Technical Aid to Russia is now organising nearly 200 artels with 800-1,000 tractors for dispatch to Russia. If this goes through, we shall have at least one model farm with American machinery in each uyezd, which I believe to be of great importance.

With the object of encouraging this undertaking, I have written letters of thanks to the American Society of Friends of Soviet Russia and the American Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, telling them that no type of aid is as important to us or as timely as that which they are extending to our agriculture.* In these letters I told them that I was sending a recommendation to the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee that they should declare the Perm and other leading farms model ones and give them special and extraordinary assistance, both in respect of building operations, and in the supply of gasoline, metal, and other material necessary for the extension of operations and the starting of repair shops.

Please consider this question and grant my request.[725]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from a typewritten
copy signed by Lenin

779

TO L. S. SOSNOVSKY

Comrade *Sosnovsky*

I am sending you a copy of Comrade Osinsky's letter from Berlin dated 14/X, in which he writes about the

* See present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 380, 381.—*Ed.*

Shatilov Trust.[726] Please make a study of the work in selecting improved varieties of oats and insert an item in *Pravda* about the importance of this work, in general, and the work of the Shatilov Trust and the Russian selectionist Lisitsyn, in particular. You will probably be able to obtain all the necessary information from Comrade Teodorovich. Through him, too, you will be able to establish direct contact with the Shatilov people and Lisitsyn. As a preliminary, I recommend that you should acquaint yourself with the book published here in a translation by Timiryazev entitled *The New Earth*.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

P.S. Earlier I personally heard Osinsky give a *very* good opinion about the new (or old?) selectionist at the Shatilov Trust. *Check* this if convenient!

Yours,
*Lenin**

Written on October 25, 1922
First published in 1924 in the magazine *Khochu Vsyo Znat* No. 8
Printed from a typewritten text with Lenin's additions and signature

780

TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY AND G. L. PYATAKOV

26.X.1922

Comrade Krzhizhanovsky
and Comrade Pyatakov

I am sending you the enclosed.[727] I have no copy.
This requires an opinion *fairly soon* (2 or 3 days, I think).
That is the first thing.
The whole matter is to be solved officially.
That is the second.
Please hurry.

* The P.S. is in Lenin's hand.—*Ed.*

Ivan Ivanovich Radchenko is an old Bolshevik: he must be *helped*.

Yours,
Lenin

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

781
TO V. N. MAXIMOVSKY

27.X.1922

Comrade Maximovsky:

You may have heard about yesterday's C.C. decision.[728] In this connection it is perhaps also necessary to review some of the other sections of the estimates of the People's Commissariat for Education in order to co-ordinate the whole thing, fill in the gaps, etc.

Since you are at the head of the administrative and financial work of the People's Commissariat, I ask you to start at once a review of the estimates of the P.C.E., trying to reduce the unnecessary elements in general (part of the C.C.I.L.C.S.,* some of the higher schools, many of the top sections, etc.), to increase appropriations for the schools and the liquidation of illiteracy. Phone me about this or write a couple of words.

Yours,
Lenin

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

782
TO L. B. KAMENEV

Comrade Kamenev:

Krzhizhanovsky has told me that Pyatakov had made a slip and had allowed an *increase* in the estimates

* Central Commission for Improving the Living Conditions of Scientists under the C.P.C.—*Ed.*

(People's Commissariat *for Defence*) instead of a reduction. We should perhaps *put it off* for a day or two to try to *correct* Pyatakov?[729]

Yours,
Lenin

Written between October 27 and 30, 1922

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

783
TO V. M. MOLOTOV

Comrade Molotov:

Please read this, give it your *attention* and return to me. Write briefly to tell me whether the gold has been sent to Armenia (1.5 million rubles, the decision was, I believe)?

What about the other measures to help the Armenians? This should be *speeded up and verified*.[730]

Awaiting your reply.

Lenin

Written on October 28, 1922

First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*

Printed from the original

784
TO G. L. PYATAKOV AND M. I. FRUMKIN

Comrades *Pyatakov* and *Frumkin*
Copies to Comrades Stalin and Kamenev

The telegram received about Comrade Krasin's meeting with Urquhart's agent makes us hasten with the insertion of the discussion articles on this question. That is why request that Pyatakov's article should be inserted in *Pravda* tomorrow, with the reservation that it is being carried by way of discussion. The day after, insert Frumkin's article, or anyone else's according to his choice.

I think it would be better for us to have both articles signed, but this requires a re-decision on what was decided by the Politbureau, that is why the question of signing the article should be left open until tonight.[731]

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on October 30, 1922

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from
a typewritten copy

785

TO L. B. KAMENEV

30.X.1922

Comrade Kamenev:

Krzhizhanovsky informed me on Friday night* that Comrade Pyatakov erroneously passed the military estimates at a figure several tens of trillions of rubles higher than agreed.

Yesterday I learned that you had failed to correct this mistake in the C.P.C. You propose, as you say, to leave it for the time being. Having thought about this I find that this is an extremely dangerous and unreliable way, which is incorrect in principle, and is inconvenient in every respect.

I propose that we meet at my place today, on Monday, either from 1 to 2, or from 6 to 7, together with Stalin (Zinoviev and Molotov) and agree on convening the Politbureau, I think, this very day.

The C.P.C. decision should be reversed at once, and Pyatakov reprimanded. Otherwise, we shall find ourselves entangled for a long time; I am very sorry for my proposal (which is a late one), but I cannot do otherwise.

I am sending a copy to Comrade Stalin.**

With communist greetings,

Lenin

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

* October 27.—*Ed.*
** See next document.—*Ed.*

786

TO J. V. STALIN FOR MEMBERS OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. POLITBUREAU[732]

Krzhizhanovsky has told me that this was a mistake on Pyatakov's part (the State Planning Commission Deputy Chairman). Such mistakes should not be allowed. I think Pyatakov should be politely requested not to make any such mistakes in the future.

30.X.1922. *Lenin*

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the original

787

LETTER TO G. V. CHICHERIN AND MEMBERS OF THE POLITBUREAU OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C. ON A NOTE TO THE ENTENTE POWERS CONCERNING THE LAUSANNE CONFERENCE[733]

31/X.1922

To Comrade Chicherin and all members of the Politbureau

I have no time now to weigh with sufficient consideration all the expressions in the draft Note to the Entente, which I believe to be very important. I think that every word should be checked two or three times to see that it does not mean that we shall refuse to attend the conference.

In that sense, the Note should be especially "diplomatic". It seemed to me that at the end of the Note, which I gave a very cursory glance, there are expressions which are not sufficiently diplomatic in this sense.

Lenin

First published in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 45

Printed from a typewritten copy

788
TO K. B. RADEK

It would be well to have a book published as a textbook: a review of *all* the countries of the world; who owes whom how much; the advantageous and essential sources of *revenue* in each country.

In sum, a vivid and laconic picture of shameless domination by *four* imperialist powers (we shall translate it into all the languages; turn it into a textbook, making additions every two years).

The map should be clear.

The map should show the chief values;

—the chief *debts*;

all this presented visually, in diagrams, etc.

Written in 1922, not later than October

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from the original

789
*TO THE FINANCIAL COMMITTEE

Copy to Comrade Teodorovich

Upon examining the estimates of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture, the inter-departmental conference has refused to include the Gossemkultura estimates in the P.C.A. budget, proposing that it request a loan from the State Bank, which, instead of the 3.5 trillion rubles required for the first quarter, is prepared to give only one trillion.

Attaching great state importance to the work of the Shatilov Trust, and being sure that improvement in plant varieties on the American model is a most important basis for increasing the productivity of our agriculture, I request a review of the decision taken by the inter-departmental conference, so as to satisfy the needs of Gossemkultura as far as possible.

I enclose as material a copy of Comrade Teodorovich's statement and a copy of Comrade Osinsky's letter, with which I am in full agreement.[734]

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, C.P.C.

Written on November 4, 1922
First published in part in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

790
TO N. P. BRYUKHANOV

Comrade *Bryukhanov*
People's Commissariat for Food

I have been informed that, because of the rainy summer, great quantities of grain are being delivered to the grain-collecting stations in a moist state. It is feared that it will easily heat up and lose its economic value.

Please let me know whether this is true, and whether the necessary measures have been taken to safeguard the collected grain, and also who is personally in charge of this on the all-Russia scale.

Gleb Maximilianovich informs me that a great threat to the tax in kind lies in the delayed delivery of considerable quantities of food, reaching 10,000 carloads at the points of destination—Moscow, Petrograd, Samara, Rybinsk, Yaroslavl, Kostroma and others, which is due to a shortage of storage space at the points of destination and general delays in discharging.

It looks as though no favourable results have yet been achieved by re-routing freight from one point to another, because even after re-routing to other points, the freight cars are kept under discharge for weeks, waiting for sacking and storage space.

An especially dangerous moment now seems to be coming up because the warehouses are full up.

Please let me know the present state of the unloading

of grain, and the measures being taken by the People's Commissariat for Food to accelerate it.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on November 6, 1922
First published in 1945 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*
Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

791

TO G. M. KRZHIZHANOVSKY

Comrade *Krzhizhanovsky*, *State Planning Commission*
Copy to Comrade *Sokolnikov*, *People's Commissariat for Finance*

I am sending you copies of two letters from Comrade Chubar, in which he argues that the decision of the Council of Labour and Defence, of October 13, about Donbas has been overthrown by life itself.[735]

The question should be urgently reviewed in full, with the participation of the People's Commissariat for Finance and the All-Russia Central T.U.C. It is necessary, at all costs, to find a solution for all questions, ensuring the normal operation of Donbas, and making it independent of the continued decline in the ruble's rate.

I consider this to be of exceptional urgency and request the State Planning Commission specially to concentrate on this work.[736]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on November 6, 1922
First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*
Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

792

*TO THE G.P.U.

Copy to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs
" to Comrade Eiduk

I have information about heavy illegal immigration at the present time (of Russians and Americans) through

various border points, especially through the Black Sea ports.

The S.E.C. department of industrial immigration reports that up to 200-300 persons are coming in every month. (Among those coming in are profiteers, counter-revolutionaries and people of that sort.)

Please take the most resolute measures to stop such immigration.

Inform Comrade Gorbunov about the measures you take.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on November 6, 1922
First published in 1959 in the book, *V. I. Lenin*, *O sotsialisticheskoi zakonnosti* (*1917-1922*), Moscow
Printed from a typewritten copy

793
TO G. V. CHICHERIN[737]

Comrade Chicherin:

Perhaps we should kick at Mussolini and have *everyone* (Vorovsky and the whole delegation) *leave Italy*, starting to *attack* her over her fascists?

Let us stage an international demonstration.

This provides a very convenient pretext: you have beaten our men, you are barbarians, diehards *worse than those in Russia in 1905*, etc., etc.

I think we should do this.

Let us give the Italian *people* some serious help.[738]

Yours,
Lenin

Written in November, not before the 8th, 1922
First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54
Printed from the original

794

TO L. D. TROTSKY

Comrade *Trotsky*, copies to *Zinoviev*, *Bukharin*, *Radek*, *Stalin* and *Kamenev*

1. About Bordiga, I very strongly advise the adoption of your proposal that we send a letter from our C.C. to the Italian delegates and insistently recommend that they adopt the tactics you have outlined, otherwise the actions of the latter will be highly harmful for the Italian Communists in everything they subsequently do.[739]

2. I have read your theses concerning NEP and on the whole find them very good, and some formulations extremely felicitous, but a small part of the points seemed to me to be dubious. I would advise their publication in the newspapers for the time being, and then re-issue in a pamphlet without fail. With some comments, they will be especially appropriate for informing the foreign public about our New Economic Policy.

Lenin

Dictated by phone
at 11.00 a.m. on November 25, 1922

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from
a typewritten copy

795

TO L. D. TROTSKY, G. Y. ZINOVIEV, N. I. BUKHARIN AND K. B. RADEK[740]

Comrades *Trotsky*, *Zinoviev*,
Bukharin and *Radek*

I have read the document which you have sent me, namely, the draft in German entitled "Outline of Agrarian Action Programme", compiled mainly by Varga and approved by the commission, and I very much hesitate to support it. I feel that the draft gives virtually nothing new in comparison with the resolution of the Second Congress of the Comintern on the agrarian question. I very much fear that some formulations, diverging, perhaps even accidentally, from the Second Congress resolution, may cause

misunderstanding and breed artificial talk about a discrepancy between this draft and the Second Congress resolution. There also seems to be a distinct element which weakens what was said there about supporting the peasant movement, and which is capable of producing some dissent between the needy peasantry and the rural proletariat.

I am unable to go into this question in greater detail and make a sentence-by-sentence collation between Varga's draft resolution which you have sent in and the Second Congress resolution. I consider it necessary to warn that we should not let ourselves accumulate numerous resolutions on one and the same question which are capable of producing misunderstanding and confusion.

As a minimum, I would propose:

1) To collate the new resolution with the Second Congress resolution sentence by sentence.

2) To give the new resolution the character of something like a partial commentary.

I personally feel that the new resolution is of very doubtful value.[741]

Lenin

Dictated by phone
at 12.00 a.m. on November 25, 1922

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from
a typewritten copy

796

*TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE ALL-RUSSIA C.E.C.

Copy to Comrade *Bogdanov*
" to Comrade *Fomin*

On November 14, the Council of People's Commissars examined the question of handing over the sleeper-impregnation factories from the S.E.C. to the People's Commissariat for Railways, and it was decided to do so.

Because I have some doubts about this decision being correct, I am asking the Presidium of the All-Russia C.E.C. to make a detailed re-examination of this matter in substance, giving each side at least 20 minutes to present their case.

A representative of the S.E.C. will report for one side, and a representative of the People's Commissariat for Railways, for the other.

All the material in this case will be presented to you by the C.P.C. business manager, Comrade *Gorbunov*, to whom I have given an assignment to that effect.[742]

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on November 29, 1922

First published in 1933 in the book, V. V. Fomin, *Lenin i transport*, Moscow

Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

797
ON N. M. KNIPOVICH'S NOTE[743]

His request for a ship for the Azov Sea should be supported (I enclose his note).

3/XII-22 *Lenin*

I know *N. M. Knipovich* personally as an absolutely honest man. At one time, he was politically a Plekhanovite, before that and later, a non-factional Social-Democrat. His opinion can and *must* be regarded as being fully reliable. *Knipovich* has a thorough and scientific knowledge of the fishing industry: he has been studying it for 37 years.

Lenin

Written on December 3, 1922

First published in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from a typewritten copy

798
TO I. I. KHODOROVSKY

Comrade Khodorovsky:

Comrade Molotov informs me that you have had experience in Novo-Nikolayevsk in arranging help from city cells to rural cells and vice versa. Will you collect material about this—written or printed—or, if you have no time to do this before the Congress of Soviets, will you write a

couple of words, or perhaps we shall find time to talk it over.[744]

Lenin

4/XII-22

Dictated by phone

First published on April 22, 1930 in *Izvestia* No. 111

Printed from a typewrttten copy

799
TO A. I. SVIDERSKY

Comrade Svidersky, People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection

1. I have information that the Administration for the Island Economy of the Arctic Ocean is selling alcohol to the Novaya Zemlya settlers and is making drunkards out of the natives.

It is alleged that the Administration sets such plunderous prices that the settlers try to sell the products of their industry to visiting Norwegian trappers, who offer less plunderous prices for their goods.

2. I have been informed that as a result of the sharp decline in the fishing industry during the war the sea-roach, vvhich had almost lost its commercial importance through rapacious fishing, has once again appeared in commercial quantities in the Sea of Azov. Much young fish of the sturgeon species, including the almost extinct white sturgeon, has also appeared. But on the one hand, there has been started at once unchecked and unrestricted plunderous catching of young sturgeon, which could quickly cancel out the favourable effect of the war. On the other hand, something inconceivable has allegedly been happening, and perhaps is still happening, in the lower reaches of the Don. As an example I have been told that even the water guards of the Don Food Committee have engaged in plunderous fishing in the restricted zone, with a sort of charge allegedly being levied for permission to catch fish in the restricted area—between 400 and 500 million rubles for one net casting.

The chief of the water guard service of the Don Food Committee has been removed from his post for plunderous

fishing in the lower reaches of the Don. This gentleman has *merely* been removed from his post. It is necessary to find out where he is and to make a *more serious* check up on whether he has been sufficiently punished.

Please appoint an inquiry into both cases and inform me through Comrade *Gorbunov* of the results in a short note.

These people should not just be given a scare, but should also be brought to book and taken to task for these scandalous practices.

V. Ulyanov (*Lenin*)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

Written on December 5, 1922

First published in part in 1934 in the magazine *Rybnoye Khozyaistvo SSSR* No. 1

Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from a typewritten text signed by Lenin

800

TO CHARLES PROTEUS STEINMETZ

To the highly esteemed Charles Proteus Steinmetz, one of the few exceptions to the united front of representatives of science and culture opposed to the proletariat.

I hope that a further deepening and widening of the breach in this front will not have to be awaited long. Let the example of the Russian workers and peasants holding their fate in their own hands serve as an encouragement to the American proletariat and farmers. In spite of the terrible consequence of the war destruction we are going ahead, though not possessing to the extent of one tenth the tremendous resources for the economic building of a new life that have been at the disposal of the American people, for many years.[745]

Vladimir Oolianoff
(*Lenin*)

Moscow. 7.XII.1922.

First published in English in July 1923 in the magazine *Soviet Russia Pictorial*

First published in Russian on April 21, 1961 in *Izvestia* No. 96

Printed from a photocopy of the English text in an unknown hand and signed by Lenin

801
TO G. Y. ZINOVIEV

Comrade Zinoviev:

I do *not in the slightest* suspect you of being biased about Rozhkov.

Not in the slightest!

But in substance I very much fear that he will lie all he can, *even if it is in the press*. He will lie and we shall be circumvented.

That is what I fear.

Their slogan is: lie, leave the Party, remain in Russia. That is what we must think and *talk about*.[746]

Yours,
Lenin

Written on December 7 or 8, 1922
First published in part in 1957 in the magazine *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 4
Published in full in 1965 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54
Printed from the original

802
TO J. V. STALIN

Comrade *Stalin*

Comrade *Stalin*:

I question the legality of yesterday's decision about Rozhkov, because:

first, this decision, contrary to custom and rules, had not been entered on the agenda before 12.00;

second, the documents were not communicated to C.C. members beforehand;

third, there was no ground for haste after a twofold discussion of the question, especially since I was present at the first part of the sitting, and the question came up just when I had to leave. That is why I insist on referring the matter to the plenum, especially because only a week remains before it meets.[747]

On the question of Lozovsky, I propose that the time which has been made available should go into a more thorough search for the necessary candidates.[748]

We, as a Party, have already devoted an unconscionable amount of energy to the Comintern, and, consequently, to the Profintern as well. If Lozovsky has proved to be independently not quite satisfactory, there is need to recruit fresh forces either from among the foreigners, or among workers who would in no case be used otherwise, i.e., either for organisational, or practical, or administrative work. That is why it is quite impossible to take Kalnin who, I have heard, has started rather important and, unless I am mistaken, rather successful work in Donbas. On no account either should there simply be an appointment of Tomsky, because he is swamped with work at the All-Russia Central T.U.C., which is rendered extremely difficult by the shortage of men. If necessary, I propose the appointment of Tomsky and Rudzutak to have them devote to this new duty not more than 30 minutes a day, with the compulsory engagement of two or more secretaries who know foreign languages and who are capable of keeping Tomsky and Rudzutak informed in every detail. I propose that an assignment to find such secretaries be given to the Orgbureau or the Secretariat, provided they are not removed from any post which our Party needs.

I draw attention to the fact that if men like Rothstein are not used, this is a clear indication of crying anarchy in the administrative arrangements of the Profintern and the Comintern, because, at any rate, such men have proved by their long work that they are quite suitable for literary activity, for example, in the old *Neue Zeit*[749]; there is no doubt that given the necessary secretarial assistance these men will be of exceptional benefit, and the required secretaries can and must be recruited not from among Russians but foreigners. It is high time that an end should be put to the drawing of forces from our Party for the benefit of the Comintern and the Profintern.

I propose that a relevant proposal should be sent to the C.C. Secretariat or the Orgbureau.[750]

Lenin

Dictated by phone
on December 8, 1922

First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from
a typewritten copy

FROM MARX TO MAO NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

803

LETTER TO CONSTANTINO LAZZARI AND ASSIGNMENT TO SECRETARY

The Kremlin, Moscow, December 11, 1922

Dear Comrade Lazzari,

I thank you very much for the kind greetings you have sent me through Comrade Maffi, and send you my best wishes.

Unfortunately, because of my illness,* I have not been able to follow your activities since the Third Congress of the Communist International. There is now the most delicate task to cope with. The congress has decided upon the merger and it should be promoted to the best of one's abilities.[751] I am sure that you will use all your authority and the enthusiasm of the old devoted revolutionary to achieve the great purpose which we set ourselves, that of establishing a solid and sincere union of all true revolutionaries.

I count on you especially in case Serrati may create obstacles, even though against his will: the distrust from the past is so gleat that he must not only be most loyal (this goes without saying), but must prove this in every way. What is more, he must especially find all possible methods (he is rather adroit and flexible in this) to avoid giving any pretext for mistrust on the part of the Communists. Unfortunately, my illness has prevented me from saying this personally to Serrati.**

Best regards, wishing you good health,[752]

Lenin

To **Fotieva** or the secretary on duty

Please retype, *correcting my* French, and return to me.

First published in 1959 in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Printed from a typewritten text with Lenin's additions and corrections
Translated from the French

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* The words "Unfortunately, because of my illness" are in Lenin's hand.—*Ed.*

** This paragraph is in Lenin's hand.—*Ed.*

804
TO L. D. TROTSKY

Comrade Trotsky:

I am sending you Krestinsky's letter. Write me as soon as possible whether you agree; at the plenum, I am going to fight for the monopoly.

What about you?

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. It would be best returned *soon*.[753]

Written on December 12, 1922 Printed from the original

805
TO L. D. TROTSKY

Comrade Trotsky
Copy to Frumkin and Stomonyakov

Comrade Trotsky:

I have received your comments on Krestinsky's letter and Avanesov's plans.[754] I think that you and I are in maximum agreement, and I believe that the State Planning Commission question, as presented in this case, rules out (or postpones! any discussion on whether the State Planning Commission needs to have any administrative rights.[755]

At any rate, it is my request that at the forthcoming plenum you should undertake the defence of our common standpoint on the unquestionable need to maintain and consolidate the foreign trade monopoly. Since the preceding plenum passed a decision in this respect which runs entirely counter to the foreign trade monopoly, and since there can be no concessions on this matter, I believe, as I say in my letter to Frumkin and Stomonyakov,* that in the event of our defeat on this question we must refer the question to a Party Congress. This will require a brief exposition of our differences before the Party group of the

* The letter has not been found.—*Ed.*

forthcoming Congress of Soviets.[756] If I have time, I shall write this, and I would be very glad if you did the same. Hesitation on this question is doing us unprecedented harm, and the negative arguments boil down entirely to accusations of shortcomings in the apparatus. But our apparatus is everywhere imperfect, and to abandon the monopoly because of an imperfect apparatus would be throwing out the baby with the bath water.

Lenin

13/XII-22

Dictated by phone

Printed from a typewritten copy

806
TO V. A. AVANESOV

Comrade Avanesov:

I am sending you my letter.* Return by 7.00.

Think out thoroughly what should be added or eliminated. *How should the struggle be arranged?*[757]

Yours,

Lenin

Written on December 14, 1922

First published in 1957 in the magazine *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* No. 4

Printed from the original

807
LETTER TO J. V. STALIN FOR MEMBERS OF THE R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

I am now through with putting my business in order, and am in a position to leave without worry.[758] I have also come to an arrangement with Trotsky to stand up for my views of the foreign trade monopoly. There is only one thing that is worrying me extremely—it is that I am unable to speak at the Congress of Soviets.[759] On Tuesday, I shall have the doctors in to see me and we shall discuss whether

* See present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 455-59.—*Ed.*

there is any chance at all of my doing so. I would regard my missing it as a great inconvenience, to put it no stronger. I have had the outline of my speech written several days ago.[760] I propose, therefore, without suspending preparations by some other speaker in my place, to keep open until Wednesday the possibility that I will perhaps personally make a speech, much shorter than the usual one, say, lasting 45 minutes. Such a speech would in no way prevent a substitute (whomsoever you would authorise for that purpose) from making a speech, but I think it would be useful both in the political and in the personal sense, because it would remove any cause for great agitation. Please have this in mind, and if the opening of the congress should be further delayed, inform me in good time through my secretary.[761]

Lenin

15.XII.1922

I am resolutely opposed to any delay on the question of the foreign trade monopoly. If the idea should arise, for whatever reason (including the proposition that my participation in the question is desirable), to postpone it until the next plenum, I should most resolutely object to this, because I am sure that Trotsky will be able to stand up for my views just as well as I myself. That is the first thing. The second is that your statement and Zinoviev's and, according to rumour, Kamenev's as well, confirm that some members of the C.C. have already altered their earlier opinion; third, and most important: any further hesitation on this highly important question is absolutely intolerable and will tend to frustrate any work.

Lenin

15.XII.22

Dictated by phone

First published in part in 1930 in the second and third editions of Lenin's *Collected Works*, Vol. XXVII

Published in full in 1964 in *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 45

Printed from secretarial notes (typewritten copy)

808
TO L. D. TROTSKY

Comrade Trotsky:

I consider that we have quite reached agreement. I ask you to declare our solidarity at the plenum. I hope that our decision will be passed, because some of those who had voted against it in October have now partially or altogether switched to our side.*

If for some reason our decision should not be passed, we shall apply to the group of the Congress of Soviets, and declare that we are referring the question to the Party congress.

In that case, inform me and I shall send in my statement.

Yours,
Lenin

P.S. If this question should be removed from the present plenum (which I do not expect, and against which you should, of course, protest as strongly as you can on our common behalf), I think that we should apply to the group of the Congress of Soviets anyway, and demand that the question be referred to the Party congress, because any further hesitation is absolutely intolerable.

You can keep all the material I have sent you until after the plenum.**

Written on December 15, 1922

Printed from the original and the text in Lydia Fotieva's hand

809
TO L. D. TROTSKY

Comrade *Trotsky*

Comrade *Trotsky*:

I am sending on to you Frumkin's letter which I have received today.[762] I also think that it is absolutely necessary to have done with this question once and for all. If

* The words "to our side" are in Lydia Fotieva's hand.—*Ed.*
** P.S. is written in Fotieva's hand—*Ed.*

there are any fears that I am being worried by this question and that it could even have an effect on my health, I think that this is absolutely wrong, because I am infinitely more worried by the delay which makes our policy on one of the most basic questions quite unstable. That is why I call your attention to the enclosed letter and ask you to support an immediate discussion of this question. I am sure that if we are threatened with the danger of failure, it would be much better to fail before the Party congress, and at once to apply to the group of the congress, than to fail after the congress. Perhaps, an acceptable compromise is that we pass a decision just now confirming the monopoly, and still bring up the question at the Party congress, making an arrangement about this right away. I do not believe that we could accept any other compromise either in our own interests or the interests of the cause.

Lenin

15.XII.22

Dictated by phone

Printed from a typewritten copy

810

TO DEPUTY CHAIRMEN OF THE C.P.C. AND C.L.D.[763]

*Letter to the Deputies**

1. Rykov should be given the State Planning Commission.**

2. I think that we should employ 6 shorthand writers recording every interview briefly, in 3 or 4 lines, naturally confining this only to the essence of what is agreed and to the main—two or three—figures.

I think this is necessary to have the work of the three deputies concerted, and second, to make it possible to

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* The typewritten copy says: "To Comrades Kamenev, Rykov and Tsyurupa."—*Ed.*

** Then follows a crossed-out text which is not in the typewritten copy: "2. I have not yet had time to give sufficient thought to the other points of the distribution, and I shall reply today, if I have time to reread and think them over."—*Ed.*

think again about the decisions taken on the run, and to compare the results of the measures taken after a few weeks.

Gorbunov should be assigned the organisation of this whole apparatus of stenographic note-taking, and strict supervision to see that it works quite well.

3. Please make a brief record—roughly on one page—of the decision you have finally taken with respect to the statistician Popov. I do not intend to question this decision just now, but believe that within a few weeks we shall need a precise record of the charges and the defence.*

N. Lenin

Dictated on December 16, 1922
First published in 1965
in *Collected Works*,
Fifth (Russian) Ed., Vol. 54

Printed from the text
in Nadezhda Krupskaya's hand

811
TO L. D. TROTSKY[764]

It looks as though it has been possible to take the position without a single shot, by a simple manoeuvre. I suggest that we should not stop and should continue the offensive, and for that purpose put through a motion to raise at the Party congress the question of consolidating our foreign trade, and the measures to improve its implementation. This to be announced in the group of the Congress of Soviets. I hope that you will not object to this, and will not refuse to give a report in the group.

N. Lenin

December 21, 1922

Printed from
a typewritten copy

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* The point at issue has not been established.—*Ed.*

1923

812
TO L. D. TROTSKY[765]

Top secret
Personal

Dear Comrade Trotsky:

It is my earnest request that you should undertake the defence of the Georgian case in the Party C.C. This case is now under "persecution" by Stalin and Dzerzhinsky, and I cannot rely on their impartiality. Quite to the contrary. I would feel at ease if you agreed to undertake its defence. If you should refuse to do so for any reason, return the whole case to me. I shall consider it a sign that you do not accept.[766]

With best comradely greetings,

*Lenin**

Dictated by phone
on March 5, 1923

Printed from
a typewritten copy

813
*TO J. V. STALIN

Top secret
Personal

Copy to Comrades Kamenev and Zinoviev

Dear Comrade Stalin:

You have been so rude as to summon my wife to the telephone and use bad language. Although she had told

* A separate sheet, appended to the present letter, contains this note by a secretary: "Comrade Trotsky: To the letter communicated to you by phone, Vladimir Ilyich asked to add for your information that Comrade Kamenev is going to Georgia on Wednesday, and wants to know whether you wish to send anything there yourself. March 5, 1923."—*Ed.*

you that she was prepared to forget this, the fact nevertheless became known through her to Zinoviev and Kamenev. I have no intention of forgetting so easily what has been done against me, and it goes without saying that what has been done against my wife I consider having been done against me as well. I ask you, therefore, to think it over whether you are prepared to withdraw what you have said and to make your apologies, or whether you prefer that relations between us should be broken off.[767]

Respectfully yours,
Lenin

March 5, 1923

Printed from secretarial notes
(typewritten copy)

814

TO P. G. MDIVANI, F. Y. MAKHARADZE AND OTHERS

Top secret

Comrades Mdivani, Makharadze and others
Copy to Comrades *Trotsky and Kamenev*

Dear Comrades:

I am following your case with all my heart. I am indignant over Orjonikidze's rudeness and the connivance of Stalin and Dzerzhinsky. I am preparing for you notes and a speech.[768]

Respectfully yours,
Lenin

March 6, 1923

Printed from secretarial notes
(typewritten copy)

NOTES

[1] In his articles sent to S. P. Sereda Prof. V. A. Michelson of the Petrovsko-Razumovskaya Agricultural Academy (now the Timiryazev Agricultural Academy in Moscow), basing himself on scientific data, wrote about the periodical succession of dry and rainy years. Predicting the advent of an early drought, he said it could be combated by higher labour productivity both in industry and agriculture. On Lenin's instructions, Michelson's article was published in *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 258 on November 17, 1920, under the title "Important Warning", and the following day the paper carried Sereda's article, "About the Article 'Important Warning'", which dealt with the concrete measures necessary to prevent a crop failure.

On November 25, 1920, Sereda wrote to Lenin: "Vladimir Ilyich, I have carried out your instructions concerning the publication of Prof. Michelson's article on the coming drought (*Izvestia* No. 258) and my own item about his article (*Izvestia* No. 259, which I enclose).

"I also sent them to *Pravda*, but they were not published because *Izvestia* had carried both earlier." A short note was sent to the Telegraph Agency of Russia (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 47

[2] Written on a resolution adopted by the Narrow Council of People's Commissars on November 4, 1920, which was typed on a C.P.C. letterhead and sent in for Lenin's signature. It dealt with an extra-budgetary credit of 5 million rubles for the C.P.C. Managing Department to buy vegetables for the C.P.C. hospital. p. 48

[3] In an effort to avoid further bloodshed, M. V. Frunze, commander of the troops on the Southern Front, radioed an offer to Wrangel on November 11, 1920, to cease resistance, promising an amnesty for those who laid down their arms. Wrangel did not reply to Frunze's proposal and concealed it from his troops. p. 48

[4] The Siberian Concessions Committee was set up by a C.P.C. decision of October 30, 1920, and on November 16 it submitted its

draft decree to the C.P.C. The latter appointed an ad hoc committee (V. I. Lenin, D. I. Kursky, A. M. Lezhava, V. P. Milyutin and S. P. Sereda) to rework and edit the draft decree within a week. On November 23, the C.P.C. adopted a decree on concessions and approved the committee's proposal to publish a pamphlet on concessions. At the end of 1920, it appeared under the title *O kontsessiyakh. Dekret Soveta Narodnykh Komissarov ot 23 noyabrya 1920 g. Tekst dekreta. Obyekty kontsessii. Karty*. (On Concessions. Decree of the Council of People's Commissars of November 23, 1920. Text of the Decree. Concessions' Objects. Maps.) p. 49

[5] Written in connection with a letter sent to Lenin on November 7, 1920, by Y. G. Parfyonov, extraordinary and plenipotentiary Uyezd Commissar for Food of the Tambov Gubernia Executive Committee, who said that engineer A. A. Baryshnikov's invention was not being tested fast enough and asked Lenin to issue instructions to have it applied in production as soon as possible.

On November 19, 1920, Lenin received a reply to his inquiry (see next document) which stated that the Inventions Committee of the Scientific and Technical Department of the Supreme Economic Council had examined Baryshnikov's application submitted to the Committee on September 15, and had on September 30 issued to him a claim certificate. The Committee said Baryshnikov's invention differed little from earlier ones, while the quality of the leather was to be ascertained by means of tests; the initial tests carried out by the Central Administration of the Leather Industry (Glavkozha) had been unfavourable, and Baryshnikov was working to improve his invention. The final conclusion would be drawn as a result of further tests. p. 50

[6] Lenin received a detailed official reply to all his questions from the Inventions Committee of the Scientific and Technical Department of the Supreme Economic Council on November 20, 1920. Appended were: 1) a record of the inventions examined by the Committee's sections, 2) the major inventions recognised as useful and partially applied, 3) a list of inventions deserving government attention, 4) preliminary opinion of expert F. Blistanov on the leather substitute invented by engineer A. A. Baryshnikov, 5) the Committee's report as of November 1, 1920, 6) information about V. A. Petrov, military engineer and technologist, chairman of the Technical Department.

At the same time, Lenin received an additional report from A. K. Kaufman, member of the Committee Collegium, who dealt with the shortcomings in the Committee's work and their causes. p. 51

[7] A reference to the remarks and additions made by Nadezhda Krupskaya to the draft letter of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee, "On the Proletcults" (Proletarian Culture Organisations), whose initial variant had been drawn up by G. Y. Zinoviev and

further elaborated on the basis of remarks by the members of the Central Committee and the People's Commissariat for Education. Krupskaya proposed the following fundamental addition to the letter: "The Proletcult emerged *before* the October Revolution. It was proclaimed an 'independent' workers' organisation, unconnected with the Ministry of Public Education under Kerensky. The October Revolution changed the prospect. The Proletcults continued to remain 'independent', but now they were 'independent' of the Soviet power." The following was also accepted in her wording: "Instead of helping proletarian youth to engage in serious study and making its communist approach to all the aspects of life and art more profound, artists and philosophers essentially remote from and hostile to communism, but proclaiming themselves to be truly proletarian, hampered the workers...." And further: "Far from wishing to constrict the initiative of the working-class intelligentsia in the sphere of creative art, the Central Committee wants to create for it a healthier and more normal atmosphere and to enable it to leave its mark on the whole of creative art" (*Voprosy Istorii KPSS*—Questions of the C.P.S.U. History—1958, No. 1, p. 36). Nadezhda Krupskaya also made various other minor corrections in the draft letter.

Lenin directed and took a personal part in working out the C.C. letter, an important Party document, based on the instructions which he set out in the draft resolution, "On Proletarian Culture" and in the "Draft Decision for the Plenum of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) on Proletcult" (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 316-17; Vol. 42, p. 226). On December 1, 1920, the letter was published in *Pravda*. p. 51

[8] A reference to the decision, "On fuel and food supplies to the factories being restarted in Ivanovo-Voznesensk Gubernia, included in the shock group of textile enterprises", which was adopted on Lenin's report by the Council of Labour and Defence on October 1, 1920. G. K. Korolyov's report erroneously gave the date as October 5. p. 51

[9] The letter was sent out by Lenin after his talk with G. K. Korolyov, Chairman of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Gubernia Executive Committee, who had been dispatched to Moscow in connection with the food crisis in the gubernia, the stoppage of fuel supply for shock textile mills and delays in wage payments to workers. On November 15, 1920, Korolyov told Lenin about the gubernia's hardships and submitted a report listing the necessary measures to overcome them.

On November 16, the C.P.C., on the report of a commission appointed by Lenin, adopted a decision on the supply of money and food to the workers of Ivanovo-Voznesensk. The following day, November 17, the Council of Labour and Defence, on the strength of a report by the same commission, adopted a resolution on the supply of food and fuel to Ivanovo-Voznesensk. On the

question of assistance to the factories of Ivanovo-Voznesensk, see Document 240 in Volume 52 of the Fifth (Russian) Edition of the *Collected Works*. p. 52

[10] Written by Lenin after a talk on surplus-food requisition with N. S. Bodyakov, a delegate of the peasants of Mosalsk Uyezd, Kaluga Gubernia, on November 16, 1920. p. 52

[11] Lenin got the requested report on November 18, 1920. p. 53

[12] The Soviet Government concluded a trade agreement with Britain on March 16, 1921. p. 54

[13] A reference to the occupation of Batum by British troops planned with the consent of the Georgian Menshevik government. On November 16, 1920, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, G. V. Chicherin, sent a Note to the representative of the Georgian Menshevik government Makharadze and a radio telegram to the British Foreign Secretary Lord Curzon, stating that the Soviet Government regarded the occupation of Batum as an attempt to start another war in the Caucasus and to create a direct threat to the security of the Soviet Republic. He drew attention to the possible dire consequences, the responsibility for which would fall entirely on the invaders and their accomplices. p. 54

[14] In a speech at a peasant meeting in the village of Yaropolets on November 14, 1920, Lenin dealt with some aspects of electrification in the area, improvement of public education and industrial development. A general meeting of the Electrotechnical Co-operative Society on November 18 was attended by representatives from 14 villages of Volokolamsk Uyezd, Yaropolets Volost. The meeting sent Lenin a letter requesting assistance: 1) in obtaining the necessary resources and materials to electrify Yaropolets Volost; 2) in assigning teachers to the area to improve public education and 3) in developing flax growing.

The first document was written by Lenin on November 19 after he had read the letter. That same day, he inquired about the quantity of non-ferrous metals in stock at Myza-Raiovo (Central Artillery Administration). The second document was written on the reply to his inquiry which he received on November 20. p. 54

[15] The report on the electrification of Yaropolets Volost, Volokolamsk Uyezd, Moscow Gubernia, was received by Lenin on November 29, 1920. p. 54

[16] A reference to the decision of the Council of Labour and Defence of October 8, 1920, concerning the supply of clothes to the Donbas miners. p. 55

[17] At a sitting on November 24, 1920, the Council of Labour and Defence set up a Provisional Conference, consisting of represen-

tatives of the People's Commissariat for Food, the Supreme Economic Council, the People's Commissariat for Defence, the Chusosnabarm (Extraordinary Representative of the Council of Defence for Red Army and Navy Supplies), the People's Commissariat for Railways, the All-Russia Central Trade Union Council, and the Central Committee of the Miners' Union, and assigned it the task of supervising the regular and urgent supply of everything necessary to restart the coal industry in the Donets Basin. p. 55

[18] Written by Lenin in connection with §4 of the draft resolution of the C.P.C. on the "Moscow Higher State Art and Technical Studios". Lenin's proposal was adopted and §4 was approved in the following wording: "Enrolled students shall be deemed fulfilling their academic obligations under study control on the strength of special rules which must be established by the Chief Labour Committee together with the People's Commissariat for Education within the fortnight and submitted for approval to the Council of People's Commissars."

Lenin made the following correction in the note to §3 of the draft: instead of the words "in their preparatory year" he inserted "in all years". With Lenin's amendment, the note read: "In all years, the teaching of political science and the fundamentals of the communist world outlook shall be obligatory."

In this form, the C.P.C. resolution was approved on December 18, 1920. p. 56

[19] During the talk with Deputy People's Commissar for the Affairs of Nationalities, A. Z. Kamensky, Lenin drew attention to the need to issue literature on the national question.

On November 26, 1920, Kamensky sent Lenin a letter, informing him that the State Publishers were delaying the issue of a prepared collection of Soviet government decisions on the national question over a period of three years, and requested Lenin's personal intervention. The note published here was written by Lenin on Kamensky's letter.

Shortly after this, in December 1920, the State Publishers put out the collection of the People's Commissariat for the Affairs of Nationalities, *Politika Sovetskoi vlasti po natsionalnym dyelam za tri goda. 1917—XI—1920* (The Policy of the Soviet Power on National Affairs for Three Years. 1917-XI-1920). p. 56

[20] A reference to the last paragraph in G. V. Chicherin's dispatch to L. B. Krasin of November 27, 1920, which said: "Re-establishment of the Groman Commission by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade and ourselves is being delayed by statistician Popov who wants to take part. For some reason, the C.P.C. has supported him. The friction continues. We hope soon to get the commission going." Lenin underscored the paragraph, drew three lines in the margin and put two exclamation and two

question marks (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). The letter in question was written by Lenin on the dispatch. p. 56

[21] A reference to the draft statute of the People's Commissariat for Education written by V. I. Solovyov and the draft theses on reorganising it prepared by Y. A. Litkens. Both drafts were sent by the authors to Lenin. On the reorganisation of the People's Commissariat for Education see also present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 120-22, 123-32; Vol. 42, pp. 237-38; and *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 42, p. 376. p. 57

[22] The question of abolishing cash taxes was discussed at sittings of the Council of People's Commissars on November 3 and 30 and December 18, 1920. On November 3, the C.P.C. set up a commission consisting of S. Y. Chutskayev (chairman), N. I. Bukharin, N. N. Krestinsky, D. I. Kursky, S. P. Sereda, F. F. Syromolotov and O. Y. Schmidt; later M. F. Vladimirsky and A. D. Tsyurupa were also included in the commission. On November 30, the C.P.C. adopted the decision on direct taxes written by Lenin (see present edition, Vol. 42, p. 230). On December 18, the C.P.C. adopted, in principle, Chutskayev's draft decree on the abolition of cash taxes, and referred it to a commission consisting of Chutskayev, Kursky and T. V. Sapronov, instructing it to rework the draft on the strength of the directions which had been given, and, in the event of a unanimous decision, to submit the decree for Lenin's signature and place it before the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. On February 3, 1921, the latter adopted a decision in principle, suspending the collection of all existing taxes, both state and local. The transition to the new financial policy in connection with the introduction of NEP once again brought out the tax problem. p. 58

[23] A reference to a resolution by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee adopted on November 27, 1920 (see present edition, Vol. 42, p. 228). p. 59

[24] A reference to a decision of the Presidium of the All-Russia Central T.U.C. of December 11, 1920, concerning the work of the organising commission for convening the First All-Russia Congress of Transport Workers (the decision to call the congress was passed by the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. on December 7), and the agenda of the congress and the rapporteurs. The congress was held in Moscow from March 22 to 31, 1921. Lenin delivered a speech at the congress (see present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 272-84). p. 59

[25] On December 8, 1920, a Plenary Meeting of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee decided to release A. I. Svidersky from his post of member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Food and to appoint A. B. Khalatov in his stead. Besides the Plenary Meeting ordered the People's Commissariat for Food to

take more vigorous steps to enlist workers to the running of all the departments and to recruit even more workers to the Commissariat and at a faster rate.

Svidersky's release was opposed by A. D. Tsyurupa, who threatened to resign from his post of the People's Commissar for Food. At its sitting on December 9, 1920, the Plenary Meeting reaffirmed its decision and rejected Tsyurupa's resignation. p. 60

[26] A reference to the resolution on the food question adopted by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, on N. P. Bryukhanov's report, on September 26, 1920. Its point 12 said: "In order to make the work of the governing centre of the People's Commissariat for Food more flexible, the Council of People's Commissars is to be authorised to limit the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Food to seven members (the People's Commissar and his deputy included), instructing the People's Commissariat for Food to give a precise definition to the functions and responsibilities of each" (*Postanovleniya i rezolutsii sessii VTsIK sedmogo sozyva* [Decisions and Resolutions of the Seventh All-Russia Central Executive Committee Session], Moscow, 1920, p. 77).

A Plenary Meeting of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee on December 9, 1920, adopted a decision to reduce the number of members of the Commissariat's Collegium to seven, including the People's Commissar, in accordance with the resolution of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. On December 14, the C.P.C. approved the new Collegium: People's Commissar A. D. Tsyurupa, Deputy People's Commissar N. P. Bryukhanov and members I. S. Lobachev, N. Osinsky, A. P. Smirnov, A. B. Khalatov, L. M. Khinchuk. p. 61

[27] On December 13, 1920, Lenin received S. M. Ter-Gabrielyan, who had been sent to Moscow by the Revolutionary Committee of Armenia to report to Lenin on the political and economic situation in Armenia.

As a result of the reckless policy of the Dashnaks, who had started a war against Turkey in late September 1920—with the approval of the Entente—the Turkish army occupied the towns of Sarykamysh, Kars, Alexandropol and others. On the occupied territory, the Turkish troops massacred great numbers of Armenians. Many Armenians died from starvation and epidemics, and thousands of families fled from their homes, seeking refuge in other parts of Armenia.

The Dashnak government of Armenia rejected the R.S.F.S.R.'s mediation and preferred to sign the enslaving Alexandropol Treaty on December 2, 1920, under which Armenia was declared a Turkish protectorate. But the treaty did not enter into force, because the Dashnak government was overthrown on November 29, 1920, and the Soviet power was proclaimed in Armenia. On March 16, 1921, the R.S.F.S.R. and Turkey signed a treaty which virtually nullified the Alexandropol Treaty. The question of

the Soviet-Turkish border in the Caucasus was finally settled with the signing of the Kars Treaty on October 13, 1921. p. 62

[28] The letterhead of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, on which this order was written, contains these inscriptions: "Comrade Peterson. Please issue instructions that this work should not be hampered. 18/XII. *A. Yenukidze*" and "Snigiryov instructed personally. *Peterson*. 18/XII" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 63

[29] A reference to the Eighth All-Russia Congress of Soviets held in Moscow from December 22 to 29, 1920 (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 461-535). p. 63

[30] A reference to the "Outline of the Administrative Map of the R.S.F.S.R." Lenin's instructions were fulfilled on February 7, 1921. There were two printings of the map in 1921, the first in monochrome, and the second with the additional data and in various colours. Copies of the maps are at the V. I. Lenin State Library of the U.S.S.R. p. 64

[31] A reference to N. A. Semashko's assignment to V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich to organise a committee for setting up sanitary checkpoints at Moscow railway stations to handle the trainloads of demobilised Red Armymen. p. 65

[32] Written on E. M. Sklyansky's letter, which said that some workers of railways and military communication offices were divulging secret information. p. 65

[33] Written on the reverse of the last page and on the inside back cover of the pamphlet by Béla Kun (Kolozvari) entitled *Von Revolution zu Revolution* (From Revolution to Revolution) published in Vienna in 1920. On the cover Lenin wrote: "Lenin. See last page", and made various remarks, markings and underlinings on pages 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 18, 19, 21-27, 29, 35, 41-43, 48-55 (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 66

[34] A reference to Lenin's draft reply to a letter from the Central Committee of the Board of the Swedish Red Cross No. 2371 of November 9, 1920, requesting that I. P. Pavlov should be given permission to "go to Sweden where he will have the possibility of conducting his great research in a calm and favourable atmosphere", and stating that "the idea arose in the scientific circles of the Nobel Prize Institute and was caught up by the Swedish Red Cross; Prof. Pavlov knows nothing about it" (*Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR* [Documents of U.S.S.R. Foreign Policy], Vol. III, Moscow, 1959, p. 682).

Lenin put a very high value on Pavlov's scientific achieve-

ments and treated him with very great attention and concern. On January 24, 1921, the C.P.C. adopted the decree written by Lenin "Concerning the Conditions Ensuring the Research Work of Academician I. P. Pavlov and His Associates" (present edition, Vol. 32, p. 69). Also see this volume, Document 40. p. 67

[35] Written on G. V. Chicherin's letter to Lenin of January 3, 1921, informing him about the negotiations between A. A. Joffe, Chairman of the Russian-Ukrainian delegation, and Jan Dombski, Chairman of a delegation from the bourgeois Polish Republic, on the conclusion of a peace treaty between Russia and the Ukraine, on the one hand, and Poland, on the other. Dombski demanded that the Soviet Republic should compensate Poland for military expenditures running to 73 million gold rubles, while Joffe agreed to only 30 million.

The peace treaty concluded on March 18, 1921, stated that both sides waived any compensation for their military expenditures and losses caused by the war. p. 67

[36] This is written on G. V. Chicherin's letter concerning the forthcoming talks with Horthy's Hungarian government over the exchange of People's Commissars of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, whom it had arrested, for hostages in Soviet Russia. Chicherin said that these talks could become more general, and that the Hungarian Communists had earlier expressed dissatisfaction over the Soviet Government's agreement with the reactionary Horthy government on the repatriation of prisoners of war. Chicherin wrote: "... I should like to know the attitude you take, in principle, on whether it is admissible for us to conduct political negotiations with reactionary governments, when the issue is our external security" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 68

[37] At the invitation of peasants from the village of Modenovo, Bogorodsk Volost, Vereya Uyezd, Moscow Gubernia, Lenin gave a report on the current situation at a meeting of the inhabitants of the villages of Modenovo, Shalikovo and others, on December 15, 1920. At their request, Lenin signed a record of the minutes. When the peasants complained about their excessive quotas in the delivery of surplus corn and hay, Lenin said that he was unable to decide the matter on the spot and asked them to send a representative to Moscow.

In fulfilment of an assignment from Lenin, N. P. Gorbunov got the actual condition of the peasants in the village of Modenovo thoroughly verified, and on March 5, 1921, their deliveries were cancelled. Before this decision had been taken, a general meeting of Modenovo peasants on January 29, 1921, discussed the matter of surplus deliveries and decided that the quotas could not be met in full. They added: "Realising the critical state of the country, however, we have decided to help with food and fodder, reducing our own stocks to the bare minimum. In addition

to our earlier fulfilled quotas, we have decided to add 3 poods of rye, 10 poods of oats, 31 poods of potatoes and 24 poods of hay" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 68

[38] A reference to the request from the peasants of the village of Gorki, Sukhanovo Volost, Podolsk Uyezd, Moscow Gubernia, submitted to the Moscow Economic Council on January 9, 1921, for assistance in arranging the supply of electric power to their village from the electric-power station at the neighbouring Gorki state farm. They enclosed an estimate and an explanatory note giving a detailed list of the necessary materials. p. 70

[39] A reference to the resolutions of the Party conference on public education held in Moscow from December 31, 1920 to January 4, 1921. Because the matter of reorganising the People's Commissariat for Education had been dealt with in general terms, Lenin ordered the implementation of its resolutions to be suspended. On January 26, the matter was discussed by a Plenary Meeting of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee which set up a special commission headed by Lenin. For the reorganisation of the People's Commissariat for Education see this volume, Documents 19 and 68, present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 120-22, 123-32; Vol. 35, Document 270; Vol. 42, pp. 237-38 and *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 42, p. 376; Vol. 52, Documents 418, 440. p. 70

[40] In a letter to Lenin of January 14, 1921, Dvosya Shklovskaya (G. L. Shklovsky's wife) wrote that since their return to Russia from exile abroad in October 1920, she herself and her children especially were constantly unwell and could not adapt to local conditions. She asked Lenin for help in having Shklovsky sent to work abroad to enable his family to go with him.

On her letter, Lenin wrote: "Comrade Gorbunov. This is a fair request; I earnestly ask you to meet it. In Russia, this family *will not survive. Lenin*. Please make a note of the address. Send on to Krestinsky" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). On the question of Shklovsky's departure for abroad, see this volume, Documents 44, 72 and 196 and *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 52, Documents 138, 139, 250, 284, 314, 407, 408, 409, 424, 466. p. 71

[41] Lenin was on holiday from January 1 to 22, 1921, and lived at Gorki, coming to Moscow for meetings of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee and the Council of Labour and Defence. p. 71

[42] A reference to the memorandum and report on the state of and prospects for fuel supply in the Soviet Republic submitted by A. V. Eiduk, a special representative of the Council of Labour and Defence for central fuel administrations. On January 20,

1921, N. P. Gorbunov and Eiduk formulated practical proposals on this question. On January 28, the C.L.D. set up a plenipotentiary commission on fuel, headed by V. A. Avanesov, and on January 31, following an examination of Eiduk's report about the disastrous state of the railways, the C.L.D. included him in the commission as well, adopting a decision on fuel on February 2. p. 72

[43] At a joint sitting of R.C.P.(B.) members who were delegates to the Eighth Congress of Soviets, members of the All-Russia Central T.U.C. and the Moscow Gubernia T.U.C. on December 30, 1920, a dispute arose over whether Y. E. Rudzutak was the author of the theses on "The Production Tasks of the Trade Unions". In this context, Lenin requested the All-Russia Central T.U.C. to provide documentary evidence on the origin of the theses. He was given an extract from the minutes under No. 44 of the sitting of the Presidium of the All-Russia Central T.U.C. of November 1, and a covering memo by S. A. Lozovsky. Lenin sent the material collected, together with Rudzutak's theses, to the *Pravda* Editorial Board and these were published on January 21, 1921, with Lenin's covering letter. p. 72

[44] The Council of People's Commissars decided: "To authorise Comrade Gorbunov to establish thorough supervision over the fulfilment of C.P.C. decisions, especially those not specifying dates of execution" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 74

[45] Written on Y. Larin's note to V. I. Lenin and A. I. Rykov of January 26, 1921, informing them that in view of V. V. Fomin's appointment as Chairman of the Supreme Council for Transportation (C.P.C. decision of January 25), the writer was resigning as deputy chairman of the Council.

On February 5, 1921, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee discussed the question of the Supreme Council for Transportation and decided to accept Larin's resignation, authorising Rykov to implement the decision in the most appropriate form, and putting the Council's administration entirely in the hands of Fomin. p. 75

[46] Written on a letter from P. N. Lepeshinsky to Lenin of January 26, 1921, requesting assistance in obtaining living quarters. p. 75

[47] Lenin received detailed fortnightly reports on the work on a caterpillar peat crane at the Sormovo Works. On June 24, 1921, he was informed that the assembly was in its final stages and that the crane would be tested in the latter half of July. p. 76

[48] The decree on concessions was approved by the Council of People's Commissars on November 23, 1920. p. 76

[49] On January 27, 1921, Lenin received Maxim Gorky and a delegation of the Joint Council of Scientific Institutions and Higher Schools of Petrograd, consisting of Academician S. F. Oldenburg, permanent secretary of the Academy of Sciences of Russia; Academician V. A. Steklov, Vice-President of the Academy, and Prof. V. N. Tonkov, President of the Military Medical Academy. During their talk, they handed in a draft decree on ensuring scientific research work in the Republic. Together with Lenin's note written on the draft it was sent on to N. P. Gorbunov. On February 1, 1921, the C.P.C. discussed the draft decree, submitted by the Narrow C.P.C., on the means required to normalise the work of educational research and technical research institutions in the R.S.F.S.R. p. 76

[50] Written on a letter from the Academy of Sciences of Russia to the C.P.C. of January 21, 1921, petitioning the nationalisation and transfer to the Academy of a former estate of Academician A. A. Shakhmatov, called Gubanovka-Shakhmatovka (Saratov Gubernia), for use as a rest home for scientists. On January 31, 1921, the Narrow C.P.C. passed a decision to send an inquiry on the matter to the Saratov Gubernia Executive Committee. p. 77

[51] Lenin received the necessary information on establishments of the People's Commissariat for Education and on school premises occupied by various establishments, texts of the laws in force, resolutions and instructions on secondary schools, on vocational and technical training, and material of the Party conference on public education. p. 78

[52] Written in reply to a communication from M. A. Kruchinsky, member of the Ukrainian Central Executive Committee, to Lenin, expressing dissatisfaction with the work of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture, notably, that of N. Osinsky. p. 78

[53] Written on a letter from G. Kotlyarov, a representative of the miners, to Lenin of January 24, 1921, suggesting that the steel cables on lifts in Moscow dwelling houses should be dismantled and handed over for use in mines, where mechanisms were idle because of a cable shortage. See also this volume, Document 169. p. 79

[54] A. V. Peshekhonov, one-time Minister for Food in the bourgeois Provisional Government, worked at the Central Statistical Bureau of the Ukraine in 1921. On January 20, 1922, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee decided to dismiss him from his job. In July 1922, Peshekhonov was arrested for participation in the counter-revolutionary League of Regeneration and deported. p. 79

[55] The register of outgoing documents, kept by Lenin's secretaries, had this entry: "2.II. No. 159. Two books by Engels and a let-

FROM MARX TO MAO NOT FOR COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION

ter to Ryazanov" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 80

[56] On February 1, 1921, the C.P.C. adopted a decision authorising the Narrow C.P.C. to verify execution by People's Commissariats of decisions and assignments from the C.L.D. and the C.P.C., bringing to the notice of the C.P.C. the question of execution of decisions having fundamental importance. p. 81

[57] The text of the telegram proposed by Lenin was approved by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee on February 14, 1921. p. 84

[58] The working people's armed uprising, led by the Georgian Bolsheviks, against the Menshevik government of Georgia began on the night of February 11, 1921. At the request of the Georgian working people, Soviet Russia's Government ordered units of the 11th Army to support the insurgents. Relying on the support of these units, the workers and peasants of Georgia fought a heroic struggle and routed the Menshevik forces, liberating Tiflis, the capital of Georgia, on February 25, and proclaiming Georgia a Soviet Socialist Republic. See this volume, Documents 66 and 86. p. 84

[59] The text of the telegram proposed by Lenin was approved by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee on February 15, 1921. p. 84

[60] Reciprocal territorial claims over Borchalo and a part of Akhalkalaki uyezds, Tiflis Gubernia, resulted in a war between Menshevik Georgia and Dashnak Armenia in December 1918. After "peaceful mediation" by the British command, which pursued its own colonialist aims, military operations were stopped, the northern part of Borchalo Uyezd going to Georgia, the southern, to Armenia, and the central—Lori district—was declared a neutral zone with a mixed Georgian-Armenian local administration subordinate to the Entente military command. In November 1920, in view of the war between Dashnak Armenia and Turkey, the neutral zone was occupied, with the Entente's consent, by the troops of Menshevik Georgia. The working population of the neutral zone, which was being subjected to savage plunder and violence, staged an armed uprising under the leadership of the Communists against the oppressors on the night of February 11, 1921. It was the start of a general victorious uprising by the working people of Georgia against the Menshevik regime. p. 84

[61] On April 18, 1921, the C.P.C., on a proposal of the Narrow C.P.C., approved a decree entitled "On the Provision of Hostels for Workers' Departments". It was published in *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 93 on April 29, 1921. p. 85

[62] *The Academic Centre*, or the centre for general theoretical and programme direction, was one of the organs of the People's Commissariat for Education. On the strength of the "Statute of the People's Commissariat for Education", approved by the C.P.C. on February 11, 1921, the Academic Centre was to consist of a scientific section (State Scientific Council) with three subsections—scientific-political, scientific-technical and scientific-pedagogical—and an arts section (Chief Arts Committee) with five subsections: literature, theatre, music, figurative arts and the cinema. In addition, the Central Archives Board and the Central Museum Board were part of the Academic Centre. p. 86

[63] Lenin wrote these two notes at a sitting of the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee. The first was written in reply to Krestinsky's note saying that the *Pravda* Editorial Board had received an article on the advantages of the tax in kind over the surplus-food requisitioning. L. B. Kamenev had passed on the article to Krestinsky requesting that it should be printed without fail on February 17. N. L. Meshcheryakov, a member of the *Pravda* collegium, had doubts about the need for its urgent publication. Krestinsky wrote to say that he was essentially in agreement with Meshcheryakov.

The second note was in reply to Krestinsky's communication that he was doubtful about the official character of the article, which was being presented almost on behalf of the Moscow Soviet, because the authors had signed: "Moscow Gubernia Food Commissar Sorokin and Head of Moscow Gubernia Agricultural Department Rogov." On February 16, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee passed a decision permitting the publication of the article.

The article entitled "Surplus Appropriation or Tax" signed by P. Sorokin and M. Rogov, was carried by way of discussion in *Pravda* Nos. 35 and 43 on February 17 and 26, 1921. It was mentioned by Lenin in his speech at the Plenary Meeting of the Moscow Soviet of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies on February 28, 1921 (see present edition, Vol. 32, p. 156). p. 86

[64] On February 18, 1921, N. I. Muralov, in a positive reference about V. Z. Yesin, wrote: "I believe it to be highly useful to appoint him to a commission under the C.L.D." (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

On Lenin's proposal, Yesin was approved a member of the C.L.D.'s General Planning Commission (see *Lenin Miscellany XX*, p. 24). p. 87

[65] E. M. Sklyansky informed I. N. Smirnov about the advance of the troops sent to fight the kulak bands in Siberia. p. 88

[66] Written in connection with the fact that on February 19, 1921, L. B. Krasin submitted a report to Lenin entitled "Concessions

for the Working of Oil in Baku and Grozny, and the Attitude to This Question of the Central Oil Administration". For details see this volume, Documents 95, 104, 105 and 112, and also present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 134-35. p. 88

[67] The telegram was sent on February 25, 1921, in reply to Kh. G. Rakovsky's telegram No. 672 of February 22, 1921, informing Lenin about the existence in the Ukraine of food stocks which he proposed should be used mainly for local needs, and a part of them for commodity exchange with other countries in return for agricultural machinery and implements for the Ukraine, and requested Lenin's opinion on this question. p. 89

[68] After his talk with I. A. Chekunov, Lenin made the following inscription opposite Chekunov's name in the margin of the visitors' register: "This old man has a good head, but is not in the Party because of his religious convictions" (*Ogonyok* No. 29, July 15, 1962). p. 89

[69] Written on the strength of A. D. Tsyurupa's report on the grain balances as of February 1, 1921, saying that there were 40.3 million poods of food grain and 5.4 million poods of groats in European Russia, Siberia and the Caucasus. p. 90

[70] A reference to a telegram received by the People's Commissariat for Food on March 2, 1921, reporting great difficulties in the work of the Ukraine's food bodies due to raids by Makhno's bands. The telegram said that in these circumstances supplying Donbas and the Red Army "becomes an almost insoluble task" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 92

[71] A reference to a draft C.P.C. decree "On the Admission of Russian Workers and Émigrés Returning from Abroad and of Their Belongings", which was prepared by the Narrow C.P.C. on March 2, 1921. It strictly limited the quantity of things—suits, footwear, linen, etc.—which the workers arriving in Russia could bring with them. Following Lenin's remarks in this note, the Narrow C.P.C. decided, on March 3, to delete the clause restricting the quantity of personal belongings brought in. p. 92

[72] In Minutes No. 55 taken at the sitting of the bureau of the All-Russia Central T.U.C. Party group on March 3, 1921, Lenin marked off in the margin and underlined the text of points "g" and "l". Point "g" said: "The agenda of the All-Russia Central T.U.C. Party group set for March 4, shall include a report by the People's Commissar for Food on the Republic's food supply situation, and the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Food shall be asked to appoint its rapporteur on this question." Point "l" spoke of the need to bring to the notice of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee the decisions taken by the group's bureau (Central

Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

On March 3, 1921, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee adopted Lenin's proposal. p. 93

[73] Written in reply to the following proposal of M. N. Pokrovsky: "Vladimir Ilyich: we at the First Moscow University are now setting up a social science department. We have appointed all the Communists who could be allowed to lecture. But there is little hope of their *actual* participation. It is highly tempting to make use of Mensheviks (Groman, Yermansky, Sukhanov, Cherevanin and Martov). What do you think about this?" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee.) p. 93

[74] An apparent reference to statements by some members of the Workers' Opposition. p. 94

[75] The document was written on a report by A. G. Goikhbarg, Deputy Chairman of the Narrow C.P.C., about breaches by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the C.P.C. decision of November 30, 1920, concerning the work of the commission on the question of the losses inflicted on Soviet Russia by the imperialist war, the armed intervention of the Entente and the blockade. The C.P.C. decision put the duty on the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs and the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade to place at the commission's disposal all the available material on this question. But in a letter to Lenin on March 5, 1921 (which Lenin passed to Goikhbarg the same day), Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs L. M. Karakhan said that the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs was also working on the question of the losses and requested that the material should be handed over to a commission of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.

On April 14, 1921, the Narrow C.P.C. examined the question of the P.C.F.A.'s violation of the C.P.C. decision and took into consideration Karakhan's statement that the P.C.F.A. had stopped working on the question of the losses. p. 94

[76] A reference to A. G. Goikhbarg's report of March 7 and L. M. Karakhan's letter of March 5, 1921. p. 94

[77] A reference to the commission set up at the Plenum of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee on March 7, 1921, to draft a law substituting a tax in kind for the surplus-food requisitioning, which was then adopted by the Tenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) On the commission were Lenin (Chairman), A. D. Tsyurupa, L. B. Kamenev and G. I. Petrovsky. p. 94

[78] A reference to the opening of the Tenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.). p. 94

[79] This refers to the Moscow Conference for the Conclusion of the Soviet-Turkish Treaty (February 26-March 16, 1921), which ended with the signing of the treaty of friendship and brotherhood between the R.S.F.S.R. and Turkey.

The question of Batum arose in connection with the fact that the Menshevik government of Georgia, which was on its last legs, had, on the advice of the Entente, concluded in the first ten days of March a secret agreement with the Turkish Government under which the city of Batum together with the district and two other districts were to be handed over to Turkey. Under this agreement the Turkish troops advancing on Batum occupied it on March 11, 1921. On March 19, the Turkish troops were forced to retreat from the city. p. 95

[80] Lenin dictated the letter by phone to Lydia Fotieva. It had Stalin's remark about his disagreement with Lenin's proposal and also the signatures of F. E. Dzerzhinsky, L. B. Kamenev, V. M. Molotov and L. D. Trotsky signifying that they had read the document. p. 96

[81] Written on a letter from F. I. Makharadze reporting the military and political situation in Georgia. On the letter Lenin wrote: "Return to me." On page 3 of the letter, Lenin underscored the passage where Makharadze speaks out against the dispatch to Georgia of a great number of authorised agents from the centre.

On March 14, 1921, the Narrow C.P.C. passed a decision prohibiting all the People's Commissariats from sending their agents to Georgia without special C.P.C. permission in each case. p. 97

[82] A reference to the negotiations by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade on a 40-year 100-million kronen loan from Sweden. The Swedish side wanted 7 per cent during the first two years and 6 per cent during the rest of the period, until the repayment of the loan. Negotiations on large credits from Sweden were also conducted in the autumn of 1921, but were fruitless. p. 97

[83] In the autumn of 1920, Washington Vanderlip, representing the Vanderlip Syndicate, a large American concern, came to Moscow for talks on a concession for fisheries, and exploration for and extraction of oil and coal in Kamchatka and the rest of Eastern Siberia to the east of longitude 160°. A draft agreement was worked out at the end of October under which the syndicate was to receive a 60-year concession. After 35 years the Soviet Government was to have an option to buy out all the concession enterprises, and upon the expiry of the whole period, the enterprises and equipment in full running order were to be transferred free of charge into the ownership of the R.S.F.S.R. However, the syndicate failed to obtain support either from its own government or from influential financial groups in the U.S.A., and the draft agreement was not signed. p. 98

[84] In a letter to Lenin on March 15, 1921, A. A. Joffe, who was then in Riga as chairman of the Soviet peace delegation negotiating with Poland, expressed dissatisfaction over the fact that despite his extensive experience in political and especially diplomatic work, the Party's C.C. kept transferring him from one job to another. p. 99

[85] A probable reference to the Plenary Meeting of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee on December 7, 1920, which discussed the conflict between the water transport union and Tsektran (Central Committee of the Joint Trade Union of Rail and Water Transport Workers). During the discussion of this question, Lenin and his supporters were left in a minority, and the resolution proposed by N. I. Bukharin was carried with L. D. Trotsky's support. Lenin analysed this episode in his article "The Party Crisis" (see present edition, Vol. 32, p. 45). p. 99

[86] A reference to the Party Central Committee elected at the 13th sitting of the Tenth Party Congress on March 14, 1921. On March 16, after the Congress had closed, a plenum of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee met to elect the governing organs of the C.C. p. 100

[87] Written on G. V. Chicherin's letter to the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee of March 18, 1921, saying that, according to information received through Washington Vanderlip, the new U.S. President William Harding (who succeeded Woodrow Wilson in March 1921, as a Republican President) was allegedly in favour of establishing trade relations with Soviet Russia. In this connection, Chicherin proposed that the session of the All-Russia C.E.C., which was to open, should adopt a Message on the desirability of establishing trade relations between Soviet Russia and the U.S.A. On March 20, the All-Russia C.E.C. sent a Message to the Congress of the U.S.A. and President Harding. However, this and other friendly acts by the Soviet Government did not meet with any response from the U.S. Government which persisted in refusing to recognise the Soviet state. This hostile U.S. stand delayed the normalisation of diplomatic and trade relations between the two countries for many years. p. 101

[88] A reference to the resolution of the Tenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) "The Soviet Republic and the Capitalist Encirclement" (see *Desyaty syezd RKP(b). Mart 1921 goda. Stenograficheskiy otchet* [The Tenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.), March 1921. Verbatim Report], Moscow, 1963, pp. 610-12). p. 101

[89] In connection with preparations to switch from the surplus-food requisitioning to the tax in kind, Lenin was collecting and studying peasant opinion on ways to boost agriculture. In early March 1921, on his invitation, Moscow was visited by peasants A. R. Shaposhnikov, T. G. Kondrov and I. G. Kondrov, who

had talks with Lenin, M. I. Kalinin and A. D. Tsyurupa, and attended a sitting of the All-Russia C.E.C. which approved the substitution of the tax in kind for surplus-food requisitioning. Upon their return home, the peasants reported on their trip and meeting with Lenin to the gubernia non-Party peasant conference at Ufa. The conference sent Tsyurupa a telegram declaring that they "noted with satisfaction the promulgation of new land tenure laws" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 102

[90] A reference to Tsyurupa's proposal to postpone the confirmation of the Commission for the Utilisation of Material Resources of the R.S.F.S.R. under the C.L.D., which had been set for March 25, 1921, until the next sitting of the C.L.D. This question was left on the agenda for the C.L.D. sitting of March 25; the confirmed commission consisted of L. N. Kritsman, A. Z. Holtzmann and V. M. Smirnov. p. 103

[91] A reference to the C.L.D. decision of December 15, 1920, approving the oil transportation plan, submitted on December 14 by the Supreme Council for Transportation. The decision set out a number of practical measures connected with the transportation of oil, ranging from the repair of tank cars and their efficient use, to the establishment of running rates. Special measures were outlined for supplying food and clothes to the workers in the oilfields and the railways. p. 104

[92] In reply to this note, Dzerzhinsky sent Lenin a short report the same day describing the circumstances of the unsuccessful purchase of foreign tacks. On Dzerzhinsky's report Lenin wrote: "(*About tacks*). Keep and give me a reminder" (*Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*, p. 211). p. 106

[93] A reference to the Finance Commission of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee and the C.P.C., set up on Lenin's proposal soon after the Tenth Party Congress to work out financial policy in connection with the switch to the New Economic Policy. Its chairman was Y. A. Preobrazhensky. p. 106

[94] On March 28, 1921, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee and on March 29, the C.P.C. adopted a decision to include Y. A. Preobrazhensky in the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Finance. p. 106

[95] A reference to the draft of the basic principles of concession agreements, whose working out was assigned to A. I. Rykov, Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council. p. 107

[96] A reference to the C.P.C. decision on oil concessions of February 1, 1921 (see *Lenin Miscellany XX*, p. 146). p. 107

[97] Lenin made a number of additions and corrections in his outlined draft of the basic principles of concession agreements (see *Lenin Miscellany XX*, p. 148). Lenin's draft was adopted as the basis for the C.P.C. decision of March 29 (see present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 302-13). p. 107

[98] A reference to G. L. Pyatakov's letter of March 22, 1921, requesting Lenin's assistance in sending S. I. Syrtsov for Party work in Donbas, which, he said, was being opposed by the Ukrainian Communist Party C.C., because during the trade union discussion Syrtsov had sided with the Trotskyites. On March 30, Lenin sent a telephone message to G. I. Petrovsky and M. V. Frunze, in Kharkov, asking them to look into the matter and reply (see this volume, Document 109).

Pyatakov also objected to any concessions in Donbas. p. 108

[99] See Note 91. p. 108

[100] A reference to Chicherin's letter to the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee, received by Lenin, in which Chicherin proposed that a special circular, urging the need for tact and care not to offend the Moslems' religious feelings in conducting anti-religious propaganda, should be sent to the Party organisations of the republics and regions with a Moslem population. Chicherin referred to a speech by N. N. Narimanov as a model of the tactful approach to Moslems. In Chicherin's letter Lenin underscored the passages proposing the publication of the circular and characterising Narimanov's speech (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 113

[101] On April 16, 1921, a telegram was received from Chairman of the Oil Committee, A. P. Serebrovsky, asking Lenin "To send in an official recognition of some independence for the Oil Committee to exchange oil products in Persia, Turkestan and Europe for articles of equipment and supply of workers with clothes and foodstuffs" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

On April 18, Lenin requested A. I. Rykov, V. P. Milyutin and A. M. Lezhava to give their opinion and an agreed draft C.P.C. decision on this matter. On April 19, the C.P.C. appointed a special commission to work out a draft decision enlarging the competence of the Azerbaijan Oil Committee in this sphere. p. 113

[102] That same day, April 2, 1921, People's Commissar for Labour, V. V. Schmidt, called an interdepartmental conference to discuss the questions brought up by Lenin. Its decision said: "In the event of a balanced reduction in the total number of unproductive workers listed as employed in the given production, the quantity of foodstuffs assigned for it by the People's Commissariat for Food before the reduction of the unproductively em-

ployed workers shall be retained for this production" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 114

[103] A reference to G. K. Orjonikidze's reply to Lenin's telegram of March 30, 1921 (see this volume, Document 108). p. 115

[104] The question of Gidrotorf (Administration for Hydraulic Peat Extraction) was discussed at C.P.C. sittings. On April 5, 1921, the C.P.C. heard reports by V. D. Kirpichnikov and I. I. Radchenko on the progress of Gidrotorf operations, and adopted a decision on the need to satisfy its requests in view of the exceptional importance of these enterprises. A special commission, consisting of A. Z. Holtzmann, A. B. Khalatov and I. I. Radchenko, was given two days to determine in detail the volume and priorities for meeting Gidrotorf's requests. Its report was heard by the C.P.C. on April 7. It was decided that Gidrotorf should be allocated 25 million rubles for distribution of individual bonuses to skilled technical personnel over a period of five months.

On April 6, the C.L.D. discussed the general question of measures ensuring the supply of food for the peat campaign. p. 116

[105] A reference to the letter and draft decree on improving the conditions of workers and employees engaged in transport, industry and the major public enterprises, sent to Lenin by E. V. Luganovsky, head of the S.E.C.'s Construction Department. p. 118

[106] On April 7, the C.P.C. passed a decree on bonuses in kind for workers, which said: "To introduce, by way of experiment, bonuses in kind for the workers of some of the most important industries, by issuing to the workers a part of the products they manufacture for exchange for agricultural produce" (*Izvestia VTsIK* No. 76, April 9, 1921). p. 118

[107] The telegram was in reply to a message of greetings received by the C.P.C. on April 9, 1921, from the Yakutsk Conference of the Poor (Second Churapchinsk Non-Party Conference). p. 119

[108] *Toyons*—Yakut princelings (tribal chiefs). p. 119

[109] In addition to an earlier circular, the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee published a letter in *Pravda* on April 21, 1921, urging that in celebrating May Day "nothing should be done or said to offend the religious feelings of the mass of the population". p. 120

[110] The Eighth Congress of Soviets, held from December 22 to 29, 1920, approved a 600 million pood plan for the extraction of coal in Donbas in 1921. p. 121

[111] According to the instructions issued by the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs in connection with Lenin's letter, the Executive Committee of the Kaluga Gubernia Soviet conducted an inquiry into the peasants' complaints and took steps to remove the abuses. p. 121

[112] Written on a telegram from P. K. Kaganovich, C.L.D. agent and Omsk regional food commissar, declaring that, following the publication in the press of the All-Russia C.E.C. decision and other material on the lifting of the surplus-food requisitioning, it was impossible to fulfil the targets for the procurement of the foodstuffs in Siberia. p. 123

[113] A reference to the decision of the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee of April 14, 1921, about the state of affairs in the Moscow Higher Technical College. The Politbureau reversed the decision to the effect that the college board was to be appointed by the Central Administration for Vocational Training, and suggested that the People's Commissariat for Education submit for consideration by the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee a draft statute for institutions of higher learning and a new composition of the board, and also a draft directive on the role and relationships of the communist cells, the non-Party students, the faculty and the People's Commissariat for Education. The Politbureau also asked the People's Commissariat for Education to issue a condemnation of the college lecturers who had suspended classes. p. 123

[114] A reference to the communication from the People's Commissariat for Education on the state of affairs at the Moscow Higher Technical College, which was published in *Pravda* on April 19, 1921, and was signed by the People's Commissar for Education A. V. Lunacharsky and Secretary of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee V. M. Molotov. A reprimand was issued to the members of the faculty who had suspended classes, and it was pointed out to them that such methods of protest were inadmissible. At the same time, the communist cells at the college and at all institutions of higher learning were invited to establish relations with the faculty and non-Party students promoting normal academic life in their institutions and the development of science in Soviet Russia. p. 123

[115] The "*Open Letter*" ("Offener Brief") from the Central Committee of the United Communist Party of Germany to the Socialist Party of Germany, the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany, the Communist Workers' Party of Germany, and to all trade union organisations was published in *Die Rote Fahne* No. 11 on January 8, 1921. The letter urged all workers', trade union and socialist organisations in Germany to join efforts in fighting

the growing reaction and the capitalist offensive against the working people's vital rights.

Although the workers came out in favour of the united proletarian front, the proposal for joint action with the Communists was rejected by the Right-wing leadership of the organisations to which the "Open Letter" was addressed. p. 124

[116] A reference to armed action by the proletariat of Germany in March 1921.

The Left-wing majority of the C.C. of the United Communist Party of Germany, proceeding from the so-called "theory of the offensive", whose supporters held that offensive tactics were the only correct ones in any situation, regardless of the concrete political conditions, pushed the workers towards a premature uprising. Making use of this, the German bourgeoisie provoked armed action at an unfavourable moment. An uprising broke out in several areas of Central Germany in March 1921. Despite the workers' heroic action, the uprising was put down, because the majority of the working class had not been prepared for the action and had not taken part in the fighting. p. 124

[117] A reference to Béla Kun, then member of the Presidium of the Comintern Executive Committee. p. 124

[118] Paul Levi attended the Seventeenth Congress of the Italian Socialist Party as a representative of the United Communist Party of Germany. The congress was held at Livorno from January 15 to 21, 1921, and marked a split in the Party. Upon his return to Germany Levi came out in defence of the Italian Centrists headed by Giacinto Serrati. On February 24, 1921, after the Central Committee of the United Communist Party of Germany adopted a resolution against Serrati and his supporters, and welcomed the establishment of the Communist Party of Italy, five members of the Central Committee of the United Communist Party of Germany (Otto Braß, Ernst Däumig, A. Hoffmann, Paul Levi, and Clara Zetkin) withdrew from the C.C., saying that they disagreed with the Central Committee. p. 124

[119] On March 29, 1921, Paul Levi wrote Lenin a letter to which the present document is a reply. Levi condemned the March action and declared that he was withdrawing from the Party leadership and would write a pamphlet setting out his views.

In early April 1921, Levi issued a pamphlet entitled *Unser Weg. Wider den Putschismus* ("Our Way. Against Putschism"), in which he called the struggle of hundreds of thousands of German proletarians a "Bakuninist putsch". Levi urged the workers to condemn the Communists, alleging that they were responsible for the defeat of the uprising. On April 15, 1921, the Central Committee of the U.C.P.G. expelled Levi from the Party for a gross breach of the Party discipline and the harm done to the Party by the publication of his pamphlet, and demanded that he give

up his parliamentary seat. On April 29, the Comintern Executive Committee endorsed the decision of the U.C.P.G. Central Committee expelling Levi from the Party. The question of the tactical differences which arose in connection with the March action was referred to the Third Congress of the Comintern, which confirmed Levi s expulsion from the Party. Subsequently Levi went over entirely to Social-Democratic positions and carried on a fight against the Communist International. p. 124

[120] A reference to the Third Congress of the Communist International which opened in Moscow on June 22, 1921. p. 124

[121] This assignment to V. M. Molotov was written on a memorandum from a group of members of the interim presidium and the scientific methods commission of the Moscow State University to the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee on the training of Soviet specialists. They criticised the old faculty opposing any renovation of the higher schools, and made their own proposals to amend the draft statute of institutions of higher learning adopted by the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Education.

On April 20, 1921, the Politbureau asked the People's Commissariat for Education to refrain from publishing the statute for the time being, for the purpose of elaborating and discussing the question additionally. p. 125

[122] Written in connection with the telegram from Deputy People's Commissar for Railways, V. V. Fomin, proposing that Georgian and Abkhazian ports (Batum, Poti and Sukhum should be placed under the Administration of Marine Transpor of the R.S.F.S.R at Rostov or Novorossiisk. The Georgian Revolutionary Committee opposed the idea.

On April 19, 1921, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee supported the Georgian Revolutionary Committee and decided to place the organisation of Georgian and Abkhazian ports within Georgia's competence. The decision put the duty on the Administration of Marine Transport to render every kind of material assistance to these ports. p. 127

[123] See Note 113. p. 127

[124] *Cadets*—Russian abbreviation for the Constitutional-Democratic Party, a party of the big bourgeoisie, which existed in Russia from 1905; in this case the word is used as a synonym for diehard counter-revolutionaries. p. 127

[125] This is in reply to a letter from the Secretary of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee Y. M. Yaroslavsky, asking Lenin: "Do you think it is advisable to have Deborin and L. Axelrod lecture on philosophy (history of philosophy and historical materialism)? This is an inquiry from the Academic Council of Sverdlov University. We in the Orgbureau took a negative

decision concerning L. Axelrod, and it is now being raised again by the group of lecturers" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 129

[126] A reference to a draft decree of the All-Russia C.E.C. "On the Principles Underlying the Organisation of Economic Life in the Karelian Labour Commune" and the draft C.L.D. decision "On the Immediate Economic Tasks of the Karelian Labour Commune". On April 26, 1921, the C.P.C. approved the former and accepted the proposals contained in the latter. p. 131

[127] On April 27, 1921, the C.L.D. discussed a draft decision on measures to combat the drought, tabled by Deputy People's Commissar for Agriculture I. A. Teodorovich. The three general points of the draft decision were adopted, it being decided that the other points, relating to concrete practical measures, should be immediately discussed with the departments concerned, and approved at the next C.L.D. sitting. On April 29, the C.L.D. adopted the whole decision. Its first point emphasised: "To recognise the struggle against the drought as being of primary importance for the country's agricultural life and measures taken in that direction as highly urgent" (*Izvestia VTsIK* No. 95, May 5, 1921). p. 134

[128] At the C.P.C. sitting on April 26, 1921, the report on promoting the fisheries campaign was given by Deputy People's Commissar for Food, N. P. Bryukhanov. The C.P.C. decisions ensured the swift movement of goods for the Central Administration of the Fishing Industry (Glavryba) and authorised it (with the knowledge of the People's Commissariat for Food) to refer its problems directly to the C.P.C. and the C.L.D. A commission, consisting of representatives of the People's Commissariat for Food, the All-Russia Central T.U.C., the Central Union of Consumers' Societies, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade and Glavryba, was set up to examine the question of developing the fishing industry and drawing up a plan for a fish procurement campaign. p. 135

[129] Lenin sent G. M. Krzhizhanovsky Y. M. Shatunovsky's pamphlet on April 24, 1921. On the cover Lenin wrote: "Comrade Krzhizhanovsky! Your opinion? Return with your opinion. I shall send it to Zinoviev." On p. 14, Lenin marked off these words: "To have electric power within a few months in order to start the remaining plants", and made this remark: "This looks like the gist. How many months? How much power? Is this possible in practice?" On p. 15, Lenin marked off the author's words about the opinion of hydraulics specialists and wrote: "Which? When and where has this been printed?" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee.)

On the question of possible measures to restore the economy of Petrograd, Lenin sent an inquiry to the Chairman of the

Petrograd Soviet, G. Y. Zinoviev, on May 3 (see this volume, Document 147). p. 137

[130] Written on L. D. Trotsky's letter, in which, replying to Lenin's letter of April 30, 1921 (see this volume, Document 146), he tried to stand up for Shatunovsky's pamphlet, *White Coal and Revolutionary Petrograd*. Lenin made a number of remarks on Trotsky's letter (see *Lenin Miscellany XX*, pp. 208-09). p. 137

[131] In reply to Lenin's inquiry, G. Y. Zinoviev informed him on May 5 about the decision to suspend construction on the Svir, concentrating all the efforts on completing the operations on the Utkina Zavod sector in 1921, and not stopping construction on the Volkhov under any circumstances. p. 137

[132] In reply to this note, Lenin was informed that the graves of G. V. Plekhanov and Vera Zasulich had been put in order, and that the Public Works Committee promised to supply the sculptor I. Y. Gintsburg with the gypsum required for his work on a monument to Plekhanov.

On July 16, 1921, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee decided to render assistance in setting up a monument to Plekhanov, and gave N. A. Semashko an assignment to arrange this with the Petrograd Soviet. p. 138

[133] In a reply telegram received by Lenin on May 6, 1921, K. Y. Voroshilov said: "Have received your No. 108/III. All the necessary instructions have been given. Strict fulfilment of your assignment will be seen to" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 138

[134] The poem "150,000,000" had signs of V. V. Mayakovsky's early futuristic trend: it was written in a mannered style and cast in a complicated form; he denied the classical heritage and extolled futurism as the only literary trend consonant with the times. p. 138

[135] A reference to G. M. Krzhizhanovsky's letter of April 12, 1921, on the inadvisability, in that period, of extending the Emba oilfields.

Algemba—Alexandrov-Gai-Emba branch-line. p. 139

[136] Written on a press bureau bulletin of May 6, 1921, under a report from the French newspaper *L'Echo de Paris* of May 1. The author of the item, Dr. Legendre, who had visited the major industrial centres of China and Japan, reported on the situation in the Far East and on the danger of a spread of Bolshevik influence in Eastern Asia.

Sending the bulletin on to G. V. Chicherin, Lenin made this remark: "See p. 2" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

In connection with Lenin's instructions, *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 99 of May 10, 1921, carried an article entitled "The Fears of the French Bourgeois in the Far East". p. 140

[137] A reference to A. A. Belyakov's article, "No Progress", in *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 95 of May 5, 1921, saying that because of red tape and delays, the Narofominsk Textile Mill, started in February 1921, was not supplied with fuel and ran only for one month. The author spoke of the need to restart it as soon as possible.

V. A. Smolyaninov recalled later that as a result of the measures taken by the C.P.C. Managing Department, he reported to Lenin the following day that the fuel had been delivered and the mill was running. p. 140

[138] Together with this note, Lenin sent L. B. Krasin G. V. Chicherin's letter of May 8, 1921, informing Lenin that he had suggested that N. K. Klyshko should not respond to any statements by the British Government and the press until Krasin's return to London. p. 141

[139] In reply to this note, L. B. Krasin sent Lenin P. L. Voikov's memo on the food which could be quickly purchased abroad for gold and on credit. Krasin added the following: "There is *nothing* in Sweden, Denmark, and Holland. Tsyurupa told me that the grain would be needed *in June*. The 'catastrophic' nature of the requirement is usually discovered at the very last moment" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

Lenin crossed out Krasin's note, and on May 10, 1921, sent the document on to N. P. Bryukhanov (for Lenin's markings on the memo see *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*, p. 234).

On May 10, Voikov drew up the memo on the distribution of food and consumer goods bought abroad by C.L.D. decision. On the back of this memo Lenin wrote:

"Into the file *on the purchase of food* abroad. (Give me *daily* reminders)" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 141

[140] A reply telegram from N. K. Klyshko, deputy of the R.S.F.S.R.'s official representative in Great Britain, of May 12, 1921, said that the urgent warrant, mentioned in the present document, was being started on at once. p. 142

[141] This is written on a report to the C.P.C. from Y. A. Preobrazhensky, Chief of the Central Administration for Vocational Training under the People's Commissariat for Education, who pointed out that a reduction, under the C.P.C. commission's decision, in the number of rations for his administration during the spring and summer months of 1921 down to 110,000, would result in a closure of classes at many educational establishments, and asked the C.P.C. to increase the number of rations.

The C.P.C. decision of May 10, 1921, rejected this petition. On May 19, after a second examination of this question, the C.P.C. instructed the People's Commissariat for Food to allot 165,000 rations for workers in education. p. 142

[142] That same day, May 10, 1921, Molotov informed Lenin that it was not the practice of Party organisations to group or classify separately Party members not taking part in administration. p. 143

[143] An apparent reference to N. K. Klyshko's telegram of May 9, 1921. Replying to the telegram from Lenin and Krasin of May 7 (see *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 52, Supplements, Document 33), Klyshko informed them about the purchase in America of 20,000 poods of wheat flour, with delivery at Revel by May 15, and 200,000 with delivery at Petrograd by mid-June, and about delivery at Revel of 125,000 poods by the end of April. ("Where are these *125,000*? How have they been distributed?", Lenin wrote over this report.) Klyshko also promised to supply additional information about the possibility of further grain purchases, requested the sending of the warrant and the currency, and asked: "Is it all right, in order to speed up and reduce the cost, to send in up to 25 per cent of maize and bean flour as an admixture to the wheat flour?" "Of course!" replied Lenin, underscoring the word "admixture" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 143

[144] On May 19, 1921, P. A. Krasikov, a member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Justice, who had been conducting an inquiry into the case on D. I. Kursky's instructions, proposed that a reprimand (with publication in the press) should be issued to N. B. Eismont, Deputy Chairman of Chusosnabarm (see Note 678), that Comrade Angert, who was at the special disposal of Chusosnabarm and who was directly to blame for dispatching the letter to the C.L.D., containing the secret information, without taking the necessary precautions, should be dismissed, and that a disciplinary penalty should be applied to the secretary who had sent out the letter to the C.L.D. p. 144

[145] A reference to the draft decision of the All-Russia C.E.C. prepared by N. Osinsky on extending the rights of the peasant committees in improving the agricultural production (village committees) set up under the Village Soviets.

On May 14, 1921, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee invited the People's Commissars to send in their opinion of the draft for its discussion by the C.P.C. On May 19, it was passed by the C.P.C. with some amendments. On May 27, the decree was approved by the All-Russia C.E.C. and published in *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 115 on May 28, 1921. p. 144

[146] A reference to L. A. Liberman, who was appointed head of Tsentropechat. p. 145

[147] In connection with M. V. Frunze's request that a copy of this directive should also be sent to the Crimean Regional Committee, Lenin wrote the following instruction: "Send a copy of my letter to Frunze to the *Crimean Regional Committee*, obtaining the exact address from *Bukharin* and *making a special check on its receipt*" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 145

[148] That same day, May 18, 1921, Lenin signed the Narrow C.P.C. decision "to authorise the People's Commissariat for Finance to place at the disposal of Comrade Frunze, representative of the Council of Labour and Defence, 100 million rubles from the S.E.C. funds for urgent expenditures in May on the transportation of salt from the Ukraine and the Crimea" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

Another of Lenin's notes to Frunze appears to refer to this period:. "What have you managed to do about the salt? Who is responsible for the *salt*? *Lenin*" (*Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*, p. 414): At the Central Party Archives there is also a memo sent in by Frunze to the C.L.D. Chairman in July 1921, reporting on the state of transporting salt from the Crimea and the Ukraine and giving the actual figures for May and June and prospects for July 1921. On the memo is Lenin's remark: "To the archives, on salt transportation, from Frunze." p. 146

[149] This was written in connection with a report sent in on May 18, 1921, by N. P. Bryukhanov and A. B. Khalatov to the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee and Lenin. Reporting that, despite the measures being taken by the People's Commissariat for Food, Party and government bodies in Siberia, the Northern Caucasus and the Ukraine were violating the Politbureau decision of May 7, 1921, concerning the rates of daily dispatch of grain to the centre and the satisfaction of regional requirements only after these rates have been met, Bryukhanov and Khalatov proposed that leading workers in these regions should be influenced by measures of Party discipline. p. 146

[150] A reference to A. P. Serebrovsky's telegram to G. K. Orjonikidze about the trade talks which he had been conducting in Constantinople with Turkish, French and Italian firms. Without giving any exact information, Serebrovsky reported the conclusion of contracts with a number of firms on allegedly advantageous terms, the dispatch of goods to Batum for Baku, and the possibility of sending Wrangel soldiers desiring to return to Russia for work on the Baku oilfields. p. 147

[151] That same day, May 19, 1921, N. P. Bryukhanov sent Lenin a copy of the report on the shipment of piece-goods to the Ukraine.

V. P. Nogin and B. P. Pozern reported that even before the C.L.D. decision, Trekhgornaya Textile Mill had been ordered to prepare two million arshins of piece-goods for shipment to the Ukraine, but that the People's Commissariat for Food had failed to supply the packing material.

On May 23, having obtained from V. I. Velman, who was responsible for the Central Textile Administration, detailed explanations for reasons of the delay, Lenin wrote to V. A. Smolyaninov: "Look into this and check up. 23/V. *Lenin*" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). On May 31, Lenin demanded that the strictest supervision should be established over the most rapid movement by rail of the piece-goods sent to the Ukraine (see this volume, Document 184). p. 147

[152] On May 25, 1921, the C.L.D. adopted Lenin's draft resolution, with small amendments, and instructed the People's Commissariat for Justice "to carry out an inquiry and punish those guilty of the red tape, owing to which the assignment to the Presidium of the S.E.C., issued by the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars on February 2, 1921, through the C.P.C. business manager under No. 785/уп, remains virtually unfulfilled to this day" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 151

[153] On May 24, 1921, V. A. Smolyaninov, on Lenin's instructions, sent a telephone message to I. S. Unschlicht and a letter to V. M. Molotov at the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee requesting speedier examination of the question of the "Politbureau" at the Shatura construction site. p. 152

[154] Enclosed in R. E. Klasson's letter to Lenin of May 20, 1921, was a brief report on his trip abroad on Gidrotorf business (see Note 104), and a draft C.L.D. decision on an order to the Madruk company.

Klasson spoke about the red tape and delays at the Russian railway mission in Berlin which had been assigned the formalisation of orders for Gidrotorf. p. 153

[155] On May 16, 1921, a worker of Gokhran (State Depository of Valuables of the R.S.F.S.R.), Y. M. Yurovsky, told Lenin about cases of theft of valuables at Gokhran. Making a note of this, Lenin, the same day, instructed a member of the All-Russia Cheka Collegium, G. I. Bokii, to carry out a strict inquiry.

In a telephone message on May 23 (in reply to which the present letter was written), Bokii alleged that Yurovsky's information was highly exaggerated and that measures were being taken together with the All-Russia Cheka to bring the stealing at Gokhran down to a minimum. Lenin's remark on the telephone message says: "Give me a reminder."

Lenin subsequently returned to the matter repeatedly (see this volume, Documents 180, 205, 216 and 221, and *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*, pp. 288, 298, 370, 403-05). p. 153

[156] On May 28, 1921, G. I. Bokii submitted to Lenin a detailed report about the state of affairs at Gokhran—the personnel, structure, cases of stealing and a list of court cases at Gokhran. The report proposed some measures to improve the work and prevent stealing. On May 29, Lenin sent this report, together with his covering letter, to Deputy People's Commissar for Finance, A. O. Alsky (see this volume, Document 180). p. 154

[157] This refers to a resolution on the new rating policy adopted on May 11, 1921, by the Seventh Skopin (Ryazan Gubernia) Uyezd Trade Union Conference.

It stated that the inefficient distribution of manpower and the low labour productivity were one of the main reasons hampering economic rehabilitation in Skopin Uyezd. A switch to collective supply of workers and employees was proposed as one of the measures to remove these shortcomings. The conference delegates were instructed to stand up for the propositions set out in the resolution at the Fourth All-Russia Congress of Trade Unions. p. 154

[158] On May 10, 1921, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee rejected the draft decision moved by Y. Larin (S.E.C.) and A. Z. Holtzmann (All-Russia Central T.U.C.) on collective supply of workers and employees at some state enterprises, and proposed that it should be reworked and brought up at the C.P.C. The draft Politbureau decision was written by Lenin (see *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*, p. 142). It seems that in connection with the discussion of this matter in the C.P.C., V. A. Smolyaninov, on June 14, 1921, sent the resolution of the Skopin Uyezd Conference to the representative of the All-Russia Central T.U.C. on the C.P.C. commission on the workers' supply. On June 14, 1921, the C.P.C. handed over the reworked draft for the examination by the C.L.D. On June 17, this was adopted by the C.L.D., on June 18, it was signed by Lenin, and on June 19, it was published in *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 132.

On June 22, the C.L.D. approved the first list of enterprises to which the decision applied. The factories and enterprises of Skopin Uyezd were not included.

On this question see also this volume, Documents 208 and 209. p. 154

[159] See Note 149. p. 156

[160] At the Central Party Archives there is a note giving information about the actual supply of grain to the Moscow Consumers' Cooperatives from May 18 to 25, 1921. It contains calculations, apparently made by Lenin during the report by A. Y. Vyshinsky, Chief of the Allocation Administration of the People's Commissariat for Food, and included in this letter. p. 157

[161] On May 11, 1921, the Council of Labour and Defence approved

Lenin's draft assignments to the commission to check up on railway construction in the Emba area. p. 157

[162] In a reply letter, the same day, May 28, 1921, K. B. Radek and G. Y . Zinoviev advised Lenin to pass on Clara Zetkin's telegram to the Comintern Executive Committee. The latter rejected Clara Zetkin's demand. Later, after a conference with delegates from the United Communist Party of Germany to the Third Congress of the Comintern (before it opened), the Executive sent the C.C. of the U.C.P.G. a telegram proposing that Anna Geyer and Otto Braß should not he prevented from attending the congress.

However, the two did not attend the congress. The C.C. of the U.C.P.G. objected to their going to Moscow, apparently because they approved the stand of Paul Levi, who had repeatedly violated Party discipline and had been expelled from the Party by the C.C. on April 15, 1921 (see Note 119). p. 158

[163] See Notes 155 and 156. p. 159

[164] A reference to A. G. Shlyapnikov.

The Fourth All-Russia Congress of Metalworkers' Union was held in Moscow from May 26 to 30, 1921. The composition of the C.C. of the Metalworkers' Union was discussed by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee on May 28 and 31, 1921. At the Central Party Archives there is a list of candidates with Lenin's remarks and this inscription: "19 of the old Workers' Opposition." p. 161

[165] A possible reference to Y. Kh. Lutovinov's reply to Lenin's telegram of May 7, 1921. Lutovinov said that he considered as incorrect the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. decision to send G. L. Shklovsky to work in Berlin at the disposal of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade, and would protest against it. p. 162

[166] In a statement to the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee of May 25, 1921, B. S. Stomonyakov and Y. Kh. Lutovinov protested against the Politbureau's decision on the desirability of Z. I. Grzhebin's printing "Vsemirnaya literatura" books in Germany. They said that the publishing apparatus set up by the R.S.F.S.R. trade mission in Germany would print the books cheaper than Grzhebin, who had been artificially raising the prices for Soviet orders.

On this statement, Lenin wrote a note to G. Y. Zinoviev: "Write me a couple of words: what is the decision of your commission? Has the C.C. endorsed it?" (This was a reference to the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. decision on the Grzhebin case. It was approved by the Politbureau on April 27, 1921.) In reply, Zinoviev wrote: "The commission was deciding mainly on the past (old orders). No new assignments have been given. We have agreed only to have last year's order completed" (Central Party Archives of the

Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

On May 31, the Politbureau examined the statement by Stomonyakov and Lutovinov, and instructed Zinoviev to send them the exact text of the commission's decision on the Grzhebin case which was approved by the Politbureau, together with his explanations. p. 162

[167] On instructions from E. M. Sklyansky, copies of this letter were sent to members of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic. On June 16, 1921, the R.M.C. decided on the question "Comrade Lenin's letter on the Army's labour use" as follows: "To suggest to all the members of the R.M.C.R. to submit, within a seven-day period, their concrete considerations and proposals in writing to the R.M.C.R." Lenin underlined this decision in the minutes of the R.M.C. sitting, and wrote: "Give me a reminder after the *C.I.* Congress" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

On July 4, 1921, Lenin pointed out that the army's economic work should be taken into account in drawing up the state national economic plan (see present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 497-98). p. 166

[168] Written in connection with a complaint of the People's Commissar for Food of the Ukraine, M. K. Vladimirov, over the unsatisfactory supply of the Ukraine with goods and the lack of sacks which slowed down the procurement of grain in the Ukraine.

On June 1, a telegram signed by Lenin was sent to Vyazniki (Shuya Uyezd, Ivanovo-Voznesensk Gubernia) on the dispatch of 500,000 food sacks to the Ukraine by uyezd factories within a week. p. 167

[169] Written in reply to an inquiry from G. K. Korolyov concerning the advisability of his recall from Ivanovo-Voznesensk in May 1921 to work as a responsible instructor of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee for Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Nizhni-Novgorod, Vladimir and Kostroma gubernias. p. 168

[170] A reference to the decision taken by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee on May 10, 1921, to have the Kashira Electric-Power Station completed by the autumn of that year.

It was started in February 1919. On April 14, 1919, the Council of Labour and Defence designated the construction as "work for the country's defence and of exceptional importance for the defence of the rear".

Lenin attached great importance to the Kashira Electric-Power Station, and gave constant attention to the progress of building operations, taking a direct part in solving all the problems, keeping a check on the supply of the site with the necessary materials, manpower and equipment (see this volume, Document 220). p. 168

[171] A reference to the posts for the electric transmission line to run

between Kashira and Moscow. V. A. Smolyaninov wrote in his reminiscences that after Lenin's note to G. D. Tsyurupa, the necessary precautionary measures were taken. p. 169

[172] On June 3, 1921, the Council of Labour and Defence decided to issue to the People's Commissariat for Posts and Telegraphs five million rubles for the technical facilities required to run a broadcast newspaper with the aid of loudspeaker telephones in six Moscow squares.

By its decisions of June 24 and July 6, 1921, the C.L.D. put the duty on the People's Commissariat for Posts and Telegraphs to build, by March 1, 1922, four radio telephone transmission stations (Moscow—Tashkent—Kharkov—Novonikolsk) and 280 gubernia and uyezd receiving stations within 2,000 *kilometres* around Moscow. p. 169

[173] At the Central Party Archives there is a note from A. M. Lezhava to Lenin saying that the purchase of excavators abroad had been assigned to L. B. Krasin, but that it was not known what he had done. The note added that engineer T. Y. Reine, who had been sent abroad by the Mining Council, was authorised to make independent purchases for his department. p. 171

[174] M. N. Tukhachevsky was appointed Commander of the Tambov Military District, and was set the task of wiping out the Antonov bands. p. 171

[175] This was written in connection with a letter sent to Lenin on May 12, 1921, by the Petrograd Communist worker V. A. Vasilyev, who was military commissar of Boguchar Uyezd, Voronezh Gubernia. He reported that some of those who had taken part in the mutiny against the Soviet power in Boguchar Uyezd in November 1920 had escaped and had organised a gang which was killing Party and government workers. Vasilyev urged the need to organise a volunteer cavalry unit to fight the bandits, and asked for three or five motorcycles to arrange liaison. p. 172

[176] On April 27, 1921, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee issued a directive to M. N. Tukhachevsky to liquidate the Antonov bands in Tambov Gubernia within a month.

On Lenin's assignment Tukhachevsky wrote a report to the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee on July 16, 1921, saying that as a result of the operations carried out from May to July, the kulak mutiny in Tambov Gubernia had been liquidated, the Soviet Dower restored everywhere and that only about 1,200 men were left in Antonov's bands, as compared with almost 21,000 at the beginning of May. p. 172

[177] On June 2 and 3, 1921, the State Planning Commission (Gosplan) Presidium heard G. M. Krzhizhanovsky's report on the content of Lenin's letter and approved a draft circular to the chairmen

of all sections and subcommissions of Gosplan, which was written by P. S. Osadchy on the strength of Lenin's proposals. An extract from the minutes of the Presidium's sitting was sent to Lenin. p. 173

[178] The document was apparently written in connection with P. S. Osadchy's report. On the list of those arrested on the night of May 27, 1921, in which the names of P. A. Shchurkevich and B. Y. Vorobyov were underlined, Lenin made a number of remarks: "Osadchy personally knows both the underlined"; "Same as I am"; "Perhaps they could be placed only under house arrest? Couldn't other measures of suppression be applied? After all they are not running away", etc.

At the same time, Lenin wrote the following note: "1) In the recent period warrants have been issued for 'arrest at discretion'. 2) *Personal* warrants are desirable."

On June 3, the Chairman of the Petrograd Gubernia Cheka informed I. S. Unschlicht that all the persons mentioned in Lenin's telegram had been released, the arrests in Petrograd were carried out among former members of the Cadet Party, because some of them had taken part in a plot uncovered in Petrograd; persons without compromising material were released. Those detained were kept under arrest from 12 hours to 36 hours (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 173

[179] In a reply letter, A. O. Alsky said that, given Lenin's consent, he could carry through Soviet administrative channels a decision to sell £50,000 worth of Chinese loan coupons for the needs of the Institute of Labour. On this letter Lenin wrote: "Please direct through Soviet administrative channels. 14/VI. *Lenin*" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee)

On June 8, 1921, the C.L.D. approved the Institute of Labour application for 100,000 gold rubles, directing it for realisation to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade. p. 174

[180] On February 2, 1921, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee gave G. L. Shklovsky permission to find work abroad by agreement with L. B. Krasin and G. V. Chicherin, thereby countermanding the Orgbureau's decision of January 21, under which Shklovsky was invited to look for work in Moscow or the Crimea. p. 175

[181] On March 23, 1921, the C.L.D., in accordance with M. I. Frumkin's report "On the Supply of the Northern Caucasus with Raw Materials and Money", put the duty on the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade and the Supreme Economic Council to submit their opinion on this question to the Narrow C.P.C. On March 24, the latter made it obligatory upon the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade to place at the disposal of the Commis-

sariat's agent in the south-east, not later than April 15, 10 million gold rubles worth of currency, valuables and raw materials for the purchase, on foreign markets in the south, of the goods required for commodity exchange in the Northern Caucasus. It turned out at the end of April that the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade had failed to carry out the C.L.D. assignment.

On June 3, after repeated discussions of the matter in the C.L.D. and the C.P.C., the C.L.D. authorised a commission, consisting of L. M. Khinchuk, D. I. Kursky and V. A. Smolyaninov, to inquire into the failure to fulfil the C.L.D. decision of March 24 and immediately to take the necessary measures to ensure the commodity exchange operations in the south-east. Having heard the commission's report, the C.L.D. recognised, on June 8, the need to increase the commodity fund for the south-east, and instructed the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade to submit a report on execution of the decision by all departments. p. 176

[182] A reference to the inquiry into the case of an agreement concluded with the owners of the cargo on board the Italian ship *Ancona*. This agreement was concluded without the sanction of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade, and M. I. Frumkin, in his capacity as the Deputy People's Commissar, was empowered to annul it, but had failed to do so. As a result, goods of inferior quality were received, and Frumkin was given a reprimand. p. 176

[183] In a reply letter of June 7, 1921, M. I. Frumkin explained that the P.C.F.T. had failed to carry out the C.P.C. decision of March 24, 1921, on a commodity-exchange fund for the south-east, because L. B. Krasin and A. M. Lezhava had been unwilling to give the South-Eastern Territorial Economic Council the opportunity of trading independently with foreign markets. Frumkin said that contrary to Moscow's instructions, the Economic Council had concentrated an export fund valued at 2.5 million gold rubles and had concluded an agreement with the French "Optorg" for the purchase of goods for the south-east on the Constantinople market (see Note 187). On Frumkin's letter Lenin wrote: "*To the archives*. NB. Important" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 177

[184] A reference to the agreement between the Azerbaijan Oil Committee and the Société Commerciale Industrielle financière pour la Russie (Socifross), concluded at Constantinople on May 9, 1921.

Upon receiving the documents from A. P. Serebrovsky, Lenin instructed a special commission to study the agreement and make the necessary corrections. p. 179

[185] On June 11, 1921, A. P. Serebrovsky sent Lenin by messenger the documents relating to the purchases and agreements with the Socifross and a French company for trade with Russia.

On Serebrovsky's telegram Lenin wrote: "*To Smolyaninov.* **Confidential.** Read. Remember. Get hold of the messenger without losing an hour. 11/VI. *Lenin*" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

Reply telegrams were also received from G. K. Orjonikidze and F. Y. Rabinovich, agent of the C.L.D. and the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade in the Transcaucasian republics. p. 179

[186] On October 30, 1920, the C.P.C. adopted its decision, "On the Hydraulic Method of Peat Extraction", which qualified this method as of especial urgency and exceptional state importance, wherever it was being applied. The S.E.C. Presidium was instructed to organise under the Central Peat Administration (Glavtorf) an Administration for Hydraulic Peat Extraction (Gidrotorf), with R. E. Klasson appointed as head. p. 179

[187] Written in connection with A. M. Lezhava's letter of June 6, 1921.

Lezhava proposed to Lenin that the following passage should be deleted from the draft telegram to A. P. Serebrovsky: "I do not at all object to Azvneshtorg [Azerbaijan People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade] and Azneftkom [Azerbaijan Oil Committee] trading directly with Constantinople, I am prepared to support Baku's autonomy within considerable limits, but we must have guarantees" (see this volume, Document 198). He argued that the Azerbaijan Oil Committee did not have a smoothly running trade apparatus and referred to the prepared agreement on merging the foreign trade of the three Transcaucasian republics.

Lezhava also mentioned the agreement concluded on April 22, at Rostov-on-Don, on the basis of the C.L.D. decision of March 24, between the South-Eastern Territorial Economic Council and the French "Optorg" on the purchase of 35 million francs worth of goods at Constantinople through this company. The agreement was economically unprofitable and was not approved by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade. p. 181

[188] Written in reply to P. I. Stučka's letter to Lenin of June 6, 1921, requesting help in exchanging two workers, members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, up before a military tribunal in Riga for persons arrested in the R.S.F.S.R. for anti-Soviet activity, whom the bourgeois government of Latvia would like to see released. In the final part of his letter, Stučka said that the influence of the Communist Party in Latvia was growing. p. 182

[189] On May 7, 1921, L. B. Krasin sent Lenin a letter setting out a British bank's proposal for a concession agreement to set up a free port in Petrograd. On Krasin's letter Lenin wrote: "Put on *C.L.D.* agenda for Wednesday, 11/V (appoint commission). *8/V. Lenin*" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). On May 11, the C.L.D. decided to set up a commission consisting of representatives from the S.E.C.,

the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade, and the People's Commissariat for Railways, to examine the question raised by Krasin. This question was repeatedly discussed by the Narrow C.P.C. and the C.L.D., but the proposal for a concession agreement was not accepted. p. 183

[190] In a letter of June 2, 1921, Y. M. Yurovsky, assigned to work at the State Depository of Valuables (Gokhran), asked Lenin whether he should work through the C.P.C., the C.L.D., the All-Russia C.E.C., and the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. and also through the press, to secure implementation of his proposals to reorganise Gokhran, or wait for the results of an inquiry into the theft of state valuables. See this volume, Documents 173, 180, 216 and 221. p. 184

[191] A reference to Lenin's talk with Y. M. Yurovsky on May 16, 1921. See also Note 155. p. 184

[192] A letter from Spandar Spandaryan, the father of Suren Spandaryan, written in Armenian. Spandaryan asked Lenin and Kamenev to give him material assistance and help him return home from Paris. Spandaryan's request was also set out in a covering letter from B. Mirimanyan, on which Lenin wrote the document here published. p. 184

[193] On a translation of Spandaryan's letter there is a remark dated July 26, 1921: "200 gold rubles remitted..." (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 185

[194] On June 6, 1921, O. W. Kuusinen sent Lenin a part of his article on the organisational question and the theses of the whole article. Lenin asked Kuusinen to give the report on this question at the Third Congress of the Comintern and made a number of remarks for the theses (see present edition, Vol. 42, pp. 316-18).

On the strength of this, Kuusinen reworked his theses and, on June 17, sent them to Lenin again (without paragraphs 25-29, relating to the Party press); on June 21, he sent in the remaining paragraphs. Lenin must have read this variant of the theses. On June 27, Kuusinen sent to Lenin a third variant of the theses. Wilhelm Koenen, a German Communist, also took part in elaborating the theses. On July 9, Lenin approved the theses and made his final remarks and additions to them (ibid., pp. 318-19). The draft of the "Theses on Organisational Principles of Communist Parties, on Methods and Content of Their Work" was submitted to the congress and discussed in committee. On July 12, the draft was adopted with some amendments by the Third Congress of the Comintern (see *Kommunistichesky Internatsional v dokumentakh. Resheniya, tezisy i vozzvaniya kongressov Kominterna i plenumov IKKI. 1919-1932* [The Communist International in Documents. Decisions, Theses and Appeals by Congresses of the Com-

intern and Plenums of the Executive Committee of the Communist International], Moscow, 1933, pp. 201-25). p. 185

[195] The report on the organisational question was read out at the Third Comintern Congress by Wilhelm Koenen, a member of the United Communist Party of Germany, on July 10, 1921. p. 186

[196] A reference to Lenin's letter to Clara Zetkin and Paul Levi of April 16, 1921 (see this volume, Document 129). p. 186

[197] See Note 158. p. 186

[198] A reference to the resolution of the Fourth All-Russia Congress of Trade Unions entitled "Rating Policy" (see *Rezolutsii IV Vserossiiskogo syezda profsoyuzov (18-25 maya 1921 goda)* (Resolutions of the Fourth All-Russia Congress of Trade Unions (May 18-25, 1921), Moscow, 1921, pp. 20-21). p. 186

[199] Lenin wrote this proposal on a draft C.P.C. decision "On Collective Supply of Workers and Employees of Some State Enterprises". Lenin made a number of markings in the text of the draft (see *Lenin Miscellany XX*, pp. 305-06). Lenin's addition was included in "The Basic Instruction on the Application of the Decree on Collective Supply of Workers and Employees of Some State Enterprises", which, together with the C.L.D. decision on this question, was signed by Lenin on June 18, 1921. p. 187

[200] In a letter to the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee on June 16, 1921, Wilhelm Koenen, August Thalheimer and Paul Fröhlich declared that the German delegation at the Third Congress of the Comintern, while approving the theses on tactics worked out by the Russian delegation, demanded that in the event of the congress adopting a special resolution on the March action, it should include the following propositions: 1) the March action was not a putsch, but a step forward in the development of the German revolution and the Party, and it is wrong to characterise it as an offensive without sufficiently extensive preparation; 2) Paul Levi's expulsion from the Party is correct; 3) all factional activity in the U.C.P.G. is prohibited, etc.

In saying that he had given a verbal reply to the letter, Lenin must have meant his speech at the sitting of the German delegation with the members of the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee on June 15, 1921, in which he sharply criticised representatives of the "Left" wing of the U.C.P.G. There is no record of his speech, but the notes of the speeches by Karl Radek, Wilhelm Koenen, August Thalheimer, Béla Kun and others, which Lenin made at the sitting, contained the following remark: "cursing of the German Leftists of the VKPD (15/VI. 1921)" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

For the section of the theses on tactics "Lessons of the March

Action" and the resolution "The March Events and the United Communist Party of Germany", adopted by the Third Congress of the Comintern, see *Kommunistichesky Internatsional v dokumentakh. 1919-1932.* Moscow, 1933, pp. 194, 225. p. 187

[201] Written on the reverse side of G. K. Orjonikidze's telegram to Lenin of June 11, 1921. Orjonikidze informed him that A. P. Serebrovsky regarded Lenin's telegram of June 6 (see this volume, Documents 198 and 201) as an expression of mistrust in him and was planning to resign, and advised Lenin to send Serebrovsky a telegram to calm him down. p. 188

[202] Written on G. V. Chicherin's letter to the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee of June 15, 1921. Referring to the Emmott commission's report to Parliament over the state of affairs in Soviet Russia, Chicherin suggested that a similar "inquiry" should be made into "Britain's domestic conditions". He proposed that "Comrade Radek should be officially authorised to start implementing this plan" (underscored by Lenin).

On June 19, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee resolved: "To adopt the draft and to authorise Comrade Radek to start implementing the proposed plan, with the right to enlist other comrades in the work at his discretion" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 188

[203] Written in connection with the talks started in London in mid-June between People's Commissar for Foreign Trade L. B. Krasin and British industrialist and financier Leslie Urquhart, who before the October Revolution had been Chairman of the Russo-Asiatic Consolidated Company and the owner of large mining enterprises in Russia (Kyshtym, Ridder, Tanalyk and Ekibastuz), on the granting to the latter of concessions for the working and extraction of minerals. The draft telegram, with some additions, was approved by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee on July 2, 1921.

From August to September, the talks were carried on in Moscow. Lenin marked out the principal terms of the concession and kept a close watch on the course of the negotiations and the activity of the commission set up to study the enterprises to be leased (see *Lenin Miscellany XX*, p. 188; *XXIII*, pp. 63-69; *XXXV*, pp. 219-23; *XXXVI*, pp. 311-12).

A draft concession agreement was worked out in the course of the talks. But in October 1921, Urquhart broke off the talks and joined the anti-Soviet campaign, in the hope of pressuring and blackmailing the Soviet Government into making serious concessions.

The talks with Urquhart were resumed in 1922. See this volume, Documents 750, 754, 768, and also present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 387-88, 404-05. p. 189

[204] Referring to the 29 per cent royalties on the oil concessions, L. B. Krasin believed 25 per cent royalties to be acceptable. p. 189

[205] A reference to the fulfilment of the decision taken by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee on June 4, 1921, to mobilise about 2,000 Communists to work in shifts at the State Depository of Valuables (Gokhran).

On June 29, 1921, the C.L.D. adopted a decision declaring this work to be urgent, and instructed all establishments and People's Commissariats, on the personal responsibility of their heads, to carry out all orders and warrants from the State Depository of Valuables within 24 hours and ahead of all others, and set out a number of measures to improve its work. p. 190

[206] The decree on a meat tax in kind was passed by the C.P.C. on June 14, 1921, and published in *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 133 of June 22, 1921. p. 190

[207] On June 10, 1921, L. K. Martens, a member of the S.E.C. Presidium, submitted to Lenin a copy of his report to the S.E.C. Presidium, which urged the need to enlist for work in Soviet industry foreign workers, chiefly Russian émigrés in America, many of whom were eager to go to Soviet Russia in view of the industrial crisis in America at the end of 1920 and early 1921. His report also contained a number of practical proposals on organising the immigration of foreign workers.

On page 1 of the report, Lenin wrote: "NB: p. 9, bring along food" and on page 9, he underlined Martens's words: "They have brought with them food for six months", and wrote in the margin: "NB" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

The report was appended to Minutes No. 224 of the C.L.D. sitting on June 22, 1921. A detailed article about this appeared in *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* No. 157 of July 20, 1921, and was then reprinted in the monthly information journal *Soviet Russia* (Vol. V, No. 4, 1921, pp. 156-58). p. 191

[208] Having received this letter, Martens replied to Lenin that he would immediately start working on the draft C.L.D. decision concerning the industrial immigration of Russians from America and would have it ready by six o'clock.

That same day, June 22, 1921, the C.L.D. declared that it was desirable to "develop separate industrial enterprises or groups of enterprises by leasing them to groups of American workers, and industrially developed peasants, on contractual terms assuring them of a measure of economic autonomy" (*Lenin Miscellany XX*, p. 202). The C.L.D. also recognised the need to regulate the industrial immigration of workers from other countries, and instructed the S.E.C. to work out the terms for leasing enterprises to these workers. p. 191

[209] In a letter of June 21, 1921, M. V. Rykunov, a member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade, proposed that more Communists should be enlisted for improving the work of the People's Commissariat, with two or three practitioners added to the Collegium, that former private exporters should help to organise the marketing of goods abroad, that permission should be given to pay commission fees to workers in trade, etc.

On the letter are Lenin's underscorings, the word "correct!" under some of Rykunov's proposals and the note: "*From Rykunov*. 22/VI. To Comrade *Molotov*" (Central Party Archives). The letter was retyped and sent to all members of the Orgbureau and the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee. At the same time, Rykunov submitted a memo on the formation of an export fund. For Lenin's remarks and underlinings see *Lenin Miscellany XX*, pp. 249-50. p. 192

[210] This is written on a telephone message from G. D. Tsyurupa, chief engineer of the Kashira Power Station construction site, sent to Lenin on June 22, 1921. He reported that the project had no money, which is why there were delays in the supply of building and other materials, and of wages to workers.

On June 23, 1921, the Narrow C.P.C. examined Lenin's proposal and authorised the People's Commissariat for Finance to order the finance department of the Moscow Soviet to provide the Kashira site with the necessary amount of money, as a matter of top priority. p. 192

[211] In his report on June 23, 1921, G. I. Bokii informed Lenin of the measures taken by him to prevent stealing at the State Depository of Valuables (Gokhran). At the same time, Bokii sent Lenin a copy of the preliminary report, submitted by a commission which had made an inquiry into its work, and containing the proposals for improving it. On July 8, Lenin was sent a calendar plan for work to reorganise Gokhran. p. 192

[212] A reference to the draft decision, "On Classifying the Work of Gokhran as Urgent", which the People's Commissariat for Finance introduced in the C.L.D. on June 24, 1921. It was adopted by the C.L.D. on June 29. p. 192

[213] A reference to a draft decision of the commission, consisting of A. M. Lezhava, L. M. Khinchuk, P. L. Voikov and M. I. Frumkin, which it took on June 24, 1921, on the need to buy grain in foreign markets and to make available a 100-million ruble credit for this purpose.

On this draft Lenin made the following remarks: "secret", "to the archives", and added in the margin: "Two additions: 1) Weekly reports on the execution and course of this operation from Lezhava + Frumkin + Khinchuk. 2) Sent to Frumkin" (Central

Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

The Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee took account of these additions in its decision "On Grain Purchases", adopted on June 25. In a telegram to Krasin in London, Lezhava stressed that Lenin "specially requests more speed with the purchase and delivery of the big consignment of grain" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 193

[214] In a reply letter on July 5, 1921, V. D. Kaisarov said that a special scientific commission for compiling a geographical atlas undertook to elaborate the questions outlined in Lenin's letter to M. P. Pavlovich (see present edition, Vol. 35, Document 283), and asked that two of its members should be sent to Berlin to acquire new material on the West European economy, noting that it was desirable to enlist Moscow specialists in compiling the atlas. The letter said that the commission's programme and calendar plan of work would be sent to Lenin shortly.

On this letter Lenin made his remarks and underlinings and wrote a number of instructions to Lydia Fotieva (see this volume, Document 140, and *Lenin Miscellany XX*, pp. 321-22). p. 194

[215] This was written in connection with a resolution sent to Lenin by a general meeting of workers of the Moscow Garment Factory No. 36 named after the Third International (émigrés from America).

They wrote that for a month they had been unable to start their factory equipped with the latest machines and devices which they had brought along from America, and asked Lenin to help them to obtain the materials necessary to complete the equipment of the factory and the repair of the premises, and also to obtain housing.

On June 27, 1921, Lenin signed letters to L. K. Martens and V. T. Likhachov, Chairman of the Moscow Gubernia Economic Council, ordering them to remove all red tape in this matter and to help the émigré workers to start the factory as soon as possible (see *Lenin Miscellany XX*, p. 201). p. 195

[216] Written in reply to a letter from a group of Communists of the Samarkand organisation on June 15, 1921, "To the First Soldier of the World Communist Revolutionary Army", in which they sent their whole-hearted greetings to Lenin and expressed their approval of the New Economic Policy. On the envelope Lenin wrote this assignment to his secretary dated June 27, 1921: "**Urgent.** Send them a telegram of thanks and approval. Give me the draft" (*Lenin Miscellany XX*, p. 117). The draft of the reply telegram was written by the C.P.C. Secretariat on the basis of Lenin's instructions. p. 195

[217] In the spring of 1921, a group of American garment workers collected money, bought industrial equipment and left for the

Soviet Republic. They were given the opportunity to organise their garment factory No. 36 in Moscow, which was housed in a four-storeyed building, made available on Lenin's personal instructions.

On June 16, 1921, the American workers wrote Lenin a collective letter asking him to help them to complete the building of the factory. Lenin took the most active part in preparations to start the factory (see *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 53, Supplement, Documents 2 and 3). p. 196

[218] On July 20, 1921, the C.L.D. passed a decision providing for measures designed to eliminate delays in the dispatch of telegrams relating to the fishing industry and the transportation of fish. p. 197

[219] In the first part of the letter Lenin made remarks on the first variant of G. M. Krzhizhanovsky's article "To Our Critics", written in reply to Y. Larin's article in *Pravda* on June 9, 1921, which was entitled "The Mysteries of Soviet Industry", and which criticised the work of the State Planning Commission (Gosplan). Krzhizhanovsky wrote to Lenin: "On the spur of the moment, I sketched out an article 'To Our Critics', but then found it too flippant and decided to shelve it. If you have a moment to spare for light reading, run your eye over it..." (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). Krzhizhanovsky subsequently rewrote his article (see *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 53, Document 298).

The second part of the letter (from the words: "But for a report in the C.L.D.") contains Lenin's proposals for Krzhizhanovsky's report at the C.L.D. on Gosplan's work. The report was heard on July 8, 1921. p. 198

[220] Lenin must have written this letter in connection with L. B. Krasin's telegram of July 4, 1921, in which Krasin reported on the congress of Russian counter-revolutionaries (monarchists, Cadets and Right-wing Socialist-Revolutionaries), which was held in Paris at the end of June 1921. It adopted a decision to organise revolts at Kronstadt and in Petrograd at the end of July or in early August to overthrow the Soviet power. p. 201

[221] On July 7, 1921, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee instructed the All-Russia Cheka to take the necessary precautionary measures and also decided to send "to Petrograd within the next few weeks a number of Communist metalworkers from among veteran Party members" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 202

[222] Written on a memo to the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee from Deputy People's Commissar for Food N. P. Bryukhanov and Dep-

uty People's Commissar for Foreign Trade A. M. Lezhava, reporting the possibility of purchasing 5 million poods of wheat in North-Eastern Persia, and requesting the allocation of 4 million silver rubles for that purpose. On July 6, 1921, this was approved by the Politbureau.

On July 18, the Narrow C.P.C. appropriated 4 million rubles for the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade. p. 202

[223] A reference to the conflict between the Central Administration of the Fishing Industry (Glavryba) (Chairman A. I. Potyaev) and the People's Commissariat for Food, in which the former insisted on its inclusion in the system of S.E.C. administrations, while the latter wanted to retain its own control over it.

On July 7, 1921, a commission of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee, set up to settle the conflict, decided that the Administration was to be left under the People's Commissariat for Food, and ordered the heads of the two establishments to work in close contact and maintain normal relations.

Lenin wanted the conflict settled as soon as possible, because friction at the centre had a negative effect on work all down the line. See this volume, Documents 272, 273, 274, 275, 276 and 290; and *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 53, Documents 50 and 119. p. 203

[224] A reference to Lenin's speech on the Czechoslovak question on July 6, 1921, in the commission on tactics at the Third Congress of the Comintern. p. 203

[225] It has been impossible to ascertain the subject. p. 203

[226] On July 9, 1921, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee adopted the following decision: "To allow Comrade Lenin one month's leave with the right in that period of attending only meetings of the Politbureau (but not those of the C.P.C. and the C.L.D., except for special cases—by decision of the C.C. Secretariat)." p. 204

[227] Written on G. V. Chicherin's letter of July 9, 1921, reporting the proposal of Fridtjof Nansen, representing the International Red Cross, to send food to the population of Petrograd, provided its distribution was supervised with the participation of a foreign representative (see Note 229). p. 205

[228] A reference to Lenin's amendments to the draft theses of the S.E.C. on implementing the principles of the New Economic Policy; the draft was adopted by the S.E.C. Presidium on July 6, 1921 (see *Lenin Miscellany XX*, pp. 102-06). The text of the draft with Lenin's amendments was sent to G. M. Krzhizhanovsky, I. T. Smilga, N. P. Bryukhanov, A. M. Lezhava, V. A. Avanesov and V. V. Schmidt. On July 11, the S.E.C. Presidium again examined the draft theses, approved them and passed them on for discussion by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee.

On July 12, 1921, the S.E.C. theses were examined by the C.P.C., and on July 16, by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. The latter adopted the theses as a basis and appointed a commission to edit them. The commission produced a new variant, to which Lenin also made his amendments (see *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 44, p. 73). This draft was discussed on July 23 at a meeting of the communist group of the Central Committees of the trade unions, the Presidium of the Moscow Gubernia T.U.C., and representatives of Petrograd trade unions. The meeting adopted the theses as a basis and appointed a commission which, together with the Party C.C. commission, worked out a final text. On August 9, this was adopted by a plenum of the Party Central Committee, and on the same day given legislative form through the C.P.C. as "C.P.C. Instructions on Implementing the Principles of the New Economic Policy" (see *Direktivy KPSS i Sovetskogo pravitelstva po khozyaistvennym voprosam* [Directives of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Government on Economic Questions], Vol. 1, Moscow, 1957, pp. 254-59).

See also this volume, Documents 240, 241 and 242. p. 205

[229] Written on a letter from V. M. Molotov, Secretary of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C., who put to the vote of the Politbureau members two proposals: 1) to authorise a commission of P. A. Bogdanov and G. V. Tsyperovich to draft an agreement with the German consortium on its participation in rehabilitating the metal industry of Petrograd; and 2) Fridtjof Nansen's proposal to send food to the population of Petrograd. Both were adopted by the Politbureau on July 11, 1921. p. 207

[230] The notes to V. A. Smolyaninov were written in connection with the fitting out of the Kara expedition to deliver goods to the mouth of the Ob and the Yenisei in Siberia for commodity exchange with a Swedish company. S. Y. Chutskayev, Deputy Chairman of the Siberian Revolutionary Committee, in a telegram to Lenin on July 8, 1921, expressed doubt concerning the successful outcome of the Kara expedition, in view of L. B. Krasin's cancellation of the agreement with the Swedes and the purchases of goods from the British.

On July 14, 1921, on Lenin's assignment, V. A. Smolyaninov, together with L. B. Krasin, wrote a reply to Chutskayev informing him of the measures taken to ensure the expedition. p. 208

[231] Written at a sitting of the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. on July 12, 1921, in connection with the discussion of the question of an All-Russia Famine Relief Committee. N. A. Semashko objected to the establishment of the committee, saying that the Mensheviks and the S.R.s could use it for hostile activity against the Soviet power. To prevent this, the Politbureau approved a plan to set up a communist group in the Committee and decided to bring into its Presidium only a limited number of bourgeois "public figures". p. 208

[232] In a talk with A. A. Korostelev, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, in early July 1921, Lenin proposed that a Commission for Assisting the Economic Bodies should be set up under this People's Commissariat. Korostelev was to report on the matter to the Presidium of the Moscow Soviet. However, the report was not heard at the scheduled time because of the simultaneous opening of the Third Gubernia Congress of Soviets, and was given to the new executive committee of the Moscow Soviet on July 15, 1921.

Attaching great importance to the work of the Commission, Lenin insisted on having regular progress reports (see present edition, Vol. 35, Document 291; *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 53, Document 133). p. 209

[233] Written in connection with a letter from I. A. Semyannikov, a Communist Red Armyman, who informed Lenin about cases of mismanagement, stealing and abuse of power by food supply workers and responsible Communists in the Don region. He requested immediate measures to stop these scandalous practices which were arousing indignation among the workers and peasants. p. 209

[234] For Lenin's assessment of the American third party—the workers' and peasants' or workers' and farmers' union see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 146-47.

In a reply letter of July 14, 1921, M. M. Borodin wrote that he would prepare a report within five days on the strength of the available material. On Borodin's letter Lenin wrote this assignment to his secretary: "Please give me a reminder within a week. 14.VII. *Lenin*", which he later crossed out and wrote: "To the archives."

Upon receipt of Borodin's report, Lenin wrote a reply (see this volume, Document 284). p. 210

[235] Written in reply to a letter from A. A Korostelev, in which he explains why the Commission for Assisting the Economic Bodies has failed to start work, in particular referring to the fact that collective supply for workers has not yet been introduced at enterprises in Moscow and Petrograd. p. 211

[236] A telegram from the Chairman of the Yaroslavl Gubernia Executive Committee on July 14, 1921, reported the stealing of food during loading and discharge of cargoes on the Volga. p. 212

[237] A reference to the draft resolution of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee warning Baku officials against violations of the Soviet Government's policy in respect of Persia (Iran). It was adopted by the Politbureau on October 3, 1921. p. 212

[238] *Rudè Pravo*—a daily, initially the organ of the Czechoslovak Social-Democratic Party (Left) and then the Central Organ of

the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, published since September 21, 1920. p. 213

[239] A reference to the *Congress of the Czechoslovak Social-Democratic Party* (*Left*), held in Prague from May 14 to 16, 1921, which inaugurated the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Lenin made a thorough study of the proceedings of the Inaugural Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (see this volume, Document 324; *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 53, Document 65). p. 213

[240] A reference to I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov's pamphlet, *Electrifcation of the R.S.F.S.R. in Connection with the Transitional Phase of the World Economy*, which was published in 1922 with a foreword by Lenin (see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 245-46). p. 213

[241] A reference to a pamphlet by K. Ukhanov and N. Borisov, *Life and Activity of the Soviet of Workers' and Red Army Deputies of the Rogozhsko-Simonovsky District of Moscow* (*March 1917-January 1921*), a copy of which with Lenin's markings is at the Central Party Archives. On the document there is the following inscription in Lenin's hand: "Former Dynamo Works, Leninskaya Sloboda (Simonovo), Moscow." p. 214

[242] On August 1, 1921, the Central Famine Relief Commission under the All-Russia C.E.C. issued an appeal to the peasants and all toiling citizens of the R.S.F.S.R., urging a contribution for the famine-stricken areas of one pound per pood of threshed grain. On August 4, the Presidium of the All-Russia C.E.C. adopted a decision on deducting, for the benefit of the starving, one per cent per pood of foodstuffs procured through commodity exchange (published in *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 172 on August 6, 1921). p. 215

[243] A letter sent to Lenin by Richard Müller and Heinrich Malzahn, members of the German trade union delegation at the First International Congress of Revolutionary Trade Unions (July 1921), over the resolution of the congress on the organisational question relating to the trade unions in Germany.

Following its establishment, the United Communist Party of Germany set up communist groups in all the trade unions. In an effort to isolate the Communists from the trade union membership, the trade union bureaucrats expelled leading Communists and some local organisations in toto. p. 218

[244] A reference to G. V. Chicherin's protest against the proposal to conclude a concession agreement with the British Bolton Company to set up a free port in Petrograd. Chicherin said that this would create a grave threat to the Republic's external security.

This question was repeatedly discussed by the C.L.D. and the Narrow C.P.C. Eventually, the proposal was not accepted. p. 219

[245] On July 22, 1921, the C.L.D. examined this question and adopted a decision under which all foreign missions and individuals arriving in Russia would be supplied with food at a private distribution centre set up by the People's Commissariat for Food, when presenting special cards registered at the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. p. 221

[246] A reference to a letter from M. Kruchinsky, Deputy Head of the Central Administration of Horse Breeding (Gukon) of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture, who said the horse-breeding Industry was in a grave state due to the bad work of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture. p. 222

[247] A reference to the report, "*The Present State and the Immediate Prospects of the Astrakhan State Fishing Industry*", given on June 16, 1921, by I. P. Babkin, the C.L.D. agent for the fishing season in Astrakhan.

For Lenin's remarks and markings on Babkin's report see *Lenin Miscellany XX*, pp. 293-98.

On July 27, 1921, the C.L.D. adopted its decision, "On Measures to Improve the Fishing Industry and Transportation of Fish", which also established the forms of relations between the Central Administration of the Fishing Industry and the People's Commissariat for Food. p. 223

[248] This and the following documents were written in connection with G. V. Chicherin's letter to M. M. Scheinman on the need to speed up the writing of an article exposing Georgian Mensheviks, and a request for some partial sketches of the diplomatic aspect of the Georgian conflict. p. 227

[249] A reference to N. L. Meshcheryakov's pamphlet *In the Menshevik Paradise. Impressions of a Trip to Georgia*, published in 1921. p. 227

[250] A reference to the report from the Moscow Gubernia Food Commissar P. S. Sorokin on the fulfilment by the Moscow Consumers' Commune of the C.P.C. decision of July 12, 1921, to reduce by 30 per cent the number of persons on the supply list in view of the grave food situation. On July 26, the C.P.C. set up a commission to verify the work by the Moscow Consumers' Commune. It was authorised, in particular, to find out whether it was expedient to remove from the ration list the categories of persons as designated by the commune, or whether it was possible to remove all non-working persons of Moscow. p. 228

[251] A reference to the draft agreement with the nationalist Armenian Dashnaktsutyun party of July 14, 1921, which provided for the

integration with Soviet Armenia of Turkish territory inhabited by Armenians and the establishment of an "independent" Armenia. On July 26, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee rejected this draft agreement. p. 229

[252] The deputy Soviet representative in Great Britain, N. K. Klyshko, reported in the telegram mentioned above that, upon receipt ol a proposal to set up an Anglo-Russian Committee for the Collection of Funds for Famine Relief in Russia, he had stipulated definite conditions for its establishment, including a favourable attitude to the Soviet Government on the part of Britain's ruling circles. p. 229

[253] Written in connection with G. V. Chicherin's letter of July 24, 1921, saying that the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs had had to make arrangements for Isadora Duncan, the actress who had arrived in Russia at the invitation of A. V. Lunacharsky and L. B. Krasin. Chicherin argued that the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs did not have the duty to make arrangements for foreigners coming to Russia who were not connected with official missions. p. 230

[254] *Sowiet*—a monthly published in Berlin from 1919 to July 1, 1921, under the editorship of Paul Levi. Following Levi's expulsion from the United Communist Party of Germany, the journal, from July 1, changed its orientation and was published under the name of *Unser Weg*. At the end of 1922 it ceased publication. p. 231

[255] Rosa Luxemburg's manuscript was published in 1922 by Paul Levi, with his foreword *Die russische Revolution. Eine kritische Würdigung. Aus dem Nachlaß von Rosa Luxemburg* (The Russian Revolution. A Critical Essay. From Rosa Luxemburg's Legacy). In response, Clara Zetkin published a book in 1922 entitled *Um Rosa Luxemburg Stellung zur russischen Revolution* (Rosa Luxemburg and the Russian Revolution, Moscow-Leningrad, 1922), showing that Levi was a renegade, and setting forth Rosa Luxemburg's true views of the Russian revolution.

For Lenin's assessment of Paul Levi see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 207-11. p. 232

[256] This was written on L. B. Krasin's letter of July 27, 1921, reporting on the terms of an agreement with the British shipbuilding companies, who were prepared to grant Soviet Russia a long-term credit for the building of ships for the Black Sea, Caspian and the Volga merchant fleet and the Mariinsk Waterway. In this connection, Krasin proposed that these companies or the British Government extend an additional credit to cover the purchase of equipment, and suggested that a plan should be worked out to use the credit for the rehabilitation of the national economy. p. 233

[257] Written on a report from I. S. Unschlicht, Deputy Chairman of the All-Russia Cheka, who proposed that in order to demoralise the whiteguard troops interned in Poland and Czechoslovakia, on which S. V. Petlyura and B. V. Savinkov pinned their military hopes, an amnesty should be extended to all interned soldiers, provided that they abided by certain conditions and limitations. This proposal was adopted by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee. p. 233

[258] On the document Lenin wrote: "Why has this not been done?" This refers to instructions given in a letter to A. I. Potyaev on July 24, 1921 (see this volume, Document 272). p. 234

[259] In the article referred to, N. N. Vashkov gave a short review of what had been done in the sphere of electrification, giving a table to show the growth of urban and rural electric-power stations from 1917 to 1921. He also spoke of the work started locally to explore the power resources and the requirements in the electrification. p. 235

[260] A reference to the *Eighth All-Russia Electrotechnical Congress*, which was called on Lenin's initiative in pursuance of the resolution of the Eighth Congress of Soviets, to hold a comprehensive discussion of technical and economic problems connected with the implementation of the GOELRO plan. Before the congress, a telegram was sent to all the Gubernia Executive Committees instructing their electrical departments to send in, with their delegates, information about an the existing electric-power stations (see this volume, Document 327). p. 235

[261] A reference to G. I. Myasnikov's article "Vexed Questions", written on July 27, 1921. In a letter to Myasnikov on August 5, 1921, Lenin sharply criticised his views (see present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 504-09) p. 236

[262] A reference to *Russky Golos*, a progressive daily published in Russian by the Russo-American publishing company in New York since 1917. p. 237

[263] The *Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia* was organised in May 1919 by Russian emigres in New York. Similar societies were set up elsewhere in the U.S.A. and Canada. The aim of the Society was to promote the rehabilitation of the Soviet economy by sending skilled workers and technicians.

The first congress of the societies for technical aid to Soviet Russia was held in New York from July 2 to 4, 1921; it united local societies in several American and Canadian cities into a single Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia. From the end of 1921 to October 1922, the Society sent to Soviet Russia seven agricultural, two construction and one mining communes and a number of groups which brought with them equipment, seeds and

foodstuffs worth nearly $500,000. The Society was extending its activity, and by 1923 it had more than 75 branches with over 20,000 members. Its second congress in June 1923 adopted a decision to intensify its work of organising and sending in communes and preparatory groups of skilled workers to Russia. The Society continued its active economic aid until 1925.

Lenin regarded this activity as a striking expression of proletarian internationalism and fraternal solidarity of the working people. p. 237

[264] A reference to a proposal made by Ionov (Koigen F. M.) to have Mensheviks and S.R.s included in the branches abroad of the Central Famine Relief Commission under the All-Russia C.E.C. On Ionov's telegram to Chicherin, setting out the proposal, Lenin wrote: "Under no circumstances." p. 238

[265] A reference to a telegram to the American Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, which was drafted by Lenin (see this volume, Document 293). The question of sending this telegram was discussed at a conference of representatives of the Supreme Economic Council, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, and the People's Commissariat for Labour on August 6, 1921. Because the votes were split, a vote was taken, on Lenin's proposal, among the members of the C.P.C., most of whom came out in favour of sending the telegram.

The following text was added to the telegram on Lenin's proposal: "One should not forget about the difficulties existing in Russia, which have to be overcome, food supply difficulties and others. The people coming to Russia must be prepared for this. It is necessary to be guided by the instructions of the industrial emigration department under the S.E.C., which are being sent to you." For the final text of the telegram see *Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR*, Vol. IV, Moscow, 1960, p. 261. p. 240

[266] The draft theses provided that the whole of Soviet policy in Bukhara and Khiva should be implemented only through the plenipotentiary representatives of Russia; the measures taken by the Turkestan Commission were to be agreed with these representatives and, on especially important matters, with the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.

On August 5, 1921, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee endorsed the draft theses. p. 240

[267] N. M. Knipovich, an industrial research specialist, was of the opinion that V. I. Meisner, Head of the Central Administration of the Fishing Industry, was hampering the initiative of other establishments in scientific-industrial research, and that his Administration was conducting an incorrect policy on fisheries. Knipovich said all this in a letter to Lenin on August 6, 1921, on which Lenin made his remarks (see *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*, pp. 164-67). p. 243

[268] A reference to the fulfilment of orders for the manufacture of electric ploughs. Back in December 1920, the Narrow C.P.C., on Lenin's instructions, approved a plan for the manufacture of electric ploughing machines. It was being realised by the Extraordinary Commission for the Making of Electric Ploughing Implements ("Elektroplug") which consisted of representatives of the S.E.C. and the People's Commissariat for Agriculture. Later, its functions were transferred to the S.E.C.'s Central Administration for Agricultural Machinery. Lenin kept a close watch on the making of electric ploughs and demanded that the members of the commission supply him with regular and exact information about the fulfilment of the orders (see present edition, Vol. 36, p. 531; *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 52, Document 34). p. 243

[269] These documents were written in connection with the report of July 20, 1921, from S. I. Liberman, an expert of the Concessions Committee under the State Planning Commission, proposing that the administration of the Archangel forest district be transferred to a group of forestry specialists, who were to operate with the rights of a state establishment while retaining some freedom commercially.

On August 17, 1921, the C.L.D. adopted a decision on the administrative organs for the timber industry of the Severo-Belomorsky District, under which a special body—Severoles—was set up within the system of the Chief Timber Committee. p. 244

[270] This was written in connection with a letter from M. P. Tomsky, Chairman of the Commission of the All-Russia C.E.C. and the C.P.C. of the R.S.F.S.R. for Turkestan affairs, of July 23, 1921, setting out his differences with G. I. Safarov, member of the Turkestan Bureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee, on implementing the New Economic Policy in Turkestan. Tomsky insisted on introducing the tax in kind and believed it was impossible to combine the New Economic Policy with the establishment in Turkestan of Committees of Poor Peasants and their sharing out of the property, cattle and stock requisitioned from the kulaks. Safarov, for his part, insisted that the tax in kind and free exchange were not quite applicable to Turkestan conditions, and laid emphasis on organising unions of the poor and the class stratification of the local population.

For details on this question see also this volume, Document 383; *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 53, Documents 175 and 259. p. 246

[271] A reference to the purchase of sheep from cattle-breeding traders in Turkestan and China to supply meat to the population of Moscow. It later turned out, however, that the deal was disadvantageous. In a telegram sent to M. P. Tomsky on September 19, 1921, which was signed by Lenin, he was ordered to stop further purchases of cattle (see *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*, p. 136). p. 246

[272] These notes were written by Lenin in connection with the regulations "On House Management", adopted by the Narrow C.P.C. on August 8, 1921, which made the house manager most responsible for the good repair of housing facilities. On August 12 and 22, 1921, the Narrow C.P.C. examined the question of elaborating the additional measures proposed by Lenin to enhance responsibility for the maintenance of houses in good repair. p. 247

[273] The Gokhran (State Depository of Valuables) case mentioned in the letter arose as a result of the discovery of a large shortage of diamonds. Gokhran valuer, Y. S. Shelekhes, was accused of stealing valuables and was arrested by the All-Russia Cheka. On August 8, 1921, Lenin sent an inquiry to Deputy Chairman of the All-Russia Cheka, I. S. Unschlicht, over Shelekhes's arrest and received a reply on August 9, from G. I. Bokii, a member of the Collegium of the Cheka. The present letter was written by Lenin in connection with his unsatisfactory reply.

See this volume, Documents 173, 180, 216 and 221; and also *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 53, Document 215. p. 248

[274] A probable reference to Maxim Gorky's letter connected with the proposal from ARA (American Relief Administration) to conclude an agreement with Soviet Russia. Lenin sent this letter to L. B. Kamenev on July 31, 1921. p. 249

[275] Written on a report from the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection to the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee requesting its sanction for the dispatch abroad of auditing groups to inspect R.S.F.S.R. trade missions. p. 253

[276] A reference to G. I. Myasnikov's report to the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee and his article "Vexed Questions". For Lenin's reply letter see this volume, Document 292, and present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 504-09. p. 253

[277] The telegram proposed by Lenin was sent to M. M. Litvinov to Riga the same day, August 13, with some editorial changes. Litvinov was negotiating with ARA on behalf of the Soviet Government. See also this volume, Document 310. p. 254

[278] Written in connection with the discussion by the Narrow C.P.C. on August 12, 1921, of a draft decree to combat bribe-taking. On August 16, the decree was approved by the C.P.C. and published in *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 184, on August 21, 1921. p. 255

[279] Subsequently, through V. A. Smolyaninov, Deputy Business Manager of the C.L.D., Lenin repeatedly inquired of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade about the purchases of Norwegian fish. Import operations were started in December 1921. p. 255

[280] A reference to the reply from N. N. Vashkov, head of the S.E.C.'s Electrical Department, to Lenin's telephone message of August 1, 1921. p. 256

[281] A reference to Goldebayev's article "Our Resources" (*Pravda* No. 178, August 13, 1921). In a reply letter to Lenin on August 20, 1921, V. N. Ipatiev, Chief of the S.E.C.'s Chemical Industry Department, said that despite the vast raw material resources of the Gulf of Kara-Bugaz, their practical use was being made difficult because of the lack of water and the shortage of fuel and transport facilities in the area.

The commercial extraction of sodium sulphate was started in 1924. Today, the area has become a major source of mineral raw materials required for the chemical industry and other branches of the national economy. See also this volume, Document 410. p. 256

[282] In addition and amendment of the decree of May 31, 1921, on the state monopoly for salt, the C.P.C. adopted a decision on August 23, 1921, setting out practical measures to ensure the salt monopoly and the balanced distribution of salt in the national economy. The decision was published in *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 194, September 2, 1921.

The All-Russia C.E.C. and C.L.D. decision prohibiting bonuses in salt, and laying down penalties for breaches of the salt monopoly, was approved on August 29, 1921, and published in *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 194, September 2, 1921. p. 257

[283] A reference to the report given by Bohumir Šmeral at the Inaugural Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party which was held from May 14 to 16, 1921.

Having received the note from secretary Maria Glyasser saying that Šmeral's speech had been found and was being translated, Lenin made this remark: "To my library." p. 258

[284] A reference to the letter from P. I. Popov, Chief of the Central Statistical Board, of August 19, 1921, offering his resignation from the Board. For Lenin's reply letter see this volume, Document 328. p. 261

[285] On August 23, 1921, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee adopted a decision on trips by members of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic to the western border to study the state of its security and defence. p. 266

[286] A reference to Y. M. Steklov's article "Leftism But Within Reason", carried in *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 182, on August 18, 1921. A. A. Solts's article "Uncalled for Alarm" was published in *Pravda* No. 184, on August 21, 1921. p. 266

[287] This document was written by Lenin in connection with the letter from Prof. N. N. Yakovlev, of the Geological Institute, about

the arrest of academic geologists working on the study of sapropel (organic and inorganic depositions on the bed of reservoirs) Yakovlev said their arrest had been unjustified and requested their early release.

In a reply letter on August 25, I. S. Unschlicht wrote that one geologist had been released, while the others could not be released, because it had been established that they had connections with the counter-revolutionary organisation in Petrograd. p. 267

[288] On Lenin's manuscript there is this note by a secretary: "Talked with Comrade Rakosi: he promised to find out and give a written reply." On September 9, 1921, I. S. Unschlicht, Deputy Chairman of the All-Russia Cheka, informed Lenin that in view of Adolphe Carm's release, he was being allowed to leave the territory of the R.S.F.S.R., and his case had been quashed. p. 267

[289] About Fridtjof Nansen's proposal see Notes 227 and 229.

The "Kukishi" were members of the All-Russia Famine Relief Committee. "Kukish" is the Russian for fig, and is an acronym coined from the names of Yelena Kuskova and N. M. Kishkin, two of its members. p. 268

[290] The government communiqué on the dissolution of the All-Russia Famine Relief Committee was published in *Pravda* No. 191, on August 30, 1921. p. 269

[291] Written by Lenin in reply to the thesis on the national liberation movement in India sent to him by the progressive Indian political leader Bhupendra Nath Datta, who later wrote that Lenin's letter "came as a revelation to the writer. That the 'peasant movement' is of importance for the movement for national freedom has never struck a national-revolutionary. Sentimentalism is the backbone of nationalism. The middle class considers itself to be the representative of the nation and sees every movement in that perspective. Hence, the instruction of Lenin not to discuss the social classes but to get interested in peasant movement set the writer athinking. It changed his *Anschauung* regarding the means and methods of Indian fight for freedom" (Bhupendranath Datta, *Dialectics of Land-Economics of India*, Calcutta, p. III).

In his letter to Datta, Lenin mentioned his theses on the national and colonial questions for the Second Congress of the Communist International (see present edition, Vol. 31, pp. 144-51). p. 270

[292] In contrast to the practice of providing free economic services (transport, including urban transport, housing, posts, newspapers, etc.), established during the War Communism period, charges for rail and water transportation were introduced on July 9, 1921, postal charges on July 18, prices on goods, including food, on August 5, and charges for municipal services on August 25.

In the second half of 1921, the C.P.C. took a number of meas-

ures to improve the workers' material conditions: it introduced new principles for wage payments in accordance with quantity and quality of labour, payment in money instead of in kind, guaranteed wages (in commodity rubles), etc. As a result, the real earnings of workers had already increased by the end of 1921. p. 270

[293] On August 30, 1921, Lenin was sent an extract from the minutes of a sitting of the Orgbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. of August 29, 1921, on the granting of leave to G. M. Krzhizhanovsky. p. 270

[294] This document contains Lenin's reply to a telegram from V. N. Kayurov, who had been appointed chairman of the Commission for Purging the Party in Siberia. The exchange of direct wire telegrams took place on August 30, 1921, when Kayurov said that he doubted the need for purging the Party, and proposed that greater attention should be given to the Communists in day-to-day practical work. At Lenin's request, the Siberian commission submitted its considerations on this matter to the Central Commission for Purging the R.C.P.(B.). p. 272

[295] A reference to the commission of representatives of the All-Russia C.E.C. of the R.S.F.S.R. and the C.E.C. of the Ukrainian S.S.R., with the participation of representatives from the People's Commissariat for Food of the R.S.F.S.R. and the People's Commissariat for Food of the Ukraine, set up to inquire into the state of food supply work in the Ukraine. Objecting to the formation of this commission, N. P. Bryukhanov wrote to Lenin: "It is not likely that the commission will propose any new measures. But there is no doubt at all that it will divert some of the food workers' energy and attention from the fulfilment of their work, which is urgent and brooks no delay" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 273

[296] A commission consisting of representatives of the State Planning Commission, the Central Peat Administration and the Administration for Hydraulic Peat Extraction met on September 7, 1921, with L. B. Krasin in the chair, to discuss the report about the new way of extracting peat, and adopted a number of measures to promote this work. Having acquainted himself with the commission's material on September 11, Lenin instructed N. P. Gorbunov to establish regular supervision over the execution of the decisions (see this volume, Document 378). p. 273

[297] A reference to the application addressed to Lenin, asking him to help recover the requisitioned things. p. 274

[298] This is written on a note from the Managing Department of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee to Lenin, putting to the vote the

question of authorising the Moscow Workers' Co-operative to procure potatoes directly from the peasants.

A. A. Kissin and N. P. Bryukhanov took a negative attitude to this, believing, however, that the Moscow Co-operative could have its agents and acceptance stations under the gubernia societies. They held that procurement in circumvention of gubernia societies would tend to breed speculative commodity exchange. p. 274

[299] This assignment arose from a letter sent in by B. P. Pozern, Chairman of the Central Textile Administration, concerning the organisation of work of textile mills. Pozern's letter of September 17, in reply to an inquiry from the C.P.C. and C.L.D. Managing Department, said that supplies were earmarked only for the best organised textile mills. In September 1921, the S.E.C. Presidium allocated funds for the Central Textile Administration to buy food and fuel and carry out capital repairs at enterprises. p. 275

[300] Written in connection with the receipt of the text of a concession agreement concluded by the government of Georgia for the working of the timber resources in two areas of the Republic. On September 30, the C.L.D. decided to accept the agreement. The People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade was instructed to collect information on the credit-worthiness of the concessionaires. p. 276

[301] Written at the bottom of a letter from Y. P. Figatner, a member of the Caucasian Bureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee, in which he informed Lenin about the gift of a portrait embroidered by a Persian Communist artisan. The author of the letter requested written confirmation of the receipt of the portrait. p. 276

[302] Written on a telegram from J. A. Berzin addressed to G. V. Chicherin, saying that M. I. Skobelev, who had started negotiations with the French Government as a representative of the All-Russia Famine Relief Committee, was requesting powers from the Soviet Government as well.

Below is the reference to the appointment of Joseph Noulens, one-time French Ambassador to Russia (1917-18), one of the organisers of counter-revolutionary plots against the Soviet power and of foreign armed intervention, to the Chairmanship of the International Relief Commission. The commission (Britain, France, Italy and Belgium) was set up by a decision of the Allied Supreme Council and was in fact a cover for implementing anti-Soviet plans. p. 277

[303] By a decision on September 16, 1921, the C.L.D. qualified the Volkhov project as a "top priority construction project". All departments were instructed to give top priority to indents from

the Volkhov project. The progress of construction was repeatedly discussed by the All-Russia C.E.C. See also this volume, Document 374; present edition, Vol. 35, Document 298; *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 53, Documents 288 and 293. p. 278

[304] Written on a telegram from A. I. Svidersky, a member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Food and All-Russia C.E.C. agent for Gomel Gubernia, to N. P. Bryukhanov, Deputy People's Commissar for Food, reporting the non-fulfilment of warrants from the People's Commissariat for Food by Kh. G. Pestun, Chairman of the Gomel Gubernia Executive Committee. p. 280

[305] A reference to N. M. Knipovich's letter of August 6, 1921, addressed to Lenin (see *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*, pp. 164-67). p. 281

[306] A reference to a systematised collection of decrees on railway tariff which the Narrow C.P.C. intended to publish on September 1, 1921. On September 20, 1921, the C.P.C. refused to approve its publication. p. 282

[307] Written on L. B. Krasin's letter setting out the measures which the Byelorussian People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade was taking to develop trade with foreign countries. p. 283

[308] Lenin wrote this note in connection with the petition from the Russian Physico-Chemical Society requesting the release of M. M. Tikhvinsky, professor of chemistry, and other scientists arrested in the case of a Petrograd counter-revolutionary organisation. p. 283

[309] A reference to the legal proceedings for the recovery of royalties started by V. V. Mayakovsky against I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov, director of the State Publishers. On August 25, 1921, the Moscow Disciplinary Court under the Moscow Gubernia T.U.C. ruled that I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov was to be disqualified from union membership for 6 months. On September 8, the case was reviewed, and the judgement rescinded.

Deputy People's Commissar for Education, Y. A. Litkens, and member of the collegium of the Academy of Labour Education, F. V. Lengnik, were accused of dismissing a group of workers and employees. The Moscow gubernia comrades' disciplinary court under the Moscow Gubernia T.U.C. issued a reprimand and deprived them of the right to hold elective office for six months. A commission of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee examined this case on September 26 and decided: "1) To ask the gubernia disciplinary court under the Moscow Gubernia T.U.C. to re-examine the case 2) On the substance of the accusation ... to confine itself to a trade union and a Party reprimand" (Central Party

Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

Concerning Lenin's proposal, set out in point 2 of the document, the Politbureau of the C.C. drew the attention of the Presidium of the All-Russia C.E.C. on September 6, 1921, to the need to refer the matter of appropriating 1,000 million rubles for the theatres for the examination by the C.P.C. p. 285

[310] Written in connection with a note from L. M. Khinchuk, Chairman of the Central Union of Consumers' Societies, about improving commodity exchange in Orel, Bryansk and Gomel gubernias.

On June 17, 1921, No. 97 of *Prodovolstvennaya Gazeta* carried an article entitled "Experience in State Commodity Exchange". p. 285

[311] Written on A. S. Kiselyov's letter, saying that he had sent Lenin a draft of the "Basic Propositions on the Rating Question" drawn up by members of the Narrow C.P.C. (A. S. Kiselyov, A. A. Belov and Y. I. Gindin) and approved by a conference of heads of the major production associations, attended by nearly 30 men. This draft was based on the directives of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee. Having acquainted himself with the draft theses, Lenin made his corrections, emphasising the direct connection between remuneration for labour and the results of production (see *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*, pp. 258-60). After an all-round discussion by the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee, the C.L.D., at a joint sitting of the bureaus of Party groups of the All-Russia Central T.U.C., the Moscow gubernia T.U.C. and the Party group of the S.E.C. Presidium, the "Basic Propositions on the Rating Question" were approved by the C.P.C. on September 16, and published in *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 207, on September 17, 1921. See also *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 53, Documents 277, 278 and 279. p. 287

[312] A reference to a polar expedition to explore waterways on the Yamal Peninsula and find a route to the ocean, which would be of great importance in developing Siberia's economy. p. 286

[313] Written in connection with statistical material received from the C.C. Secretariat about R.C.P.(B.) members. A reply letter from N. I. Solovyov, Head of the Statistical Department, on September 8, 1921, reported that the material on Moscow and Petrograd Communists in Soviet government office would be sent to Lenin shortly. p. 287

[314] A report on the gold stock and its expenditure was submitted to Lenin by the People's Commissariat for Finance. On September 14, 1921, the C.C. Politbureau instructed A. O. Alsky to see that all expenditures of the gold stock were strictly accounted for. See also this volume, Document 371; present edition, Vol. 42, p. 342. p. 288

[315] On Y. I. Vishnyak's letter there is this remark by Lenin: "Vishnyak about Lalayants 5. IX. 1921, p.t.o." On the other side of the page, written in Lenin's hand, are the beginning of the document here published and the remark "by phone" (see Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 289

[316] This opinion was expressed by J. A. Berzin in a note, which he sent from Britain, apparently to G. V. Chicherin. p. 289

[317] A reference to officials of the American Relief Administration (ARA) which was headed by Herbert Hoover. Lenin's proposal that a number of restrictive measures should be taken in respect of them was due to the fact that the staff of this organisation, consisting mainly of U.S. army officers, engaged in espionage and gave support to counter-revolutionary elements in Russia (see this volume, Documents 310, 331 and 370). p. 289

[318] Nansen's activity in collecting donations from public organisations and private persons to render aid to the starving in Russia aroused-dissatisfaction in the reactionary circles of some capitalist countries. The Soviet people appreciated his efforts, and on December 25, 1921, the Ninth All-Russia Congress of Soviets carried a vote expressing deep gratitude to him.

The Daily Chronicle, a newspaper of the British imperialist bourgeoisie, published in London from 1855 to 1930. p. 290

[319] A reference to S. I. Botin's experiment in the remote control of powder explosions in 1920 and 1921. In October 1921, a specialists' commission gave a negative opinion on his trials and proposed that they should be stopped because of inadequate preparation. See present edition, Vol. 36, p. 526; Vol. 44, Documents 623, 630, 721 and 740; *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 51, Documents 477 and 532. p. 291

[320] A reference to the drafts prepared by the People's Commissariat for Education which served as a basis for working out the decision "On Measures to Improve the Supply of Schools and Other Educational Establishments". It was passed by the C.P.C. on September 15, and was published in *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 212 on September 23, 1921. See *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 53, Document 304. p. 291

[321] Written in connection with an inquiry from V. D. Kaisarov, chairman of a special scientific commission for compiling an academic atlas, on the exact definition of the boundaries of the R.S.F.S.R. and its relations with the republics formed within the boundaries of the former Russian empire. p. 293

[322] This instruction arose from N. P. Gorbunov's letter, in which he communicated the results of an inquiry into the delay over

M. P. Sazhin's business trip abroad and added that "there was no deliberate red tape on the part of the People's Commissariat for Education". Lenin underlined the word "deliberate". p. 293

[323] Lenin wrote the assignment on a letter from G. D. Tsyurupa, chief engineer of the Kashira Electric-Power Station, requesting assistance in obtaining the electrotechnical materials required for the construction site from the S.E.C.'s Electrical Department, to which Lenin sent a telegram on September 12, 1921 (see this volume, Document 380). p. 294

[324] Written on the minutes of the September 7, 1921 sitting of a commission dealing with the Gidrotorf questions (see Note 104). In the margins and in the text there are various remarks and underlinings made by Lenin (see *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*, pp. 90 and 91). p. 294

[325] At the top of Lenin's manuscript of the draft telegram a note in Lydia Fotieva's hand says: "To Bogdanov, Bryukhanov and Avanesov for urgent comment." p. 294

[326] Written in reply to a letter from military commissar S. S. Danilov, of September 8, 1921, urging the need to develop a sense of "love, compassion and mutual assistance *within the class*, within the working people's camp". p. 296

[327] §6 of the decision dealt with the granting to schools of the right to exchange articles of state supply they did not need for the necessary foodstuffs. §8 included the point about voluntary "self-assessment" by those who used libraries and clubs. p. 296

[328] A telegram from A. A. Joffe dated September 9, 1921, said that the differences between M. P. Tomsky, Chairman of the Turkestan Commission of the All-Russia C.E.C., and G. I. Safarov, a member of the Turkestan Bureau, tended to incite hostility between the Russians and the local population, and between individual nationalities. On September 13, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee decided to discuss the question of policy in Turkestan after receiving Joffe's written report, and after the Politbureau members had studied all the material. Having discussed the work in Turkestan, on October 14, 1921, the Politbureau appointed a new Turkestan Bureau and a Turkestan Commission and outlined the principal tasks of Party and Soviet government work in Turkestan. It emphasised the need for circumspection in implementing the New Economic Policy in Turkestan, which was to ensure the task of involving the toiling masses in socialist construction. p. 297

[329] In a letter of May 30, 1921, Lenin proposed that the Revolutionary Military Council should work out a plan for using the army for economic work, and gave concrete instructions in which spheres

of the national economy its assistance was required above all (see this volume, Document 182). p. 298

[330] Lenin wrote a letter to N. A. Semashko in connection with the report about the atrocious state of the Crimean health resorts, which he had received from Margarita Fofanova (who was on an All-Russia C.E.C. commission sent to the Crimea by the People's Commissariat for Agriculture). In a reply to Lenin on September 15, Semashko set out the measures being taken by the People's Commissariat for Health to improve the work of health resorts in the Crimea and the Caucasus. p. 298

[331] Having received this letter from Lenin, N. P. Gorbunov, C.P.C. Business Manager, on September 13, 1921, made the following entry in the assignment register: "Draw up instructions to the Secretariat of the Full C.P.C. on Vladimir Ilyich's assignments and packets. Fulfilled. See Order of September 20" (*Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 5, 1961, p. 41). See also this volume, Document 387. p. 299

[332] Written on G. V. Chicherin's letter about the Note from Britain's Foreign Secretary, Curzon, of September 7, 1921, alleging that the Soviet Government had violated the Russo-British Agreement of March 16, 1921. The Note had no heading, address or signature. In a reply Note of September 27, 1921, the Soviet Government rejected the unwarranted accusations. p. 301

[333] This was added by Lenin at the bottom of a letter from N. P. Gorbunov, C.P.C. Business Manager, to the Kirsanov Uyezd Economic Conference, expressing, at Lenin's request, gratitude for the timely submission of its report. p. 303

[334] In reply to this letter, M. I. Frumkin, Deputy People's Commissar for Food, informed the C.P.C. Managing Department on September 27, 1921, that "Vladimir Ilyich's letter has been taken into consideration and will be fulfilled". N. P. Gorbunov, C.P.C. Business Manager, made the following entry in the assignment register: "Fulfilled December 14. N. P. Bryukhanov informed that the Gubernia Executive Committees 'are obeying'" (*Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 5, 1961, p. 42). p. 303

[335] In a letter to Lenin Y. Z. Volkov, Head of the Information Sub-Department of the Famine Relief Commission under the All-Russia C.E.C., expressed doubts concerning the advisability of dissolving the All-Russia Famine Relief Committee, arguing that the dissolution of the Committee and the arrest of its members could have a negative effect on relations with France. p. 304

[336] During the second half of 1921, a group of American workers, led by a Dutch Communist engineer, Sebald Rutgers, negotiated with the Soviet Government on the lease of a part of the Kuznetsk

Coal Basin in Siberia and the establishment of an industrial colony there. Rutgers's proposal was examined by the C.P.C. on September 13, 1921, and referred to the S.E.C.

On September 19, Lenin saw representatives of the American workers' colony and had a talk with them. There is a record of this talk made by Lenin (see *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*, p. 39).

On September 23, 1921, the C.L.D. decided to recognise the agreement with the Rutgers group as desirable and instructed a special commission to draft its text. The agreement was finally approved on October 21 by the C.L.D. and on October 25 by the C.P.C. The colony operated in Kuzbas as an enterprise directly subordinate to the C.L.D. See also this volume, Documents 416 and 436; present edition, Vol. 42, pp. 344-45, 348-49, 350, *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 53, Documents 353 and 374. p. 304

[337] The literature mentioned by Lenin in the document was required by I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov, who was working on the book *Elektrifikatsiya RSFSR v svyazi s perekhodnoi fazoi mirovogo khozyaistva* (Electrification of the R.S.F.S.R. in Connection with the Transitional Phase of the World Economy), Gosizdat, 1922.

There is this entry on September 20, 1921, in the register of Lenin's C.P.C. and C.L.D. assignments: "Collect literature on electrification for I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov. Fulfilled October 21" *(Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 5, 1961, p. 42). p. 307

[338] A reference to the following passage in F. Engels's article "On Historical Materialism" (English introduction to *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*): "In order to secure even those conquests of the bourgeoisie that were ripe for gathering at the time, the revolution had to be carried farther—exactly as in 1793 in France and in 1848 in Germany. This seemed, in fact, to be one of the laws of evolution of bourgeois society." Quoted from Lenin's article "The Assessment of the Russian Revolution" published on May 10 (23), 1908 in *Proletary* (see present edition, Vol. 15, p. 58, and also Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, Moscow 1962, p. 105).

For *F. Engels's letter to Weydemeyer* see Marx and Engels *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, pp. 74-78. p. 307

[339] On October 26, 1921, the Council of Labour and Defence heard the question of food supply for the Kashira project and approved a draft decision introduced by V. A. Avanesov. p. 309

[340] V. V. Adoratsky, who, on Lenin's assignment, was working on a collection of selected letters of Marx and Engels, asked D. B. Ryazanov, then in Germany, to collect all the published letters of Marx and Engels and send them to Russia. The collection was published in 1922 under the title *Pisma. Teoria i politika v perepiske Marksa i Engelsa* (Letters. Theory and Politics in the Correspondence of Marx and Engels). Translation, introductory article and notes by V. V. Adoratsky. p. 309

[341] This letter is written at the bottom of "Instructions to the Provisional Berlin Commission for the Issue of Foreign Orders for Gidrotorf" in the text of which Lenin made a number of markings (see *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*, p. 92).

R. E. Klasson's report, addressed to Lenin on February 11, 1922, shows that these orders of the Administration for Hydraulic Peat Extraction (Gidrotorf) were fulfilled in time. p. 309

[342] The collection of funds among foreign workers in aid of the starving in Russia was started after the "Appeal to the International Proletariat", which Lenin wrote on August 2, 1921 (see present edition, Vol. 32, p. 502). In reply to this letter Mátyás Rakosi, Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, wrote Lenin on September 27, 1921, that his proposal was "taken into consideration and would be implemented" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 310

[343] The draft telegram was heavily edited by Lenin: he altered the date of the start of the three-week fuel drive from September 25 to October 1; instead of "increase the transportation by 100 per cent" he wrote: "increase the transportation to double the set targets"; and wrote the final paragraph about the personal responsibility.

Appended to the telegram is a list of a telephone poll on September 27, 1921, on which the secretary marked off the votes of I. T. Smilga, E. M. Sklyansky, N. B. Eismont, M. I. Frumkin, A. A. Andreyev, L. B. Kamenev, A. M. Anikst, V. M. Molotov, J. V. Stalin, L. D. Trotsky, A. S. Yenukidze (for the Presidium of the All-Russia C.E.C.) and V. A. Avanesov.

The telegram was published in *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 219, on October 1, 1921. See also *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*, p. 101. p. 311

[344] The register of Lenin's C.P.C. and C.L.D. assignments contains the following entry dated September 29, 1921: "Urgently get through the C.L.D. the draft decision on land improvement work on state farms in Moscow Gubernia (L. S. Sosnovsky's letter to Vladimir Ilyich). Fulfilled September 30 (see C.L.D. Minutes No. 254, § 9)" (*Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 5, 1961, p. 43).

On a report by T. A. Runov, Chief of the Glavzemkboz (see Note 619), the C.L.D. decided on September 30, 1921, to allocate the money and food required for these land improvement operations on state farms near Moscow, instructions were also issued for the People's Commissariat for Agriculture to allocate tractors for ploughing up grubbed areas. p. 315

[345] The article by M. I. Lacis, Chairman of the Central Salt Administration, entitled "A Gold Mine", spoke of the importance of Kara-Bugaz, which could yield Glauber's salt as a major export item. He estimated that it would take 1,500 million rubles in capital investment which would be speedily recouped. p. 315

[346] The register of C.P.C. and C.L.D. assignments has the following entry about this document, dated September 30: "See to the fulfilment of Vladimir Ilyich's assignment to 15 responsible workers mobilised for the three-week fuel (firewood) drive: a) check up on how the accounting has been arranged in the localities; b) study methods of stealing. Fulfilled 29.XII.21. 8.X collect their record. Fulfilled 11.X" (*Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 5, 1961, p. 43).

In their reports addressed to Lenin, the workers mobilised by the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee communicated the results of the three-week fuel drive, and also exposed the serious shortcomings in the work of timbering organs and the methods of stealing, and outlined measures to combat them (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). See also *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*, p. 327. p. 317

[347] The *Foreign Literature Committee* was an interdepartmental committee under the People's Commissariat for Education for the purchase and distribution of foreign literature. The reply letter from O. Y. Schmidt, Chairman of the Committee, on October 10, 1921, said that the distribution of new books bought abroad was being carried out in line with Lenin's instructions (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 318

[348] The P.S. to the typewritten text is in Lenin's hand. p. 320

[349] The document is dated by Lenin September 30, 1921. The C.L.D. meeting, said here to have been held the previous day, was also held on September 30. Lenin must have written the document late at night on September 30, expecting the letter to V. V. Kuibyshev to be sent only on October 1. A typewritten copy of this letter, dated October 1, 1921, is at the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee. p. 320

[350] *The Preobrazhensky Commission*, a Finance Commission of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. and the C.P.C., was set up on Lenin's proposal soon after the Tenth Party Congress to work out aspects of financial policy in connection with the switch to the New Economic Policy. p. 321

[351] The Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C., having discussed the matter on October 3, adopted the following decision: "To instruct Comrade Frumkin to draw up a draft resolution of the communist group of the All-Russia C.E.C. session.... To have the resolution stress the need of correcting the excessive burden laid on the peasants which was necessitated by the need to aid the starving, and also indicate measures for its correction" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

The Fourth Session of the All-Russia C.E.C., having examined the circumstances which had forced the C.P.C. to increase the rate of substitution of potatoes for rye, decided that such an increase could only be allowed as an emergency measure and only in view of exceptional circumstances (famine), and expressed confidence that the rural population would accept the new rate of substitution as a duty to the starving (see *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 224, October 7, 1921). p. 322

[352] I. I. Radchenko asked Lenin to sign the minutes of the Council of the Administration for Hydraulic Peat Extraction (Gidrotorf) which, on September 29, 1921, decided to postpone the date of the Gidrotorf orders for caterpillar cranes from March 1 to May 1, 1922.

The register of C.P.C. and C.L.D. assignments contains an entry dated October 3, which says: "Find out: 1) whether Vladimir Ilyich has the juridical right to sign personally, without the C.P.C. and C.L.D.; 2) whether Vladimir Ilyich has to endorse the Gidrotorf Council minutes of September 29, as I. I. Radchenko requests. Fulfilled October 3" (*Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 5, 1961, p. 43). p. 322

[353] The last sentence of the text was written by Lenin. p. 323

[354] A reference to the supply of equipment to a special party which was to determine the site for an astronomical observatory in the Northern Caucasus. Academician V. G. Fesenkov recalls that on October 4 he informed Lenin by phone that he had been unable to secure equipment for the party over a period of three months. The next day, October 5, the matter was settled. The party was fully equipped within a few days and left for the Northern Caucasus. p. 324

[355] This was written in connection with a complaint from the Kashira project about the slow removal of the railway telegraph line from one side of the bridge to the other, across the Oka River, close to Kashira, to make way for the brackets supporting the transmission line between Moscow and Kashira.

That same day, V. V. Fomin, Deputy People's Commissar for Railways, telegraphed an order to the Ryazan-Urals Railway Administration to have the switch carried out immediately. p. 325

[356] In 1927, this document was handed in by a worker to the Aralsk District Party Committee, which at once sent it on to the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee. p. 325

[357] Written on Lenin's message of greetings to the Eighth Electrotechnical Congress (see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 49-50). p. 328

[358] A letter from A. I. Potyaev of September 21, 1921, reported a sharp increase in the fish catch as a result of new forms of wage

payments to fishermen. He wrote: "Every fisherman delivers the fish to us at 1913 prices (in gold currency) with some adjustments (according to the market) and receives a special order which he realises in our store or shop.... We have established a piece-rate scheme for the workers engaged in fishing.... Strict commercial accounting has been introduced both for the goods in the stores and the shops and for fish products.... It is my deep conviction that we shall manage to overcome difficulties and achieve a maximum of productivity only by giving the fisherman, the worker, the employee, direct material incentives in the results of his labour" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 328

[359] A reference to a report from I. V. Teumin, an agent of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade under the Byelorussian C.P.C., concerning commodity operations by the Byelorussian P.C.F.T. (see also this volume, Document 360). p. 329

[360] *M. K. Nazvanov*, a technological engineer, a specialist in the sugar industry, and the State Planning Commission's consultant, was arrested by the Petrograd Gubernia Cheka, together with a group of professors and engineers, on charges of having connections with V. N. Tagantsev, head of a counter-revolutionary combat organisation in Petrograd. Nazvanov was sentenced to be shot.

Lenin must have learned about the case from a letter sent in by Nazvanov's father on June 26, 1921, requesting clemency for his son (Central Party Archives). Another request for Nazvanov's release came from G. M. Krzhizhanovsky in his letter of September 18.

Members of the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee who took a vote on October 10 came out for Lenin's proposal. On October 14, the Politbureau confirmed its decision of October 10 to have the decision of the Petrograd Gubernia Cheka reversed. On December 17, after the investigation of the Tagantsev case was completed, Nazvanov was released. On January 26, 1922, Lenin phoned an assignment to his secretary to ask V. A. Smolyaninov to check up whether Nazvanov had been given a job at the State Planning Commission, and to require it to submit a report within two months about Nazvanov's work and to remind him about this. p. 331

[361] Written in connection with M. M. Litvinov's letter of October 10, 1921, which said: "Comrade Vorovsky several times telegraphed and wrote to us about the Italian banks being prepared to grant us a loan with the knowledge of the Italian Government." On the letter are Lenin's markings (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 331

[362] Written on G. V. Chicherin's letter to the Politbureau of the

R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee of October 10, 1921, requesting the earliest possible appointment of a delegate for negotiations with China over the Chinese Eastern Railway, and expressing apprehension that delay in appointing the delegate could give the forthcoming Washington Conference a pretext to internationalise the railway. The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs proposed that Julian Marchlewski should be the delegate. Chicherin also said that Japan had agreed to have an R.S.F.S.R. representative take part in discussing various matters at a conference of the Far-Eastern Republic and Japan in Dairen (it was held from August 26, 1921 to April 16, 1922), and proposed that A. K. Paikes should be sent to the conference. Chicherin proposed that Y. M. Yaroslavsky and N. L. Meshcheryakov should be sent to the Washington Conference as representatives of the Far-Eastern Republic.

The same day, the Politbureau adopted Lenin's proposal.

On October 13, 1921, the Politbureau confirmed A. A. Yazykov as the representative of the Far-Eastern Republic at the Washington Conference. p. 332

[363] Lenin gave much energy and attention to the rehabilitation of the coal and the iron and steel industry in the Donets Basin, which he said was "the main centre of our large-scale industry" and a Soviet bastion (see present edition, Vol. 33, p. 157 and *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*, pp. 81-87). p. 332

[364] In a report to Lenin on October 13, 1921, M. L. Rukhimovich described the results of the work by the C.L.D. commission set up to decide on the matters arising from the revival of the coal industry in Donbas. p. 334

[365] Lenin's remarks refer to the draft "Basic Propositions for a C.L.D. Agreement with the Rutgers Group", which the S.E.C. Presidium approved on October 10, 1921.

"*The undertaking*", a draft engagement concerning the terms on which the American workers were to travel to and work in Soviet Russia, which Lenin drew up on September 22, 1921 (see present edition, Vol. 42, pp. 344-45). p. 334

[366] The last sentence was written by Lenin. p. 336

[367] A reference to a pamphlet by V. D. Batyushkov and N. S. Vetchinkin, *Tverdiye gruntoviye dorogi* (Hard-Cover Roads). The register of Lenin's assignments to the C.P.C. and C.L.D. contains the following entry dated September 23, 1921: "Collect information about American machines for the fast laying of highways. Vladimir Ilyich heard about these machines from Comrade Bogdanov. Establish: 1) How many machines do we have, where and how are they working? 2) What is the price of such machines abroad? 3) How far have they been improved? Get this thing going. Fulfilled October 3" (*Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 5, 1961, p. 42). p. 336

[368] Written on G. V. Chicherin's letter to the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee, saying that the Moscow Party's Committee had without the knowledge of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, sent the Head of the Baltic and Scandinavian Department on an assignment abroad. p. 338

[369] A reference to L. K. Martens's negative attitude to the plans of the Rutgers group. In a letter to the C.L.D. on October 10, he said that these plans revealed immaturity, lack of careful thinking and lack of knowledge of the state of affairs in the localities he objected to the financing of these plans, because he doubted that they would succeed. p. 339

[370] Written on an extract from the minutes of the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee of October 14, 1921, on the Petrograd Gubernia Cheka. Having heard I. S. Unschlicht's report about the unsatisfactory composition of the Petrograd Gubernia Cheka, the Politbureau decided: "To authorise Comrade Unschlicht, together with the Orgbureau, to submit for approval to the Politbureau, within three days, a list of candidates for heads of the Petrograd Cheka" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

About the Kamenev, Orjonikidze and Zalutsky commission see *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 53, Document 361. p. 339

[371] On October 15, 1921, G. V. Chicherin wrote Lenin that the dissolution of the All-Russia Famine Relief Committee, for its counter-revolutionary activity, and the break-down of the concession talks with Urquhart have worsened the international position of the R.S.F.S.R. He proposed a number of steps which he believed would improve relations with the capitalist countries, namely, Lenin's and Trotsky's withdrawal from the Comintern Executive Committee, a statement by the Soviet Government on recognition of tsarist Russia's debts, etc.

In the final sentence a reference is to the 1921 agreement with ARA, which was headed by Herbert Hoover, on aid to the starving in the Volga area (see this volume, Document 370). p. 339

[372] The Gosplan (State Planning Commission) report on the raising of maize was on the C.L.D. agenda for October 21, 1921, but was put off in order to have the People's Commissariat for Agriculture also take part in deciding this question, in connection with the letter of October 17 from Deputy People's Commissar for Agriculture, N. Osinsky, who objected to the Gosplan's agricultural section submitting such important farming questions to the C.L.D. on its own (see also this volume, Document 447). p. 341

[373] The *author* is N. Osinsky, Deputy People's Commissar for Agriculture, who in his letter of October 17, in reply to Lenin's letter (see this volume, Document 444), insisted on a legal settlement

of the relations between the People's Commissariat for Agriculture and Gosplan. He proposed that Gosplan's role should be confined "only to a general co-ordination of plans submitted by the departments; Gosplan is not to work out any plans on its own, everything being done in the planning commissions of the Commissariats" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

In reply, G. M. Krzhizhanovsky wrote that N. Osinsky was right "in the sense that Gosplan's work should have a follow-up character. But it is wrong to interpret this as meaning that the people at Gosplan should in some way engage in 'summarising', without having special sections which make use of some of the departmental specialists. I have already raised with all the sections the question of transforming and delimiting the work of primary planning organs and our own work" (ibid.). Krzhizhanovsky went on to set out a number of measures to improve the work of Gosplan. p. 344

[374] Written on G. V. Chicherin's letter to the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee in connection with the request from the Soviet Ambassador to Turkey, S. P. Natsarenus, for instructions concerning the line of behaviour over the French proposals to President Kemal of the Turkish Republic to conclude an agreement containing articles aimed against the Soviet country. Natsarenus communicated his talks with Kemal, who had reportedly rejected all articles aimed against Soviet Russia. Natsarenus wrote that he had intimated to Kemal that Turkey's conclusion of an agreement containing such articles would force the Soviet Government to take steps to have Britain withhold recognition of the agreement and, in addition, to reinforce the troops on the Soviet-Turkish border. Chicherin proposed that the Politbureau should adopt a decision confirming the correctness of the action taken by Natsarenus and recognising it as adequate. p. 344

[375] Written on G. V. Chicherin's letter of October 17, 1921, reiterating his proposal that the Soviet Government should issue a statement on recognition of tsarist Russia's debts (see this volume, Documents 464 and 466). p. 345

[376] This was written in connection with the report from N. N. Kolotilov, Chairman of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Gubernia Executive Committee, about mismanagement and the fact that the construction site was run by several offices with many employees and few workers.

That same day, N. P. Gorbunov, on Lenin's assignment, had a talk with N. N. Kolotilov.

On October 20, 1921, the Administration for Electrotechnical Structures sent in detailed replies to Lenin's questions. p. 345

[377] At the end of July, Y. S. Artyukhov, Head of the Planning Sub-Department of the Procurement Administration of the People's

Commissariat for Food, was sent a petition requesting a reduction of the tax in kind in two volosts of Novokamenka Uyezd, Moscow Gubernia, which had suffered from a fall of hail. Artyukhov did nothing about the petition until October 1921. p. 348

[378] Having discussed the question of improving the work of Soviet organs in the centre and in the localities, and the struggle against red tape, the Eighth Congress of Soviets (December 22-29, 1920) adopted a comprehensive decision on Soviet government organisation. p. 348

[379] This was written on Y. I. Vishnyak's letter to Lenin of September 10, 1921, about I. Kh. Lalayants.

By political differences Lenin meant the following passage in Vishnyak's letter: "After the liberation of Irkutsk, Comrade Lalayants tried to understand what was taking place in Soviet Russia at the time, and to analyse the R.C.P.'s tactics. He often used to quote to me that part of your report on the agrarian question at the Stockholm Congress, in which you pointed out that a social revolution in the West was the only guarantee against any restoration after the victory of the revolution in Russia. Our state of isolation, the discrepancy between our political strength and the economic foundation, and a number of other questions to which he has not yet found an answer, prevent him from joining the R.C.P." (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

On Vishnyak's letter is also J. V. Stalin's reply: "I, too, favour *summoning Lalayants for work in Moscow*" (*Lenin Miscellany XXXV*, p. 278).

I. Kh. Lalayants was summoned to Moscow and worked at the People's Commissariat for Education. p. 348

[380] On October 21, the C.L.D. decided: to authorise the People's Commissariat for Finance immediately to issue the required funds for the irrigation of the Mugan Steppe. p. 349

[381] Documents at the Central Party Archives show that beginning from November 1, 1921, Lenin received reports on the reserve emergency fund twice a month (see also this volume, Documents 459 and 460). p. 350

[382] This was written in connection with a letter received from I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov on October 18, 1921, concerning his work on the book *Electrification of the R.S.F.S.R. in Connection with the Transitional Phase of the World Economy*. He asked to be relieved of all his duties until he finished the book. p. 350

[383] Written in reply to L. S. Sosnovsky's letter, setting out his plan to improve the work of the S.E.C.'s state warehouses. Among the measures he proposed were: to secure a salary of from 30 to 50 gold rubles for 1,000-1,500 warehouse workers and employees,

and up to 75 rubles for executive workers; to set deadlines for the storage of goods, etc.

[384] The last sentence and the words "or introduce in the C.L.D." are in Lenin's hand. p. 353

[385] *Amruss*—apparently the Russo-American Trade and Industrial Association, later renamed the Russo-American Industrial Corporation (Rusaminco or RAIC). It was set up by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. On October 12, 1921, a model agreement was concluded between the R.S.F.S.R. and the Russo-American Trade and Industrial Association. p. 353

[386] Written in reply to J. V. Stalin's letter to the Orgbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee (copy to Lenin) of October 22, 1921, suggesting a redistribution of Communists in government office in the People's Commissariats, so as to concentrate the best part of them at the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, which, he estimated, would require 1,000-1,200 fresh workers or 250 at the very least. p. 355

[387] The question of repaying Russia's old debts was raised at the Brussels Conference, which was held from October 6 to 8, 1921, and was attended by 19 states, including Belgium, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Rumania, China and others, and also by representatives of the International Red Cross and ARA.

The conference recommended that the governments should extend credits to Soviet Russia to combat the famine only if she recognised the debts of the old governments and allowed a commission to control the distribution of food.

On October 27, the question of recognising the debts of the old governments was discussed by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee, which decided "to adopt the text proposed by Comrade Chicherin with Comrade Lenin's amendments as a basis, and to authorise Comrade Chicherin to publish it over his signature" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). The Soviet Government's statement on the recognition of the old debts, with Lenin's amendments, was sent to the Governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the U.S.A. on October 28 (see *Pravda* No. 243 of October 29, 1921). The official text differs slightly from the wording of the draft published in this volume. p. 356

[388] This was written on G. V. Chicherin's letter, setting out the news dispatch by the American correspondent to the effect that foreign capitalists were unwilling to take out concessions in Soviet Russia because of the stubborn rumours that the Soviet Government would shortly return to foreign businessmen full title in their old factories. Chicherin proposed a denial of these rumours,

On the document is also Lenin's note: "Why did you send me *The Times* of 12.IX?" p. 359

[389] On October 28, 1921, the Orgbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee decided to recall N. A. Alexeyev and place him at the disposal of the Central Committee. p. 359

[390] *Clarté*, an international group of progressive West European writers, set up by Henri Barbusse in 1919 on the basis of the Association Républicaine des Anciens Combattants of France which was later joined by similar groups in other countries to form the Internationale des Anciens Combattants. The group published a monthly journal under the same name (it appeared in Paris at intervals from October 1919 to January 1928). When Barbusse resigned as its editor (in April 1924), the journal ceased to be progressive and in 1928 went out of circulation, while the group broke up. p. 360

[391] This was written on N . M . Knipovich's letter, setting out a request of the Conseil Permanent International pour l'exploration de la mer for a return, as Russia's contribution for the budget year of 1914/15, of 14,000 rubles on deposits with the Azov-Don Bank. Knipovich noted the great scientific importance of the Council's work and said that Russia should not "remain outside this endeavour when international relations were normalised" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). See also *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*, p. 288. p. 361

[392] Written in connection with D. I. Kursky's conclusion on the question of a concession for the Swedish S.K.F., proposing two variants for an additional agreement on the controversial issue of ball-bearing warehouses nationalised by the Soviet state. On October 27, 1921, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee recognised as desirable the continuation of the talks with the Swedish company and conclusion of an agreement on the basis of one of Kursky's variants. p. 361

[393] A note to V. A. Trifonov, Deputy Chief of the S.E.C.'s Central Fuel Administration, is in reply to his proposal to start a paper for commercial information. p. 361

[394] A reference to the agreements on an asbestos concession and the purchase of a million poods of grain from Armand Hammer.

Additional points—amendments to the concession agreement proposed by Hammer. A draft additional decision, adopted by the C.L.D. on October 28, 1921, provided for the extension of guarantees to the concessionaires that their property would be protected, that their personnel would have the right of free movement in the country, free entry into and exit from the country when dealing with concession business, etc. p. 362

[395] In a telegram from London on October 19, 1921, L. B. Krasin reported the talks he had started with an American building company, the Foundation Company, which had contracts with the leading oil corporations. A spokesman of this Company declared that it was prepared to undertake the construction of a paraffin separation plant, and a pipeline between Grozny and the Black Sea, provided the Company's engineers carried out the explorations. Krasin proposed that the necessary funds should be allocated for this purpose. The draft telegram to Krasin here published was approved by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee on October 28. See also *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*, pp. 357-58. p. 363

[396] A reference to I. S. Unschlicht's letter about new salary rates for All-Russia Cheka officials. p. 364

[397] A reference to the theses and letter of M. V. Rykunov, Chairman of the Extraordinary Commission for Export. p. 365

[398] G. D. Tsyurupa reported to Lenin that the delay in the delivery of the materials was due to the fact that the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade failed to inform the Kashira construction site about the arrival of the cargoes to Moscow.

On November 14, S.E.C. Chairman P. A. Bogdanov sent on this letter from Lenin and G. D. Tsyurupa's reply to the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection to conduct an inquiry into who was actually to blame for the red tape. p. 366

[399] The notes were written in connection with the preparation for denomination as a means of regulating the currency of money and stabilising the ruble. Under a C.P.C. decree of November 3, 1921, one ruble of the new issue was equal to 10,000 of the old issues (see *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 266, November 26, 1921). p. 366

[400] A draft agreement between the Government of the R.S.F.S.R. and the People's Government of Mongolia was examined and approved by the Narrow C.P.C. the same day, November 3, 1921.

On November 5, Lenin received the delegation from the Mongolian People's Republic and had a talk with it (see present edition, Vol. 42, pp. 360-61).

The communique of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs on the signing of the Soviet-Mongolian Treaty was published in *Pravda* on November 11, 1921. p. 368

[401] In reply to this letter, People's Commissar for Justice, D. I. Kursky, on November 14, 1921, sent Lenin a report from the investigation department of the People's Commissariat for Justice over the first half-year of 1921 on 18 cases involving red tape. Kursky wrote that most of these cases ended with the imposition of disciplinary penalties, a part of them were wound up and "cases could be referred to the courts (Revolutionary Tribunal and the People's

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Courts) only by way of exception". Reporting the preparation of exemplary trials, he said they were now considering the renewal of the panels of the people's judges in Moscow (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

Kursky's reply did not satisfy Lenin and he wrote to him once again (see present edition, Vol. 35, Document 306). p. 369

[402] Written on a note from the C.P.C. agent for the paper industry and printing production, K. M. Shvedchikov, who requested the "setting aside of a reserve monetary fund for the publishing business (Gosizdat, Glavbum, Poligrafotdel and Tsentropechat) in the amount of up to 319,000 million rubles"; and "that an advance payment of 60,000 million rubles be made before the 15th of November proportional to the applications of separate establishments".

This question was examined by an emergency commission under the Budget Estimates Administration of the People's Commissariat for Finance on November 9. It said the request was not sufficiently well grounded, and instructed representatives of the S.E.C. and the People's Commissariat for Finance to verify it and give their conclusion.

On November 9, Shvedchikov sent another letter to Lenin (see *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Document 33). p. 369

[403] *The Commission for the Utilisation of Material Resources* was set up by a C.P.C. decree of November 21, 1918, under the S.E.C. A C.P.C. decision of March 17, 1921, transferred the Commission to the competence of the C.L.D. It was the highest authority for the distribution of material resources, and its decisions entered into force unless protested against in the C.L.D. within three days of the decision and rescinded by the C.L.D. All the departments had the duty to submit well-founded estimates for consideration by the Commission. See this volume, Document 526. p. 370

[404] "*Concession agreement for the collection and trade in hides and skins with P. B. Steinberg*" was submitted by the S.E.C. for the C.P.C.'s approval on November 21, 1921. On November 29, the C.P.C. instructed a commission, consisting of V. V. Gombarg, A. M. Lezhava and A. L. Scheinman, to review the agreement and to continue talks with the other party. For the decision on this question Lenin made the following proposals by way of directives for the commission: "α) amount of duties (the point is crossed out and is not included in the decision.—*Ed.*); β) check-up on the actual amount of leather procured by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade up to now... γ) check-up on the possible and probable development of operations by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade and Centrosoyuz, given the expenditure of a definite amount of bank-notes" (*Lenin Miscellany XXIII*, p. 187). After repeated discussion, the C.P.C. on January

10, 1922, rejected the concession and authorised a specially appointed commission to work out a statute for organising the procurement of hides and skins at home on shareholding principles. On January 24, the C.P.C. approved the basis of the draft rules of the "Joint-Stock Company for Domestic and Export Trade in Hides and Skins" ("Kozhsyryo"). On February 1, 1922, the C.L.D. approved the rules of the Company and its articles of association. See this volume, Documents 515 and 589. p. 370

[405] Written in connection with the forthcoming C.P.C. discussion, on November 10, 1921, of a report by A. B. Khalatov, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Food, on improving the living conditions of scientists. The C.P.C., taking Khalatov's report into consideration and approving it as preliminary, set up a standing commission for an all-round inquiry into and improvement of scientists' living conditions. p. 370

[406] Written on G. V. Chicherin's letter reporting that the British famine relief committee intended to deliver to the Ukraine and other areas goods for exchange for grain, so as to send the grain obtained to the famine-stricken areas. Chicherin proposed that the plan should be rejected, believing that the British would supply old goods and that there was danger of bandit attacks on British shop assistants. p. 371

[407] The figures are a calculation of the seed required for spring sowing in the famine-stricken gubernias in the spring of 1922. The necessary quantity was 33 million poods, of which 15 million poods were to be supplied to the People's Commissariat for Agriculture by the People's Commissariat for Food; to obtain one-half of the remaining 18 million poods, that is, 9 million poods, the C.P.C. allocated gold; the other 9 million poods were to be obtained by the People's Commissariat for Food through procurements over and above the plan. p. 371

[408] Written in connection with the report sent to Lenin by V. A. Smolyaninov, assistant C.L.D. business manager on economic matters, to the effect that In any gubernia economic conferences and other local bodies complained that they were not receiving publications from the centre. p. 372

[409] A reference to an item, "Revival of Donbas", published in the newspaper *Vserossiiskaya Kochegarka* on November 1, 1921, and reporting that the rehabilitation of factories in Konstantinovka had started. p. 372

[410] The question of remunerating the workers of the Bryansk Works for their successful manufacture of electric ploughs was examined by the C.L.D. on November 25, 1921. The C.L.D. resolved that the case should be referred to the Central Committee of the Metalworkers' Union. In view of the fact that by November 1 the

Bryansk Works had made only 8 of the 20 electric ploughs planned, the Central Committee of the Metalworkers' Union ruled that there was no reason to issue any special rewards, adding that the workers, who distinguished themselves, could be rewarded from the resources allocated for the manufacture of the electric ploughs. Having studied the conclusion of the Central Committee of the Metalworkers' Union, the C.L.D., on December 14, 1921, resolved to accept it. p. 373

[411] A reference to L. S. Rivlin, whom Lenin recommended for work in establishments of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade abroad. p. 374

[412] The question of combating smuggling was examined at several Narrow C.P.C. sittings in November 1921.

On November 21, the C.P.C. approved a draft decree "On Rewards for Detention of Smuggled Goods" (the decree was published in *Izvestia VTsIK* on December 3, 1921). On November 23, the Narrow C.P.C. discussed the measures for combating smuggling, and on November 28, having adopted as a basis a draft C.P.C. decree on combating smuggling introduced by the All-Russia Cheka, it instructed the commission, within five days, "to carry out an additional reworking of the draft and also work out a statute of organs to combat smuggling" (Central Party Archives). The draft decision submitted by the commission was adopted with amendments by the Narrow C.P.C. on December 8 (the decision was published in *Izvestia VTsIK* on December 29, 1921). p. 374

[413] A reference to the article "The Importance of Gold Now and After the Complete Victory of Socialism" (see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 109-16; *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Document 27). p. 374

[414] A reference to a report from I. N. Chebotaryov, a member of the Governing Committee of the State Savings Banks before the October Revolution, addressed to the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars on November 7, 1921. Chebotaryov said there was need to reopen the state savings banks in order to attract money in the hands of the population.

The savings banks were established by a C.P.C. decision of December 26, 1922 (published in *Izvestia VTsIK*, December 29, 1922). p. 375

[415] *Smena Vekh* (Change of Landmarks)—a weekly journal published in Paris from October 1921 to March 1922 by a group of white-guard émigré intellectuals, which also issued a collection entitled *Smena Vekh* in Prague in July 1921. The *Smena Vekh* trend was named after the collection and the journal. Realising that it was quite hopeless to overthrow the Soviet power through foreign armed

intervention, the *Smena Vekh* followers came out in favour of co-operation with the Soviet power in the hope of its degeneration into a bourgeois state. Some of them were honestly desirous of promoting Russia's economic rehabilitation. p. 375

[416] *Regional Economic Conferences* or councils were local C.L.D. organs set up in early 1921, under the decision of the Eighth All-Russia Congress of Soviets (December 1920). p. 375

[417] The deadlines for the reports were determined by a decision of the All-Russia C.E.C. of June 30, 1921, entitled "On Local Economic Conferences, Their Reporting and Complying with the Instructions of the C.P.C. and C.L.D.", which was drafted by Lenin (see present edition, Vol. 42, pp. 303-04). p. 375

[418] This note was written on a letter from the Indian Communist Abani Mukherji, who sent Lenin his article on the Malabar uprising in India in 1921. p. 376

[419] The first note was written in connection with a protest by the People's Commissariat for Justice against the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. circular of June 16, 1921, on the relationships between the Party and the judicial and investigation organs, which gave Communists judicial immunity without the sanction of the local Party Committees.

The People's Commissariat for Justice asked that §§4 and 5 should be deleted from the C.C. circular.

§4 put the duty on the judicial authorities to release Communists up for trial under the personal warranty of individuals delegated by Party Committees. §5 put the duty on the Party Committee to study the case within three days and to have an opinion on the substance of the case, so that the committee's decision would be a Party directive for the court and would predetermine the judicial decision.

In reply to his first note, Lenin received the C.C. Orgbureau decision of November 11, 1921, approving the circular, and V. M. Molotov's letter saving that the circular was modified and that the question could be considered settled.

Since these changes did not affect the main shortcoming of the circular, Lenin wrote another note.

In early January 1922, the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee published a circular "On the Relationships Between Party Committees and Judicial and Investigation Commissions" which cancelled the June 16 circular. The new circular emphasised the imperative need to enhance the responsibility of Party members in the event of their committing any offences falling under the jurisdiction of the civil court or the Revolutionary Tribunal (see *Spravochnik partrabotnika*, Part II, 1922, p. 177). p. 376

[420] G. Y. Zinoviev asked Lenin to write an article or a letter against the Italian reformists and Serrati 's double-dealing behaviour,

believing this to be of great importance. See also this volume, Document 569. p. 377

[421] A reference to A. V. Lunacharsky's pamphlet which he was then writing on Lenin's proposal (see *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 53, Document 518). The pamphlet was published in Petrograd in 1922 under the title *Citizen Giacinto Serrati, or a Revolutionary-Opportunist Amphibian*. p, 377

[422] A C.L.D. decision of November 4, 1921, confirmed V. I. Samarin as special agent for dispatch to the Crimea to put a stop to the stealing of wine and to organise its strict accounting. p. 378

[423] Written on a letter from the People's Commissar for Education, A. V. Lunacharsky, reporting that Academician I. P. Pavlov had refused to go to America and wanted to spend a month in Finland. However, Lunacharsky wrote, although there was a decision giving Pavlov permission to go to America, and to issue the money he needed, he was unable to obtain a visa for a trip to Finland.

I. S. Unschlicht informed Lenin that on November 15 he had issued instructions that I. P. Pavlov was to be given a visa for a trip to Finland without any formalities. On Unschlicht's note there is the following instruction by Lenin to his secretary: "Phone *Semashko*. Please check up fulfilment. *Lenin*" (*Lenin Miscellany XXIII*, p. 329). p. 378

[424] Written on a report from L. K. Martens saying that the first shipload of wheat for Russia, under an agreement with the Allied Drug and Chemical Corporation, was to leave New York on November 17, 1921.

The agreement between the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade and this corporation on the delivery to Soviet Russia of one million poods of wheat was concluded in Moscow on October 27, and approved by the C.L.D. on November 4, 1921 (see this volume, Documents 439, 441, 451, 473, 474, 482 and also *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 53, Documents 428 and 511).

On November 25, 1921, the C.L.D. instructed the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade and the People's Commissariat for Railways to submit a report on the measures necessary for the "acceptance of grain without any delays" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 379

[425] On November 21, 1921, D. I. Kursky informed Lenin that the materials of the commission to estimate the losses had been preserved, that they were at the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs and were being completed by a commission set up by a C.P.C. decision of November 1, 1921. Kursky proposed a C.P.C. decision to appoint S. S. Pilyavsky to be responsible for safe-

keeping the material and to fix December 1, 1921, as a deadline for completing the work of the commission.

On Kursky's letter there is the following note by Lenin: "**To Gorbunov**. Introduce tomorrow, 22/XI, in the C.P.C. 21/XI. *Lenin*."

On November 22, the C.P.C. heard Kursky's report and accepted his proposal. See also this volume, Document 512. p. 380

[426] The letter here published is connected with the conflict at the People's Commissariat for Agriculture between V. V. Obolensky (N. Osinsky) and I. A. Teodorovich. Having discussed this question on November 18, 1921, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee adopted the following decision:

"a) To recognise that for the correct direction of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture it is necessary to carry out the following combination in the top posts: the political-administrative direction should be in the hands of Comrade Osinsky, the People's Commissar should be a peasant engaged in practical work in agriculture, and Comrade Osinsky's deputy should be Comrade Teodorovich. b) To leave Comrade Teodorovich as head of the animal-husbandry department" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

On November 21, the Politbureau reaffirmed its decision concerning Teodorovich.

On November 22, Osinsky asked the Politbureau either to cancel its decision on Teodorovich or to accept his resignation as Deputy People's Commissar. On this letter, Lenin wrote: "I propose that we reject both parts. *Lenin*." Lenin's proposal was adopted by the Politbureau on November 29, 1921. See also this volume, Documents 546 and 547. p. 380

[427] A reference to a letter sent to Lenin by G. D. Krasinsky, special agent of the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection for Siberia and the Urals, on December 16, 1921, arguing that the C.L.D. decision of November 11 was not appropriate. It was a decision to transfer for temporary exploitation an unfinished railway line between Kolchugino and the Prokopyevsk mines from the Siberian Public Works Committee to the People's Commissariat for Railways.

That same day, November 21, the C.L.D. reaffirmed its decision and instructed N. P. Gorbunov to "send the Siberian Revolutionary Committee and the Siberian Railway District a direct wire notification that the C.L.D. decision of 11/XI should be implemented at once" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). See *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Document 60. p. 381

[428] Written under the text of G. V. Chicherin's letter to J. V. Stalin of November 19, 1921, in which Chicherin said that the Soviet state should not confine itself to giving political support

to the national liberation movement in the East, but should help the young national states to develop their economy and train their personnel. Pointing to the positive results of this policy in respect of Afghanistan, Mongolia and Persia, Chicherin suggested the same policy in respect of Turkey. p. 381

[429] A reference to a pamphlet by Y. Remeiko, a member of the Presidium of the C.C. of the Mineworkers' Union, entitled *Decisions of the Tenth Congress of the R.C.P., the Trade Union and the Donbas Workers* (*Report*). *MS*, published in Moscow in November 1921. p. 382

[430] The differences between executives in Donbas were discussed at several sittings of the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee.

On November 26 and 27, 1921, the Politbureau outlined a number of measures to ensure normal relations between and efficient work by executives in Donbas.

On December 22, 1921, the Politbureau approved the decision by the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine, dismissing Pyatakov from the post of Chairman of the Central Board of the Coal-Mining Industry, and appointing V. Y. Chubar instead. The Politbureau's decision was confirmed by a plenary meeting of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee on December 28, 1921.

Lenin spoke of the differences in Donbas in his political report of the C.C. to the Eleventh Congress of the Party (see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 296-99). p. 382

[431] The reference was written in connection with a purge of the R.C.P.(B.) in 1921.

It was written on the autobiography of J. S. Hanecki, and also contained a reference from F. E. Dzerzhinsky. p. 382

[432] In its letter, the Moscow Production Administration asked Mostextil (the Moscow Committee of the Textile Industry) to stop issuing indents for the removal of raw materials, components and goods from the textile mills, and also to suspend the indents issued earlier, pending clarification of the circumstances of the lease of these mills to an initiative group of lessees. This measure was caused by the fact that the lease of these mills had been effected virtually without control and had resulted in the stealing of state property with impunity. See this volume, Document 514. p. 383

[433] The question of granting leave to A. S. Kiselyov was considered by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee on November 24, 1921. The Politbureau decided: "To prescribe for Comrade Kiselyov a long leave in exact conformity, concerning the place and time, with Comrade Semashko's instructions and

the opinion of the doctors he had brought together" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 384

[434] A reference to the following material: a copy of a letter from the Moscow Production Administration to Mostextil of October 15, 1921 (see Note 432), "Inventory of structures and equipment of Mostextil Znamensk Textile Mill No. 115 as of November 15, 1921", and "Inventory of finished goods, raw materials, components and semi-finished products as of November 15, 1921, at Mostextil Znamensk Textile Mill No. 115". p. 384

[435] For J. V. Stalin's reply to this letter see *Lenin Miscellany XXXIV*, p. 427. p. 384

[436] On November 21, 1921, the S.E.C. submitted for the C.P.C.'s approval "Concession agreement for the collection and trade in hides and skins with P. B. Steinberg". See also this volume, Documents 485 and 589. p. 384

[437] In its reply letter of December 15, 1921, the State Planning Commission wrote that its Presidium had heard a representative of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Gubernia Executive Committee about the progress of construction at the Ivanovo-Voznesensk District Power Station. Gosplan's conclusion said that there were not enough data to decide on the urgency of the project and that its work was not covered by the extraction of peat in the Teikovo bog, where the station was to be sited. In view of this, Gosplan asked the Central Board for the Peat Industry (Tsutorf) to take urgent steps to intensify the extraction of peat, and the Ivanovo-Voznesensk economic conference to work out, in order to set the exact date for commissioning the electric-power station, a scheme for developing and restructuring industry and other branches of the economy from the standpoint of the requirements in electric power and fuel. See also this volume, Document 666.

The construction of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Electric-Power Station was started in 1926. p. 386

[438] A reference to the Ninth All-Russia Congress of Soviets. p. 386

[439] The note to V. M. Molotov and the reply to A. I. Okulov were written by Lenin on Okulov's letter. Okulov wrote to Lenin that he had applied to the State Publishers for a permission to publish, on his personal responsibility, a weekly scientific and literary newspaper, and asked Lenin to give him a reference.

On January 17, 1922, the Politbureau decided: "To permit Okulov to publish a weekly journal in accordance with the programme he initially submitted" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 386

[440] In connection with this letter, the register of Lenin's assignments contains the following entry by N. P. Gorbunov on November 28, 1921: "Work out a public instruction on entry into the Kremlin. Fulfilled 14.XII." p. 387

[441] A reference to an item, "Remarkable Invention", which reported that electrical engineer I. A. Cheiko of Kharkov had discovered "new rays" emanating from a magnetic field, whose thermal effect made it possible to explode mines, artillery depots, etc., by remote control. These rays, the author said, could also be used in mining and the chemical industry, geodesy, medicine, etc. See this volume, Documents 520 and 543. p. 387

[442] A reference to the radio laboratory in Nizhni-Novgorod under M. A. Bonch-Bruyevich. p. 388

[443] That same day, the Narrow C.P.C. decided to let the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs have 70 million rubles to arrange a Soviet exhibition in Berlin, and instructed the People's Commissariat for Finance to provide the bank-notes to cover the credit. p. 389

[444] This was written in connection with the working out of a new statute of the All-Russia Cheka under the New Economic Policy.

Having sent Lenin the basic provisions drawn up by the Collegium of the All-Russia Cheka, with which the People's Commissar for Justice D. I. Kursky had agreed, and a draft statute of the All-Russia Cheka (substituting the existing decisions on the All-Russia Cheka and its local organs) to be submitted for approval by the Presidium of the All-Russia C.E.C., and other material, Kamenev wrote: "Have a look at this. This is the maximum Dzerzhinsky will agree to, and that which Kursky is, *of course*, *satisfied with*. I insist on this maximum: 1. Unburden the Cheka, leaving political crimes, espionage, banditism and the protection of railways and warehouses in its charge. Not more. The rest—to the People's Commissariat for Justice. 2. The Cheka's investigation apparatus to be merged with the People's Commissariat for Justice, handing it over to the revolutionary tribunals."

The Collegium of the All-Russia Cheka objected to the "transfer to the various organs of inquiry and investigation", and considered it "premature to separate from each other (to transfer to various organs) political cases and cases involving large-scale stealing of the public property and official misconduct" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

On December 1, 1921, Lenin introduced in the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. a proposal to reform the All-Russia Cheka, narrowing down the scope of its activity (see present edition, Vol. 42, pp. 366-67). Having adopted Lenin's proposal, the Po-

litbureau set up a commission, consisting of L. B. Kamenev, D. I. Kursky and F. E. Dzerzhinsky, to discuss the matter within five days, on the strength of the adopted decision. p. 389

[445] A reference to G. V. Chicherin's letter, who, with the economic negotiations with Germany in mind, wrote: "I would recommend very great caution in respect of the proposed grand German prospects" (the underlinings and remarks here and below are Lenin's). Chicherin went on to describe the improvement of relations with Poland (here Lenin put "2" in the margin, but did not deal with this question in his letter). Returning to the negotiations with Germany, Chicherin continued: "What Hartwig said made it clear that Krasin in Berlin supported the Stinnes line of trustification with Britain for work in Russia, that he held himself very close to Stinnes, and even agreed with him about his trip to Britain. Over here in talks with us Krasin kept yessing us and agreeing with the opposite line—supporting in every way the tendency in Germany for separate work (without Britain) in Russia. While abroad he was doing the opposite!" No. 1 ?? ? ? ? ? ? No. 3 p. 390

[446] On December 1, 1921, A. D. Metelev informed Lenin that Cecilia Bobrovskaya had been given a room at the First House of Soviets. p. 390

[447] Apparently written in connection with the question of giving the State Department Store (GUM) permission to work together with foreign capitalists in export-import trade, and to set up a joint-stock company for that purpose.

GUM was set up -by a Narrow C.P.C. decision of October 3, 1921, on organising an inter-ministerial department store. p. 391

[448] A reference to the plan to transform the Commission for the Utilisation of Material Resources under the C.L.D., drawn up by its chairman, L. N. Kritsman. For Lenin's remarks on this plan see *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 44, p. 482. p. 392

[449] This platform was an anonymous document expressing the views of some intellectuals, and was issued for the Second All-Russia Proletcult Congress held in Moscow in November 1921. They cast doubt on the socialist character of the October Revolution and came out against the policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government; in philosophy they stood up for Machist and Bogdanovite "theories", and in politics adopted the views of the opportunist Workers' Opposition. The communist group

of the Second Proletcult Congress condemned the "collectivist" platform and dissociated itself from it

Proletcult (Proletarian Culture Organisation) was set up in September 1917 as an independent workers' organisation. Proletcult, whose direction was in the hands of A. Bogdanov and his supporters, continued, even after the October Revolution, to maintain its "independence", thereby setting itself up in opposition to the Communist Party and the proletarian state. It was not a homogeneous organisation: alongside bourgeois intellectuals, who dominated many of its organisations, there were young workers who were sincerely desirous of taking part in cultural construction. In a number of his works, Lenin sharply criticised Proletcult's erroneous views. Proletcult organisations were most widespread in 1919, but declined in the early 1920s and were dissolved in 1932.

Lenin's proposal for a pamphlet exposing the "collectivist" platform was adopted by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. on December 3, 1921.

The "C.C. circulars" mentioned in the text are the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. letter "On the Proletcults" (see *Pravda* No. 270, December 1, 1920) and the Politbureau's decision on the Proletcults of November 22, 1921, published in *Izvestia R.C.P.*(*B.*) *C.C.* No. 36 for 1921. p. 392

[450] See Note 347. p. 393

[451] *The Economist*, a British economic and political weekly, an organ of the big industrial bourgeoisie, published in London since 1843. p. 394

[452] This letter was written at the bottom of a typed copy of a report entitled "Centrosoyuz turnover in relations with gubernia societies and district sections. Data on commodity turnover of the sections for September-November 1921 in millions of rubles of present currency". p. 394

[453] *The United Economic Commission*, mentioned by Lenin, was a commission for "bringing together all economic and financial questions" on whose establishment the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. adopted a decision on December 1, 1921. L. B. Kamenev was confirmed as its chairman. In accordance with the Politbureau decision, the C.P.C. resolved on December 6: "To consolidate and accelerate the work in systematising and adding to economic legislation, an economic commission of the C.P.C. is to be established" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 394

[454] Written on a typed copy of a report: "Centrosoyuz turnover in relations with gubernia societies and district sections. Data on commodity turnover of the sections for September-November 1921

in millions of rubles of present currency". Lenin drew four pencilled lines under the word "Centrosoyuz". p. 394

[455] In the calendar "Entry of the secretarial information on V. I. Lenin's assignments" an entry on December 5, 1921, says: "To Yenukidze, Karpinsky, Dzerzhinsky, Zalutsky, Mikhailov and Molotov (through Divilkovsky).

"Please designate the men who could be used for 'personal contacts' in the event of need in more serious and thorough investigation."

An entry on January 4, 1922, says: "N. P. Gorbunov is dealing with it. Everything is going well. The men are being designated" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 395

[456] A reference to the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee decision of November 27, 1921, concerning A. I. Rykov's medical treatment in Germany. p. 396

[457] A reference to the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee decision of December 1, 1921, relieving A. D. Tsyurupa of his post of People's Commissar for Food and appointing him Second Deputy of the C.L.D. Chairman.

Lenin outlined the plan for the work of the deputies of the C.P.C. and C.L.D. Chairman in a letter to A. D. Tsyurupa on November 28, 1921 (see present edition, Vol. 42, pp. 365-66). p. 396

[458] The question of L. G. Shapiro was examined by the Moscow Gubernia Commission for Checking-up, Reviewing and Purging the Membership of the R.C.P.(B.) on December 5, 1921. By a decision of the Commission he was reinstated in the Party, but issued a reprimand for losing contacts with the workers. Lenin was sent an extract from the Commission's minutes. p. 400

[459] Written in connection with a letter from T. I. Sedelnikov of the People 's Commissariat for Agriculture concerning the invention of a new building material called "torfite" (for Lenin's markings on the letter see *Lenin Miscellany XXIII*, pp. 95-96).

Lenin was on sick leave from December 6, 1921, and was living at Gorki near Moscow. p. 400

[460] Ballister (Robert Minor) and John Carr (L. Cutterfeld), representatives of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. on the Executive Committee of the Comintern, were received by Lenin on December 3, 1921.

That same day, a C.P.C. secretary made the following entry of Lenin's verbal inquiry in the card register of his assignments: "When is Comrade Manucharyants able to get for Vladimir Ilyich two copies of his book *New Data on Capitalism in Agriculture* (*North American United States*)." On December 5, the same card has this addition: "The books have been received and passed on

to Vladimir Ilyich" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 402

[461] Written on a copy of G. I. Myasnikov's letter to engineer B. A. Kurzhner, a Party member in Petrograd, in which Myasnikov proposed to intensify, in connection with the forthcoming Eleventh Congress of the R.C.P.(B.), subversive activity against the Party's policy.

The Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee discussed G. I. Myasnikov's case at several of its sittings, and on February 20, 1922, approved the proposal of a Politbureau commission to expel him from the Party for gross breach of Party discipline and anti-Party activity. p. 402

[462] N. A. Orlov, author of the book *Prodovolstvennaya rabota sovetskoi vlasti* (The Soviet Power's Food Supply Work) (1918), was in charge of the economic department of the journal *Novy Mir*, which was published by the Soviet embassy in Berlin. Orlov requested permission to write a book, *Economic History of Soviet Russia* (Research Essay), and to publish it abroad under a pen-name in several foreign languages. He believed it was better to have the book written not from an openly communist standpoint, but in the tone of an objectively minded non-Party researcher, taking a favourable view of the Soviet power. For, argued Orlov, writing in "a clearly apologetic vein ... fails to produce the desired impression" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

Lenin's proposal was adopted by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee on December 7, 1921. p. 403

[463] An apparent reference to the item "Vneshtorg Activity in Sevastopol" which appeared in *Pravda* on December 6, 1921. p. 403

[464] In reply to Lenin's telegram, Deputy Chairman of the Crimean C.P.C., Polyakov, reported that A. A. Preobrazhensky was receiving an increased ration, that he would be given assistance in the future, and that he and his wife had now been placed at a sanatorium. p. 404

[465] In reply to Lenin's letter, Maxim Gorky said that he had written to H. G. Wells, who was in America, asking him to have a talk with the organisations and persons concerned about helping the famine-stricken. He wrote: "I have no reply from Wells, but I am sure that my letter found him in America, because he quoted extracts from my letter in one of his articles..." (V. I. Lenin and A. M. Gorky, *Pisma, vospominaniya, dokumenty* (Letters, Reminiscences, Documents), 2nd ed., 1961, pp. 184-86). p. 404

[466] On Lenin's instructions, I. A. Cheiko's materials were sent to a number of scientists and research institutions. See also this volume, Documents 519 and 520. p. 405

[467] This is in reply to a letter from I. I. Mezhlauk, Chairman of the Yugostal Board, of November 27, 1921, about delays in the issue of working capital earmarked for the trust. He said the trust had succeeded in getting together skilled miners, and described their wage rates and the intensified work of the enterprises, adding that in 1922 the latter would produce 10 million poods of ferrous metal (6 million poods of pig iron and 4 million poods of rolled metal), provided Yugostal received the working capital earmarked for it by the S.E.C. Presidium on October 27, 1921.

Yugostal, the joint board of the Petrovka, Makeevka and Yuzovka state factories and mines with all their subsidiary enterprises and lands in the Ukraine, the Northern Caucasus and the Crimea. It was set up under the Ukrainian Economic Council to effect the production, technical and economic unification of combined enterprises of the metallurgical industry. It was in operation until 1929. p. 405

[468] Having examined on December 21, 1921, Lenin's proposal, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee decided: "To include Comrade Gorky among the comrades receiving medical treatment abroad, and to instruct Comrade Krestinsky to see that he has all the money necessary for the treatment" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). See *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Document 290. p. 406

[469] A reference to N. Osinsky's letter of December 14, 1921, connected with the conflict in the People's Commissariat for Agriculture (see this volume, Document 506). p. 406

[470] A protest against the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee decision of November 18, 1921, about the conflict in the People's Commissariat for Agriculture was brought in by N. Osinsky at the Plenum of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee, which, having discussed this question on December 28, confirmed the Politbureau decision by a unanimous vote (with one abstention). While preparing for the Plenum, Lenin requested a number of documents connected with the state of affairs in the People's Commissariat for Agriculture (see *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Documents 147 and 148). p. 407

[471] On December 21, 1921, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee decided: "To take Comrade Lenin's application into consideration. To prolong his leave to two weeks" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 407

[472] A reference to the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee Plenum of December 18, 1921, which approved the agenda for the Ninth All-Russia Congress of Soviets, and appointed Lenin as rapporteur

on the first question—the report of the All-Russia C.E.C. and the C.P.C. on domestic and foreign policy of the Republic. p. 408

[473] A reference to the following Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee decision of December 8, 1921: "To recognise as necessary the maintenance of absolute quiet for Comrade Lenin and to prohibit his secretariat from sending him any papers whatever, to enable Comrade Lenin to make a short (say, at least 30-minute) speech at the Congress of Soviets" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

The Ninth All-Russia Congress of Soviets was held from December 23 to 28, 1921. Lenin gave the All-Russia C.E.C. and C.P.C. report on December 23 (see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 143-77). p. 408

[474] The commission, set up on Lenin's instructions, worked out the proposals included in the C.L.D. decision of January 4, 1922, under which camera and film production was transferred from the People's Commissariat for Education to the S.E.C.

Later, on March 8, 1922, the C.L.D. reversed the January 4 decision and approved the decision of the S.E.C. Presidium of February 24, under which the S.E.C. took over the production of finished and semi-finished products of the camera and film industry. The People's Commissariat for Education remained in charge of the making of films and their distribution, the operation of cinemas and the slide business. p. 408

[475] A reference to Prof. K. A. Krug's letter, asking Lenin for help in obtaining for the Electrotechnical Department of the Moscow Higher Technical College (now the M.H.T.C. named after Bauman), and the State Experimental Electrotechnical Institute set up under the S.E.C. Scientific and Technical Department, premises and funds for the purchase of the necessary equipment abroad. p. 408

[476] In a telegram from London, L. B. Krasin said that, according to the information received from reliable sources, the Angora Treaty (a Franco-Turkish Agreement signed in October 1921) contained secret clauses providing for Turkey's seizure of the whole of the Transcaucasus. Krasin wrote that this plan "is supported by the bloc of former bourgeois Transcaucasian governments, which are backed by Briand, who is advising French financiers to abstain from any deals with the Bolsheviks in the Caucasus in view of the imminent changes there" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 409

[477] The materials received to the inquiries sent to the People's Commissariats and other central establishments were used by Lenin

in his All-Russia C.E.C. and C.P.C. report at the Ninth All-Russia Congress of Soviets (see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 143-77).

The text scored off with double lines was included, in a somewhat modified wording, into each inquiry when they were retyped for dispatch. See *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Supplements, Documents 6-9. p. 409

[478] A reference to the proposed International Economic and Financial Conference at Genoa (Italy). p. 410

[479] *Labour Army Councils* were set up on the basis of the Military Army Councils in view of the transfer of some of the Red Army combat units to the status of labour armies during the breathing-space in 1920. On the Labour Army Councils were representatives of the People's Commissariats for Food, Railways, Agriculture, and Labour, and the Supreme Economic Council. p. 411

[480] A reference to the decision of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee Plenum of August 9, 1921, adopted on Lenin's proposal, which "recognises the need to raise the question of more intensified transfer of the Army to economic work, and authorises the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic to hold several sittings specially to discuss and prepare this" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

On the plenum's instructions the question of the Army's labour tasks was considered by the C.L.D. on August 12, 1921. Under its decision these matters were referred to the C.P.C. Having heard on August 16, 1921, the reports of the commissions set up by the C.L.D., the C.P.C. approved the draft decisions with some amendments. p. 411

[481] A reference to the article by engineer V. L. Levi, "Russia's Electric-Power Supply (General Review)", which appeared in *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* on December 8, 1921, and described Russia's electric-power supply from 1917 to mid-1921.

On December 20, 1921, there was published a table entitled "The Growth in the Number of Stations in the Period from 1917 to July 1, 1921" under the caption "Russia's Electric-Power Supply" with the following introductory sentence: "In addition to the general review of Russia's electric-power supply (see *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn* No. 276 of December 8, 1921), the editorial board publishes the following table which characterises the growth in the number of electric-power stations from 1917 to July 1, 1921." p. 412

[482] A reference to the electric-power stations then under construction.

Kashira, the State Kashira District Electric-Power Station.

Utkina Zavod, the Krasny Oktyabr Electric-Power Station near Petrograd, whose first 10,000 kw section was started on October 8, 1922.

The Volkhov site, the Volkhov Hydro-Electric Power Station. The decision to build it was taken by the C.P.C. in July 1918, and the work was started after the Civil War, in 1921. It was run in at the end of 1926. p. 412

[483] A reference to a letter from I. A. Teodorovich, Deputy People's Commissar for Agriculture, giving a detailed characteristic of V. G. Yakovenko, Chairman of the Kansk Uyezd Executive Committee of Yeniseisk Gubernia, and recommending him for the post of People's Commissar for Agriculture. See this volume, Documents 559 and 564, and *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Document 164. p. 413

[484] Nadezhda Alliluyeva was reinstated in the Party. p. 414

[485] Yevgenia Popova (Kasparova) was reinstated in the Party.

On the document there is the following inscription by C.P.C. secretary Natalya Lepeshinskaya: "Vladimir Ilyich earnestly asks Comrades Stalin, Safarov, Zinoviev and Kornblyum urgently to give information about Comrade Kasparova and also to find out who else of the comrades knows her well and what they could say about her." p. 415

[486] The article described the use of diesel locomotives abroad and expressed the opinion that they could and should be widely used on railways in Soviet Russia. p. 415

[487] Over the text of Lenin's letter, C.P.C. secretary Natalya Lepeshinskaya wrote: "To the State Planning Commission (Presidium), to the S.E.C.'s Scientific and Technical Department, to the People's Commissariat for Railways. P.S. Comrade Lenin wants to know whether anything has been said about this in scientific and technical literature and what is the view taken of this by specialists?" See also this volume, Documents 568, 611 and 613. p. 416

[488] In a telegram on December 19, 1921, L. B. Krasin said that William Brown, a representative of ARA, had conveyed to him the following proposal from Herbert Hoover: the American Government is prepared to spend $20 million to buy grain and seed for the famine-stricken gubernias of Russia, provided the Soviet Government undertook, within three months, beginning from January 1, 1922, to buy $10 million worth of U.S. food and seed for the famine-stricken areas. It stipulated that the purchases were to be made by the Hoover's Commission (ARA).

The Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. examined this proposal on December 22, 1921, and decided to accept it, instructing M. M. Litvinov to reply to Krasin. That same day, Litvinov urgently cabled Krasin that the proposal had been accepted, and asked "to set the earliest date for the delivery of grain in view of the increasingly acute famine situation" (Central Party

Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 416

[489] A reference to a letter from A. V. Eiduk, the Soviet Government's representative with ARA, of December 21, 1921. Eiduk considered the Hoover proposal disadvantageous both economically and politically and recommended its rejection, because it would result in an extension of the ARA apparatus, which was engaged in hostile activity against Soviet Russia.

Having discussed the question "of political measures in connection with ARA", the Politbureau on December 31, 1921, authorised a commission, consisting of I. S. Unschlicht, A. V. Eiduk and V. M. Mikhailov, "to work out measures of special precaution in the event of excessive extension of ARA's apparatus and its recruitment of unreliable elements" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). See also this volume, Document 558. p. 417

[490] By a Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. decision of October 14, 1921, G. Y. Sokolnikov was appointed Chairman of the Turkestan Bureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee and the Turkestan Commission of the All-Russia C.E.C. and the R.S.F.S.R. Council of People's Commissars. p. 417

[491] A reference to G. I. Safarov's letter to Lenin about distortions of the Party's national policy in Turkestan. On December 22, 1921, the Politbureau set up a commission to examine the question of Turkestan affairs. See this volume, Documents 306, 383 and 562. p. 417

[492] On December 24, 1921, G. Y. Sokolnikov informed Lenin about the charges levelled against G. I. Safarov and his opinion of the case. A copy of Sokolnikov's letter with Lenin's remarks was sent out to members of the Politbureau. p. 417

[493] About the Supreme Economic Commission see Note 453. p. 418

[494] This is in reply to G. I. Safarov's letter. In particular, on December 20, 1921, Safarov informed Lenin that, in view of the examination of the material concerning his activity in Turkestan by the Central Control Commission, he had handed in an application to the Party C.C. to the effect that he intended to abstain from any responsible work (at the time Safarov was consultant on Eastern affairs in the Comintern). See also this volume, Document 560. p. 418

[495] On December 26, 1921, the Orgbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C., in accordance with Lenin's proposal, recognised the need to send Y. E. Rudzutak for medical treatment in Germany and asked People's Commissar for Public Health N. A. Semashko to give

his conclusion concerning the place and time of the former's leave, and the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to expedite his departure. See also this volume, Document 667. p. 419

[496] A reference to the draft "Instructions on Questions of Economic Activity" submitted for examination by the Ninth All-Russia Congress of Soviets. On December 26, 1921, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. approved the draft in substance. On December 28 the Instructions were adopted by the congress (see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 178-81). p. 420

[497] These memos were apparently written at the Ninth All-Russia Congress of Soviets during the discussion of the question "On Finance and the Budget". p. 421

[498] A reference to the gold ruble revenue from the issue of money and the surplus-food requisitioning for 1918-19 and 1920. p. 421

[499] A reference to the review by engineer G. B. Krasin of A. Belyakov's article "New Ways of Reviving Railway Transport", which was written at Lenin's request (see this volume, Document 557). Krasin wrote that "the use of diesel locomotives could probably be highly fruitful" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

The letter addressed to G. M. Krzhizhanovsky on December 26, 1921, has not been found. p. 422

[500] On January 4, 1922, the C.L.D., having recognised that the introduction of diesel locomotives was of especial importance, instructed the Thermal Technical Institute, with the assistance of the Technical Committee of the People's Commissariat for Railways and other establishments, to organise the outlining of projects and technical specifications for diesel locomotives and "to announce a competition for the best diesel locomotive design with the award of a prize...." By the same decision, the State Planning Commission, together with the Thermal Technical Institute and the People's Commissariat for Railways, was instructed to work out, within ten days, "detailed terms for prizes and a competition for subsequent extensive publication of them in Russia and abroad" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 422

[501] Lenin did not write a special article on Serrati; he described Serrati's stand in his article "Notes of a Publicist" (see present edition, Vol. 33, p. 211). p. 422

[502] On the strength of unverified accusations, K. Kh. Danishevsky was expelled from the R.C.P.(B.), at the end of 1921, by the Khamovniki District Commission (Moscow) for Purging the Party.

The Central Commission for Checking up on the Membership of the R.C.P.(B.) rejected the groundless accusations and reinstated Danishevsky in the Party. p. 424

[503] At the top of the document, C.P.C. and C.L.D. secretary Lydia Fotieva wrote: "To N. P. Gorbunov. Nikolai Petrovich, Vladimir Ilyich wants you to see that what Kamenev undertakes should be fulfilled as soon as possible, that is, to put pressure wherever necessary. 1/I-22. *L. Fotieva*."

The obituary on "Iosif Petrovich Goldenberg (Meshkovsky) " was published in *Pravda* on January 3, 1922. p. 425

[504] A reference to G. V. Chicherin's letter to the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. of December 2, 1921, saying that, according to information received from L. B. Krasin in London, S.E.C. Chairman P. A. Bogdanov had allegedly written a letter to Leslie Urquhart about resuming the concession talks which he had broken off. Chicherin felt that Bogdanov's letter could be interpreted as the Soviet Government's surrender to private capital, and requested a repudiation.

This question was examined by the Politbureau on January 12, 1922. In accordance with Lenin's proposal, the Politbureau instructed I. S. Unschlicht, Deputy Chairman of the All-Russia Cheka, to investigate how Bogdanov's letter to Taube, which had been sent on to Krasin in London, got into Urquhart's hands. The Politbureau agreed with the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs that Bogdanov had made a mistake by addressing himself to Taube in circumvention of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade, and recognised that it was "inadmissible to bring up at the Politbureau questions sharply affecting responsible workers (Comrade Bogdanov) without obtaining the necessary information beforehand" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 426

[505] A reference to G. V. Chicherin's letter to the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. of December 30 and L. B. Krasin's telegram from London of December 28, 1921.

Krasin communicated the following approximate text of the Soviet Government's declaration proposed by Lloyd George as a condition for the recognition of the R.S.F.S.R. by the capitalist countries and extension of economic assistance to it: "The Soviet Government, with the proviso of its *de jure* recognition and the extension of assistance to Russia in her rehabilitation, agrees to recognise as binding on itself all the financial obligations of the tsarist and the Provisional Government. It is furthermore proposed that the Soviet Government should pay the losses of foreign governments and private persons, in so far as these losses resulted from the Soviet Government's acts or omissions on its part, provided the foreign governments made good the losses inflicted by them on Russia, with the settlement of

all matters involving losses to be effected by an arbitration tribunal on the basis of the generally recognised principles of international law and the principles of trade relations prevailing in civilised countries."

In the opinion of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin wrote to the Politbureau, "this proposal is an attempt to blackmail us once again before the session of the Supreme Council", and it should be rejected, with the declaration that the Soviet Government is prepared to discuss the question of the private debts at a conference. The Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs considered the arbitration tribunal to be absolutely unacceptable, "because there cannot be any impartial arbitration tribunal between the Soviet Republic and the capitalist states".

Having discussed on December 31, 1921, Krasin's telegram about Britain's proposals, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. decided "to agree with Comrade Chicherin" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 426

[506] On December 31, 1921, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. decided to appoint A. M. Krasnoshchekov Second Deputy People's Commissar for Finance. On January 10, 1922, the C.P.C. confirmed him in this office. p. 427

[507] *Nazar Uralsky*—N. N. Nakoryakov. On November 30, 1921, Lenin instructed his secretary: "Arrange for me a meeting with *Nazar Uralsky* (through the Central Administration for Vocational Training)" (*Lenin Miscellany XXIII*, p. 310). Nakoryakov was received by Lenin that same day. p. 428

[508] The R.S.F.S.R. plenipotentiary representative in Norway, L. M. Mikhailov, reported that the Norwegian Council of Ministers had decided to pass through the Storting a loan to Soviet Russia for the purchase of herring, with the proviso that, when the transaction was concluded, 50 per cent of the cost was to be paid in cash and the rest in equal instalments by October 15, 1922, and January 1, 1923. Mikhailov asked for a telegram stating the amount of the transaction.

After additional negotiations and specification of the terms, the agreement was signed. p. 428

[509] Lenin's proposal sprang from the country's grave financial position and the need to increase appropriations for schools and the wiping out of illiteracy.

That same day, January 12, 1922, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee adopted a decision "To authorise the Presidium of the All-Russia C.E.C. to rescind the C.P.C. decision on preserving the Bolshoi Opera and Ballet", and by a subsequent decision on January 17 authorised the All-Russia C.E.C. "to examine Comrade Lunacharsky's application in sub-

stance". On February 6, 1922, the Presidium of the All-Russia C.E.C. adopted the following decision: "To bring to the notice of the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee that the group of the Presidium of the All-Russia C.E.C., having examined Lunacharsky's letter and heard the explanations given by Malinovskaya (Director of the Bolshoi Theatre.—*Ed.*), has found that it is economically inexpedient to close down the Bolshoi Theatre." In connection with this proposal, the Politbureau instructed the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection "to submit an exact calculation of the maintenance of the Bolshoi Theatre in its present state, and of the reduction of expenditures which could be obtained on its closure". On March 13, the Politbureau, having heard the report by V. A. Avanesov, Deputy People's Commissar for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, decided to "satisfy the 6/II-22 petition of the All-Russia C.E.C." p. 429

[510] The Orgbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee agreed with Lenin's proposal on the first and second points of the published document, and on January 13, 1922, adopted the following decision: "To instruct the People's Commissariat for Public Health to appoint one or two doctors to carry out regular examination of all comrades who have returned from abroad. To place the responsibility on the doctor, putting on him the duty to submit a short report to the C.P.C. Secretariat."

Points 3, 4 and 5 were agreed by the Politbureau members by phone and were included as a whole in the Politbureau decision of January 18, 1922 (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). See also this volume, Document 596. p. 430

[511] I. Kh. Lalayants was given a job at the People's Commissariat for Education.

See also this volume, Documents 369, 454 and 626. p. 431

[512] Written under the text of G. V. Chicherin's proposals concerning a reply to the Allied Supreme Council, which on January 6, 1922, adopted a resolution on the convocation of an All-European Economic and Financial Conference, and on the main conditions which the Supreme Council believed were necessary for its success. p. 433

[513] The question of a reply to the Supreme Council of the Entente about the international conference at Genoa was discussed by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. on January 17,1922, which decided: "To agree in general with Comrade Chicherin's proposals, with Comrade Lenin's additions and amendments taken down by Comrade Chicherin" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

On January 27, 1922, an Extraordinary Session of the All-Russia C.E.C. approved the composition of the Soviet delegation to

the Genoa Conference. On the delegation were L. B. Krasin, M. M. Litvinov, N. N. Narimanov, V. V. Vorovsky, Y. E. Rudzutak, A. A. Joffe, Kh. G. Rakovsky and others. V. I. Lenin was appointed chairman of the delegation, and People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs G. V. Chicherin, his deputy (*Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR*, Vol. V, Moscow, 1961, pp. 66-67). p. 434

[514] In two letters to the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. of January 15, 1922, G. V. Chicherin, in connection with the holiday offered to him, characterised the state of affairs at the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.

He said the work was not going smoothly because of a shortage of trained personnel and added that there was no one at the Commissariat who was informed about the whole range of questions. He wrote that it was impossible for him to go on holiday just then. It would take him several months to hand over his affairs and introduce someone to all his duties at the Commissariat, something it was absolutely impossible to do during the intense preparation for the Genoa Conference. Chicherin insisted that "a holiday at the present time is tantamount to my total departure" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 434

[515] The question of Chicherin's leave and medical treatment was examined at several sittings of the Politbureau, and he was given leave after the Genoa Conference. p. 435

[516] On January 26, 1922, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. instructed A. A. Joffe, J. A. Hanecki and P. P. Gorbunov "to prepare the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs for being in a state of complete clarity and precision of work by the time Comrades Chicherin and Litvinov leave.... To bear in mind the possibility of Comrade Karakhan's being summoned in the absence of Chicherin and Litvinov, and also the possibility that one or two comrades from the diplomatic section of the delegation will have to take turns staying in Moscow to carry on" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 435

[517] The question of material assistance to T. L. Axelrod was examined by the Secretariat of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee on January 21, 1922. His request was met. p. 435

[518] Lenin's letter to the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. on January 17, 1922, was discussed on January 20. The Politbureau decided to have the question of granting Steinberg a concession finally settled by the C.P.C. (see also this volume, Document 515). p. 437

[519] These words are from Ivan Krylov's fable, "The Musicians",

which tells of a choir of serf peasants who sang very poorly, but were a model of sobriety. p. 437

[520] Meaning people who are prepared to engage in any activity regardless of their qualification, so long as they have the authority and the assignment. "I am prepared to be an accoucheur at any time," is a sentence from an introduction by the Russian satirical writer Saltykov-Shchedrin to his novel *The Golovlyov Family*. p. 437

[521] Lenin's proposal was adopted the same day by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. On January 24, the Council of People's Commissars approved in substance the draft statutes of the Joint-Stock Company for Domestic and Export Trade in Hides and Skins (Kozhsyryo). On February 1, the statutes of the company and the articles of association were approved by the C.L.D. p. 438

[522] On Lenin's initiative and instructions, the Managing Department of the C.L.D. set up tables characterising the development of the main branches of Soviet Russia's national economy for 1920-21 and 1922. For the correspondence between V. A. Smolyaninov and P. I. Popov, Business Manager of the Central Statistical Board, in connection with this proposal of Lenin's, see *Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 1, 1962, pp. 51-52 and 54-55, and also No. 3, 1961, p. 71. p. 438

[523] On February 1, 1922, the Secretariat of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. decided to send Margarita Fofanova's daughter for treatment abroad, together with her mother if need be. p. 439

[524] On January 23, 1922, Lenin was informed by the bureau of the Secretariat of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee that N. Sammer-Kotovich had been placed in the experimental model school of the People's Commissariat for Education as a boarder. p. 440

[525] On January 20, 1922, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee recognised the need to intensify the delivery of grain from the Ukraine and adopted a decision to send Deputy People's Commissar for Food, M. I. Frumkin, to the Ukraine with special powers.

The same decision also approved, with some amendments (instead of "dismiss from office and expel from the Party"—"the Party will be forced to take the most drastic measures of punishment") the draft telegram to L. B. Krasin proposed by Lenin (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 441

[526] Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, M. M. Litvinov, was concurrently C.P.C. representative for currency operations. p. 441

[527] On January 17, 1922, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. decided to satisfy L. B. Krasin's request "concerning Comrade Larin's recall at his disposal".

The published letter was sent to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs with the following inscription by Lenin: "*To the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. To P. P. Gorbunov:* for dispatch *as soon* and *as* confidentially *as possible*. Return the envelope to me with *Krasin's signature*. 19.I.1922. *Lenin*. **To Comrade Krasin** *in London* (19.I.1922 from Lenin)" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 441

[528] The case involving red tape in the movement of freights for the Kashira project was examined by a team of the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. The guilty persons were tried by the Revolutionary Military Tribunal. p. 442

[529] A reference to the daily regimen established for A. D. Tsyurupa by his doctor. p. 442

[530] The same day, A. D. Tsyurupa replied to Lenin, thanking him for his care. He wrote that he was feeling better, and promised to carry out the doctor's orders. He also said that he preferred to remain in the accustomed environment of his home where he had the necessary care, and promised "to go to Kashira or the Chaika country house for two or three days". p. 443

[531] This is in reply to L. D. Trotsky's communication that the youth conference, where he had given a report, was addressed by the Menshevik Gurvich, who, referring to Lenin's pronouncements on state capitalism, asserted that the New Economic Policy was a return to capitalism. p. 443

[532] Lenin shed light on the question of state capitalism in the political report of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee and in the summing up speech on the report at the Eleventh Party Congress, and also in an interview with a *Manchester Guardian* correspondent, in a report at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, and in his article "On Co-operation" (see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 279, 310-13, 402-04, 418-22, 472-73). p. 444

[533] In the letter here mentioned, G. Y. Sokolnikov argued the need to reorganise Gokhran (the State Depository of Valuables of the R.S.F.S.R.) into a Currency Administration. With this in mind, he suggested the appointment as its head an executive of greater stature than the head of Gokhran, N. A. Basha. Sokolnikov also dealt with various aspects of restructuring the budget. p. 444

[534] A reference to the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. decision of January 20, 1922, on the delay in the purchase of food abroad. p. 445

[535] A reference to the R.S.F.S.R. Government's Note to the Governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the U.S.A. of October 28, 1921, which was signed by the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs G. V. Chicherin (see *Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR*, Vol. IV, Moscow, 1960, pp. 445-48; for Lenin's remarks on the draft Note see this volume, Document 466). p. 447

[536] The first paragraph of the resolution on convening the international economic conference at Genoa, adopted at the Cannes Conference of the Allied Supreme Council on January 6, 1922, read: "Nations can claim no right to dictate to each other regarding the principles on which they are to regulate their system of ownership, internal economy and government. It is for every nation to choose for itself the system which it prefers in this respect" (*Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR*, Vol. V, Moscow, 1961, p. 58). See also this volume, Document 605. p. 447

[537] In February 1922, Lenin worked out detailed directives for the Soviet delegation at the Genoa Conference, which were adopted by the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee (see this volume, Documents 623 and 630; present edition, Vol. 42, pp. 390-93, 394-95, 396-98, 401-04). p. 447

[538] A reference to the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. decision of January 20, 1922: "Not to object to Comrade Chicherin's proposal to enlist as 'specialists' Sukhanov and Jordansky for preparatory work" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 447

[539] Written in connection with a telegraphic inquiry addressed to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade by B. S. Stomonyakov, the R.S.F.S.R. trade representative in Germany. Reporting that HAPAG (Hamburg-America Line) had come to an arrangement with the Harriman concern on transferring to the latter one-half of its interest in the German-Russian Transport Company (Derutra), Stomonyakov asked whether this should be agreed to. A. M. Lezhava, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Trade, in a letter to Lenin on January 14, 1922, expressed the opinion that this was advantageous not only for HAPAG but also for Soviet Russia, because it was "a very major fact, the first business agreement between us and American capital" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

Derutra, the German-Russian Transport Company was set up on the basis of a protocol signed in Berlin on May 13, 1921, by

Stomonyakov and Director Theodor Ritter, a member of the board of HAPAG (see *Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR*, Vol. IV, Moscow, 1960, pp. 114-19). p. 448

[540] A reference to the proposal made by "Friedrich Krupp in Essen" on a 50,000-dessiatine concession. See also this volume, Documents 675 and 710. p. 448

[541] Written at the bottom of G. V. Chicherin's letter of January 20, 1922. Chicherin had written to Lenin: "... If the Americans should harp on the demand for representative institutions, don't you think that it could be possible, for a sizable compensation, to insert a small amendment into our Constitution...?" Lenin underscored the words "could be possible" with four lines, put three interrogation marks in the margin, and wrote: "This is madness!!" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 450

[542] On February 2, 1922, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. adopted a decision to the effect that questions having a fundamental bearing on R.S.F.S.R. financial policy or going up for decision by the Politbureau were to be examined beforehand by a trio consisting of G. Y. Sokolnikov, A. M. Krasnoshchekov and Y. A. Preobrazhensky. p. 450

[543] A reference to the radio telegram from the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Italy, Bonomi, on January 13. 1922, in which, under a decision of the conference of the Allied Supreme Council, held at Cannes from January 6 to 13, he invited, on behalf of the Supreme Council, a Soviet Government delegation to take part in an international economic and financial conference which was to meet at Genoa in early March 1922. p. 451

[544] Clause 1 of the Cannes resolution, as published in the Soviet press, said: "No state can claim any right to dictate to another state the principles on which the latter is to regulate its system of ownership, and internal economy and government" (*Izvestia VTsIK* No. 6, January 10, 1922). This text corresponded with the text of the resolution published in *Petit Parisien* No. 16385 on January 8. On January 26, G. V. Chicherin wrote, enclosing the issue of the paper: "I am sending you *Petit Parisien* with the Cannes resolution and a copy of Bonomi. The latter has dropped 'Système de propriété'."

Lenin attached great importance to the formulation of §1 of the Cannes terms, regarding it as an indirect admission of the bankruptcy of the capitalist system of property, and of the inevitable existence of a communist system of property alongside it. Lenin pointed out that the other paragraphs of the Cannes terms, designed to enslave Soviet Russia by foreign capital, were clearly at odds with clause one (see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 356-57). p. 451

[545] On January 31, 1922, I. T. Smilga, reporting his and B.S. Stomonyakov's talk with representatives of the Deutsche Bank about oil concessions, wrote: "...We have agreed in principle to negotiate on the whole of Grozny and on the Bibi-Eibat district in Baku. " Smilga requested instructions about the terms of the talks. In order to expedite this matter, Smilga suggested that the right to sign the agreement should be vested in him, N. N. Krestinsky, A. I. Rykov and B. S. Stomonyakov, with subsequent confirmation by the C.P.C. The letter was also signed by Krestinsky (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 452

[546] A reference to Sun Yat-sen's letter of August 28, 1921, addressed to G. V. Chicherin, informing him of the situation in China, and of Sun's election to the post of President of the National Government. He ended by saying: "I am taking a great interest in your cause, especially in the organisation of your Soviets, your Army and education. I should like to know everything you and others may tell me about these things, especially about education. Like Moscow, I should like to lay the foundations of the Chinese Republic deep in the minds of the young generation—the toilers of the morrow.

"With best wishes to you, to my friend Lenin and to all those who have done so much for the cause of human freedom" (see *Bolshevik* No. 19, 1950, pp. 46-48). Having sent on this letter to Lenin on November 6, 1921, Chicherin asked him whether he was personally acquainted with Sun Yat-sen. Lenin replied the next day, saying that they had never met, and that until then they had not corresponded. p. 452

[547] *Duet*—two members of the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee who outlined its agenda, gave a preliminary reading of the material for the sittings, and in some cases submitted their conclusions. p. 453

[548] Lenin was given leave under a Politbureau decision on December 3, 1921; he was away on leave from December 6. p. 453

[549] This is in reply to a letter from I. S. Unschlicht, Deputy Chairman of the All-Russia Cheka, of January 26, 1922, in which he stood up for the new draft statute of the All-Russia Cheka, worked out by its Collegium, and insisted that it should retain its punitive functions. The letter is quoted in his reminiscences of Lenin. He sets out the beginning of the letter as follows: "Lenin did not agree with my arguments and sent me a reply saying that my proposals could and should be realised not my way but through a C.C. commission draft.... Lenin ended his letter by noting that on the basis of the decisions taken by a Politbureau commission 'an increase in the speed and force of reprisals can and must be achieved'" (*Voprosy istorii KPSS*, 1965, No. 4, p. 97). See also this volume, Document 522. p. 454

[550] On January 28, 1922, Y. V. Lomonosov sent a telephone message informing Lenin of a conference he had had with G. M. Krzhizhanovsky, Prof. L. K. Ramzin and Deputy Head of the Technical Committee of the People's Commissariat for Railways P. S. Yanushevsky, about the construction of diesel locomotives. See also this volume, Document 613. p. 455

[551] This was written in connection with a report by GUM, the State Department Store, on its operations for two months, and a memo from its director, A. A. Belov, about its immediate plans and the need to increase its capital.

The Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Finance, having discussed the petition, decided to increase its capital by three million real values, and to take steps to promote its commercial activity. See also this volume, Documents 525 and 625. p. 455

[552] This is written on a telephone message from Y. V. Lomonosov to Lenin on January 28, 1922 (see Note 550).

On February 3, 1922, Chairman of the State Planning Commission, G. M. Krzhizhanovsky, submitted a detailed memo giving Lenin a progress report on implementing the C.L.D. decision of January 4, 1922, concerning diesel locomotives (see Note 500).

He believed that it was necessary, along with building diesel locomotives to Russian blueprints, to announce an international competition. He wrote that the work was being carried on in two directions: the drafting of the terms of the international competition and the "working out of outline blueprints of diesel locomotives for their subsequent construction through the allocation of orders to factories" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

On March 10, 1922, the C.L.D. approved the terms of the competition for the construction of diesel locomotives for the R.S.F.S.R., which had been worked out by the State Planning Commission together with the Thermal Technical Institute and the People's Commissariat for Railways, and set March 1, 1924, as the date of the competition (see this volume, Documents 568 and 611). p. 455

[553] On January 29, 1922, the newspapers carried two radio messages from the Italian Foreign Minister Torretta addressed to G. V. Chicherin, one dated January 22, containing a reply to Chicherin's inquiry about the agenda of the Genoa Conference, and the other dated January 27, on the composition of the conference. In the latter he said that, in accordance with the Cannes decisions of the Supreme Council, among those invited to the conference were "apart from the members of the Supreme Council and Russia, all the states of Europe with *de jure* recognition" (*Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR*, Vol. V, Moscow, 1961, p. 59). This "explanation" of Torretta's was taken by some quarters to imply the invitation to the conference of the expelled whiteguard governments of Kolchak and Denikin, the Menshevik government of Georgia,

the Dashnak government of Armenia, the Musavat government of Azerbaijan and others (which had earlier been recognised by the Entente, and whose recognition had not been revoked). In this context, L. D. Trotsky proposed a categorical declaration saying that the invitation of émigré counter-revolutionary organisations would make it quite impossible for the R.S.F.S.R. to attend such a conference. p. 456

[554] The Menshevik leaders were carrying on a malicious campaign of lies and slander against Soviet Russia, accusing her of violating "democracy", "the self-determination of nations", expulsion of the "legitimate" (Menshevik) government of Georgia, and "occupation" of her territory, etc. In view of the forthcoming Genoa Conference, the Mensheviks intensified their attacks on the R.S.F.S.R., demanding the Red Army's withdrawal from Georgia, the staging there of a referendum, etc. The Mensheviks in Russia were supported by émigré Mensheviks.

Lenin's proposals published here were adopted by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. p. 456

[555] On January 31, 1922, Lenin received G. Y. Zinoviev's reply to his letter of January 26 (see *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Document 232). Zinoviev wrote that the Executive Committee of the Comintern, not expecting Lenin to deliver a speech on the question of a united front, wanted to have an article by him on this subject. As for his speech on the question of NEP and its initial results, it was considered highly important by the Executive Committee of the Comintern in view of the fact that the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals were distorting the meaning of NEP and agitating against the Communists. See this volume, Document 617. p. 457

[556] Lenin did not write a special article on NEP or the country's economic position. He dealt with these questions in the first part of his article "Notes of a Publicist", which remained unfinished (see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 204-07). p. 457

[557] Prof. N. A. Rozhkov was arrested in February 1921 as a member of the Petrograd Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. (Mensheviks). At his interrogation he said that while he shared the Menshevik view of the Soviet power's inevitable debacle, he did not wish to take part in the political struggle and intended to withdraw from the Menshevik Party. In this connection, the Petrograd Gubernia Cheka suggested his release. On May 31, 1921, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. decided not to release him.

Rozhkov was later released under a decision of the Presidium of the All-Russia Cheka. See also this volume, Documents 801 and 802. p. 457

[558] I. S. Unschlicht asked Lenin to take part in the sitting of the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. on February 2, 1922, during

the discussion of the question of the All-Russia Cheka, in view of the differences between its Collegium and the commission set up by the Politbureau.

On February 2, the Politbureau approved a draft Statute on the Dissolution of the All-Russia Cheka, and instructed Unschlicht to submit for preliminary approval by the Politbureau a Statute of the State Political Administration (G.P.U.). On February 6, 1922, the Presidium of the All-Russia C.E.C. adopted a decision on this question (see *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 30 of February 8, 1922). See also this volume, Documents 522 and 610. p. 457

[559] Lenin's proposal was adopted by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. that same day, February 2, 1922.

In connection with G. L. Pyatakov's request that he should be released from making the report at the Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, the Politbureau, on February 9, authorised the representatives of the R.C.P.(B.) on the Comintern Executive Committee to propose that the report on NEP should be given by L. B. Kamenev.

The report was given by G. Y. Sokolnikov. p. 459

[560] A reference to Lenin's letter to N. I. Bukharin and G. Y. Zinoviev of February 1, 1922, in which he wrote about the Comintern's attitude to the forthcoming conference of representatives of the three Internationals: the Second, the Two-and-a-Half and the Comintern (see present edition, Vol. 42, pp. 393-94).

At the top of the text of the letter, a secretary had written: "Keep track and hurry on with the reply." p. 459

[561] On February 3, 1922, N. I. Bukharin replied to Lenin that he and G. Y. Zinoviev agreed with Lenin's proposals in connection with the conference of the three Internationals. Bukharin also wrote that Lenin would shortly receive material on the attitude of the various groupings in the West to the New Economic Policy. p. 460

[562] On February 7, 1922, N. L. Meshcheryakov, chairman of the editorial board and head of Gosizdat's political department, informed Lenin that "private publishers were operating under the decree of December 12, 1921"; to supervise their activity a political department had been set up under Gosizdat; there were political departments in Moscow and Petrograd. Meshcheryakov also sent in copies of circulars on organising local political departments. These circulars said that publishers were to submit manuscripts to the political departments for examination; printing shops were not entitled to publish any book "unless the manuscript had been passed by the political department" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 461

[563] The circular telegram with the text proposed by Lenin was, that same day, February 6, 1922, sent to all the regional committees, regional bureaus and gubernia committees of the R.C.P.(B.), and to the regional and gubernia departments of public education. On February 9, the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) informed them, in an additional telegram, that the said conference was to meet on February 20 instead of March 20.

The Second All-Russia Congress of Gubernia Departments of Public Education was held in Moscow from February 22 to 28, 1922. See also *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Document 284. p. 462

[564] Under the project for the country's economic division worked out by the State Planning Commission, the Ukraine was to have two parts: the South-western Region with its centre at Kiev, and the Southern Industrial Mining Region with its centre at Kharkov, and this division representatives of the Ukraine considered inappropriate. During the subsequent districting, the Ukraine remained a single economic area. p. 462

[565] In a letter to Lenin G. V. Chicherin expressed his doubts about the success of the Genoa Conference and the possibility of reaching agreement there with the capitalist circles. p. 463

[566] A reference to a report from R. E. Klasson, executive head of the Administration for the Affairs of Gidrotorf (the Administration for Hydraulic Peat Extraction) under the Chief Peat Committee, dated February 9, 1922. He described the state of affairs, said that Gidrotorf did not have the money to buy the necessary materials for the 1922 season, and requested the approval of estimates to the amount of 4 million gold rubles. He also asked that Gidrotorf should be separated from Tsutorf (Central Board for the Peat Industry) and transferred to the Central Fuel Administration or another establishment, at the C.P.C.'s discretion, where Gidrotorf could obtain the money it needed.

On February 28, 1922, the C.P.C. decided to allocate to Gidrotorf 1.2 million prewar rubles from the C.P.C. reserve fund, under the estimates and with a set off of the funds already received by Gidrotorf in 1922. See also this volume, Document 653. p. 464

[567] On February 12, 1922, G. Y. Sokolnikov informed Lenin that the People's Commissariat for Finance would support A. A. Belov, and also replied to all the questions which Lenin posed in the letter here published. p. 466

[568] The following day, February 14, 1922, A. S. Yenukidze informed Lenin that the flat for J. V. Stalin was ready, and that he had issued another written order to A. D. Metelev, the All-Russia C.E.C. house manager, about flats for S. G. Strumilin and L. K. Ramzin. Yenukidze wrote that housing and food arrangements had been made for I. Kh Lalayants, who intended

to go and fetch his family at the end of March (after the Party Congress). Yenukidze also asked Lenin to see him about the work of the Presidium of the All-Russia C.E.C. Yenukidze later reported that he had written to V. V. Fomin at the People's Commissariat for Railways about carriage arrangements for Lalayants.

On the first page of Yenukidze's letter, Lenin wrote: "**To Fotieva p. 3**", and on the third page—"check up fulfilment of § 3", in which he underscored with a double line the words "about flats for Strumilin and Ramzin" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 467

[569] A reference to the All-Russia census of the R.C.P.(B.) members in early 1922, for the purpose of establishing the membership composition and making an exact count of Party members. In Moscow it was held from February 6, 1922. For the questionnaire filled in by Lenin see present edition, Vol. 42, pp. 457-61.

The census of responsible workers mentioned in the letter was carried out in July 1921 to determine the number and qualifications of the governing section of the Party in gubernia and uyezd centres, their territorial distribution and efficiency of use. p. 467

[570] This proposal was written at the bottom of G. V. Chicherin's letter of February 11, 1922, to the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. Chicherin objected to L. D. Trotsky's instructions that, in connection with preparations for the international economic and financial conference (Genoa Conference), experts of the military department should discuss in the press concrete material and the amount of counter-claims on the capitalist countries for compensation of the losses inflicted on Soviet Russia by the foreign armed intervention and blockade.

On February 15, 1922, the Politbureau adopted Lenin's proposal. p. 468

[571] This letter to D. I. Kursky and the documents given below (see this volume, Document 657), as well as Lenin's markings on the draft decision of the All-Russia C.E.C. on the People s Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection and his letter to J. V. Stalin on this question (see this volume, Document 659), were written in view of the need to legislate more precisely on the rights of the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection to control the activity of private enterprises. This is due to a revival of private enterprises under the New Economic Policy, a growth in the number of transactions between state organisations and private lessees and various types of abuses on that account."

[572] The following day, February 16, 1922, D. I. Kursky replied to Lenin's letter, informing him that he had instructed V. I.

Yakhontov, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Justice and head of the Codification Department, to verify I. G. Koblents's conclusion. Kursky wrote about the draft Statute of Obligations, Criminal Code, etc., which had been submitted for approval by the C.P.C., and about the elaboration of a number of laws at the People's Commissariats for Agriculture, Labour, and Justice. He admitted that there were contradictions in the existing laws. Sharing Lenin's view on the "need to guarantee the state full auditing and control", Kursky wrote that he would "consider highly useful a C.C. directive in this respect for the Narrow C.P.C..." (underlined by Lenin) (see *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*, p. 326). p. 471

573 On December 1, 1921, having heard Lenin's report on A. D. Tsyurupa's work, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. decided to confirm him in the post of Second Deputy Chairman of the C.L.D., and on December 5 he was appointed Deputy Chairman of the C.P.C. by a Politbureau decision.

The country's transition to peaceful economic construction made it necessary to improve and restructure the whole Soviet state apparatus. The programme for this was set out in the letters to A. D. Tsyurupa (see present edition, Vol. 35, Documents 307, 308, 309 and 310). p. 471

574 This document is written in connection with A. D. Tsyurupa's letter reporting the shortcomings in the work of the Narrow C.P.C.

Tsyurupa proposed that the Narrow C.P.C. should be reduced from 22 to 5 persons: a chairman and four representatives of departments (People's Commissariat for Justice, People's Commissariat for Finance, Supreme Economic Council, and People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection). All matters relating to appropriations, provided for in the state estimates, were to go to the People's Commissariat for Finance, and went to the Narrow C.P.C. only by way of protest against the acts of the Commissariat. The Narrow C.P.C. examined the questions provided for by the order. p. 471

575 In reply to this letter, People's Commissar for Agriculture, V. G. Yakovenko, informed Lenin on February 21, 1922, that he had ordered an inquiry in connection with A. A. Belyakov's article in *Izvestia VTsIK*. Yakovenko wrote that he had handed over the material on this to D. I. Kursky at the People's Commissariat for Justice to have proceedings started against those guilty of red tape if he found this necessary.

On May 15, 1922, Yakovenko submitted to Lenin a report on the use of the aeroengines for mechanising agriculture (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 473

[576] In a letter to Lenin on February 16, 1922, D. I. Kursky wrote that the guarantee of the state's rights was provided for in the articles of the general part of the Statute of Obligations, which specified the cases when contracts were invalid, and in the article of the draft Statute of the Administration of State Enterprises, which laid down that there could be no adjudication from the fixed capital of a state enterprise; in addition, the draft Criminal Code contained an article "inflicting punishment for mismanagement by a state enterprise manager of the business assigned to him". Kursky wrote: "As a preventive measure there is need for control by the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection and specification of the statute of the W.P.I.'s right to audit the leased enterprises, for which there is already a C.C. assignment" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). See also this volume, Documents 629 and 657. p. 473

[577] Written under the text of G. V. Chicherin's letter of February 15, 1922. With the directives of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. and Lenin's instructions in mind concerning the nature of the programme with which the Soviet delegation was to come out at the Genoa Conference (see this volume, Document 623, and also present edition, Vol. 42, pp. 396-98), Chicherin wrote: "I don't know how we shall manage with the 'broadest programme'. All my life I have cursed petty-bourgeois illusions, and here is the Politbureau making me invent petty-bourgeois illusions in my old age. None of us knows how to compose such things, we don't even know on which sources we are to rely. Perhaps you will let us have more detailed directions?" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee.)

See also Vol. 42, pp. 401-04. p. 475

[578] Lenin believed the work of the Shatilov Oats Trust in improving plant crops to be of great importance for the state, because he regarded it as a way of increasing agricultural productivity. On the strength of Lenin's proposal, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C., on February 18, 1922, reviewed the question of issuing a long-term loan to the Shatilov Trust, and adopted a decision to give it financial support. On March 4, the Politbureau put the duty on the People's Commissariat for Finance to let the People's Commissariat for Agriculture have funds for the Shatilov Trust.

The Trust was set up on the basis of the Shatilov Agricultural Experimental Station, founded in 1896. Today, it is the Orel State Agricultural Experimental Station, a scientific research establishment of the Ministry of Agriculture of the R.S.F.S.R. p. 476

[579] A reference to the C.L.D. commission to examine the enterprises earmarked for lease under a concession to Leslie Urquhart. See this volume, Document 644. p. 477

[580] This is written on G. V. Chicherin's letter of February 18, 1922, saying that K. B. Radek, in an interview published in the French bourgeois newspaper *Le Matin*, described the negotiations with the French Government, and in so doing made some attacks against Britain. Chicherin believed this was premature and said that Radek's interview had done Soviet Russia diplomatic harm.

On the letter are remarks by members of the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C., expressing agreement with Lenin's opinion. p. 479

[581] In a letter from Berlin on February 12, 1922, I. T. Smilga, head of the Central Fuel Administration of the Supreme Economic Council, reported about the unsuccessful demands for remittances to Germany of funds for the Administration, as a result of which equipment for the coal and oil industries was purchased only to "an insignificant amount". He requested the earliest remittance of the funds (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 479

[582] A reference to Lenin's letter to G. I. Myasnikov of August 5, 1921 (see present edition, Vol. 32, pp. 504-09). The proposal related to a Politbureau decision on Myasnikov of February 20, 1922. Having heard the report of a commission set up by the Orgbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee on July 29, 1921, to inquire into Myasnikov's anti-Party activity, the Politbureau approved the commission's proposal to expel him from the Party. p. 480

[583] A Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. decision of February 20, 1922, included G. Y. Sokolnikov in the R.C.P.(B.) delegation to the "international communist conference", the first enlarged plenary meeting of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, which was held in Moscow from February 21 to March 4, 1922. p. 480

[584] The above-mentioned article reported a strike by lecturers of the Moscow Higher Technical College, who had taken their cue from the Cadet *Poslednie Novosti*, published by the whiteguard émigrés in Paris.

On February 24, 1922, *Izvestia VTsIK* carried an article "Cadets at Work" (On the Lecturers' Strike at the Moscow Higher Technical College). p. 480

[585] A reference to the conclusions of the I. K. Mikhailov commission on whether to grant a concession to Leslie Urquhart. p. 480

[586] The Mikhailov commission had reached the conclusion that foreign capitalists were to blame for destroying the indicated enterprises, and came out against granting a concession to Urquhart. Replying to Lenin's questions, the commission emphasised that these enterprises could be restored by the efforts of the Soviet state. See this volume, Document 758. p. 481

[587] Written in reply to a letter from A. P. Golubkov, Deputy Chairman of the Central Committee of the Red Cross Society of Russia, of February 21, 1922, which said that the Society was publishing for famine relief, an illustrated collection in Russian and three foreign languages for distribution in Russia and abroad. The letter said its Central Committee requested Lenin to let them have "a few lines of your facsimile" for the collection (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 483

[588] Written on G. V. Chicherin's letter in which he resolutely objected to G. Y. Sokolnikov's proposal to delay the payment to Turkey.

On February 27, 1922, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. adopted Lenin's proposal to pay Turkey the amount involved noting that "there are no other financial obligations on the R.S.F.S.R." (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 483

[589] What the reference is to has not been established. p. 483

[590] A reference to the fact that the Kharkov Gubernia Committee and the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) had divulged the afore-mentioned decision of the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. The Politbureau adopted Lenin's proposal on February 25, 1922. See also Note 54. p. 484

[591] See Note 588. p. 484

[592] A reference to Lenin's proposal adopted by the Politbureau to invest G. V. Chicherin, Deputy Chairman of the Soviet delegation at the Genoa Conference, with all the powers of the Chairman of the delegation, adding that in the event of Chicherin's illness or departure powers would be delegated in turn to one of the following two trios: a) Litvinov, Krasin, Rakovsky, b) Litvinov, Joffe, Vorovsky (see present edition, Vol. 42, p. 402). p. 484

[593] Lenin wrote this letter, as well as the note to the Politbureau members of February 24, and the notes to J. V. Stalin and L. B. Kamenev of February 25, 1922 (see this volume, Document 649, and also present edition, Vol. 42, p. 404), in connection with a radio message from the Italian Foreign Minister Torretta to G. V. Chicherin of February 24, 1922, saying that the Italian Government was forced to postpone the Genoa Conference in view of a ministerial crisis. The radio message was published in *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 45, on February 25, 1922. p. 485

[594] That same day, February 25, 1922, Chicherin sent Italian Foreign Minister Torretta and British Foreign Secretary Curzon a telegram on the date of the Genoa Conference, and it was published

in *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 47, on February 28, 1922 (see *Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR*, Vol. V, Moscow, 1961, pp. 113-15). p. 486

[595] This is in reply to a communication from the Presidium of the Socialist Academy of Social Sciences on February 23, 1922, informing Lenin of his election as member of the Academy on February 5.

Lenin wrote the published document under the text of the communication, and there is also on it his remark: "Reply on letterhead and let me sign." p. 486

[596] This was written in connection with a letter from M. I. Frumkin, Deputy People's Commissar for Food, on February 20, 1922, who objected to the plan for trading in salt, which he believed to be wrong. Frumkin requested that the reply to his letter should be sent to Bryukhanov.

N. P. Bryukhanov, replying on March 6 to Lenin's note, wrote that the People's Commissariat for Food had organised the trade in salt "in the very direction" suggested by Lenin. Bryukhanov reported the preparation of an agreement with the Supreme Economic Council and other measures (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 486

[597] A reference to the C.P.C. decision of October 30, 1920, "On the Use of the Hydraulic Extraction of Peat". p. 487

[598] The conference which was held on February 28, 1922, with A. D. Tsyurupa in the chair, decided to let the Administration for Hydraulic Peat Extraction have 1.2 million gold rubles from the C.P.C. reserve fund. This decision was incorporated in the C.P.C. decision taken the same day. See this volume, Document 624. p. 489

[599] Written in connection with "Summary of Opinions on the Question of the State Bank's Active Participation in Trade Enterprises" submitted by various executives of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade, the State Planning Commission, members of the editorial board of *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*, etc. Referring to the principles of banking and all kinds of formal considerations, they objected to the State Bank's participation in trade. p. 490

[600] Written under the text of the "Draft C.P.C. Decision on the Free Entry of Foodstuffs into the Russian Soviet Federation", proposed by G. Y. Sokolnikov and circulated among the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. members. The final point of the draft said: "To permit the People's Commissariat for Finance, on grounds by agreement with the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade, to issue permits to state establishments and enterprises and enterprises of the state trustified industry, and to co-operatives and private persons, for the right to remit and export cash, currency and all kinds of valuables for the purpose

of acquiring abroad foodstuffs, with adequate guarantees granted for their subsequent importation." Lenin underscored the word "guarantees" with four lines (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). See this volume, Document 662. p. 490

[601] A reference to the "Basic Provisions of an Agreement with the British Company 'Russangloles-Limited'" and "Basic Provisions of an Agreement with the Dutch Firm 'Alcius & Co.'", signed by L. B. Krasin, on the establishment, together with "Severoles", of the joint-stock companies "Russangloles" and "Russgollandles" for the purpose of developing the timber industry and intensifying timber export operations in Archangel Region and the adjacent areas. p. 491

[602] The material submitted to Lenin showed that the proportion of the assets being returned to their former owners constituted 35-40 per cent for "Russangloles" and 20-30 per cent for "Russgollandles", adding that even this share of the property was not conveyed to their ownership, but was placed at the disposal of mixed companies on whose boards the Soviet side was assured of predominant influence (§§ XIII and XIV). § XV said that the former owners, both British and Dutch, had waived in writing any claims on the R.S.F.S.R.

Having studied the material, Lenin considered that it was possible to conclude an agreement on these terms.

The basic provisions of the agreement with "Russangloles-Limited" and "Alcius & Co." were approved by the Council of People's Commissars in April 1922, and the agreements, in March 1923. p. 491

[603] A reference to the draft directive of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee on the working out of a draft All-Russia C.E.C. decision on the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. See this volume, Document 629. p. 491

[604] A reference to the "Draft Decision for the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. on the Tasks of the Soviet Delegation at Genoa", which was approved by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. on February 28, 1922 (see present edition, Vol. 42, pp. 401-04). Lenin's proposal was adopted by the Politbureau also on February 28. p. 492

[605] Lenin's remarks on a draft All-Russia C.E.C. decision on the tasks of the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection under the New Economic Policy were taken into account in the final drafting of this decision (see *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 67 of March 24, 1922). For Lenin's correspondence on the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection control over the activity of private enterprises see *Lenin Miscellany XXXV*, pp. 324-29. p. 493

[606] Written in connection with a discussion of the question of the foreign trade monopoly which was carried on in the Party's governing circles at the end of 1921 and throughout the whole of 1922.

The foreign trade monopoly, established by the C.P.C. decree of April 22, 1918, was repeatedly confirmed by Soviet Government decisions. The transition to the New Economic Policy and the extension of trade ties with foreign countries called for various additions to legislation on foreign trade. The "Theses on Foreign Trade" prepared on Lenin's instructions by A. M. Lezhava, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Trade, emphasised the need to consolidate the foreign trade monopoly, and defined the terms for the export and import of goods in the new conditions. The theses were endorsed by Lenin and adopted by the Supreme Economic Commission of the C.P.C. on January 4, 1922. The retention of the foreign trade monopoly was opposed by G. Y. Sokolnikov, N. I. Bukharin and G. L. Pyatakov. J. V. Stalin, G. Y. Zinoviev and L. B. Kamenev favoured an easing of the foreign trade monopoly.

On March 4, 1922, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. adopted, with some amendments, the "Theses on Foreign Trade" approved by Lenin. In their final form they were approved on March 10. On the basis of these theses, the Presidium of the All-Russia C.E.C. on March 13 adopted its decision "On Foreign Trade", which was published in *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 60, on March 15, 1922.

Despite the Politbureau decision of March 4 and 10, Sokolnikov again put forward the plan to allow the trusts, co-operatives and others to purchase food abroad; Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Trade, M. I. Frumkin, also came out in favour of easing the foreign trade monopoly, suggesting that only the wholesale trading in four or five products should be left in the hands of the state as a firm monopoly. The inner-Party struggle over the foreign trade monopoly was having a negative effect on business negotiations with foreign capitalists. In connection with this, Lenin proposed on May 15, 1922, the following Politbureau directive, which was adopted on May 22: "The C.C. confirms the foreign trade monopoly and resolves to stop everywhere the elaboration and preparation of the question of integrating the Supreme Economic Council with the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade" (*Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*, p. 484).

However, the struggle did not cease. On October 6, 1922, the C.C. Plenum, with Lenin in and absent, adopted, on a motion by G. Y. Zinoviev, a resolution on the basis of Sokolnikov's theses allowing freedom of import and export for some types of goods or across some frontiers. On October 11, L. B. Krasin sent in a request to the Party Central Committee that the October 6 decision and the "Theses of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade on the Foreign Trade Regime" should be rescinded. Lenin supported Krasin and protested the decision of the C.C. Plenum, pointing out that it was in fact thwarting the foreign trade monopoly, and proposed that the question should be

referred for settlement to the next C.C. Plenum in December 1922 (see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 375-78). N. I. Bukharin came out with objections to Lenin's letter and L. B. Krasin's theses.

Attaching great importance to the stability of the foreign trade monopoly, but being unable, because of his illness, to attend the C.C. Plenum on December 18, 1922, Lenin addressed a letter to it on December 13, in which he sharply condemned Bukharin's stand. Considering Lenin's insistent demands and the Politbureau decisions, J. V. Stalin was forced to abandon his erroneous stand. The C.C. Plenum condemned the standpoint of Bukharin and Sokolnikov, rescinded the C.C. decision of October 6, and reaffirmed the absolute necessity of maintaining the foreign trade monopoly, without allowing any departures from it. The Party's Twelfth Congress, which was held from April 17 to 25, 1923, and in which Lenin was also unable to take part because he was unwell, resolved: "The congress categorically reaffirms the stability of the foreign trade monopoly and the inadmissibility of any circumvention of it or hesitations in implementing it, and instructs the new C.C. to take systematic measures to consolidate and develop the regime of foreign trade monopoly" (*KPSS v resolutsiyakh i resheniyakh syezdov, conferentsii i plenumov TsKa*, Part 1, 1954, p. 682). p. 496

[607] The question of financing industry was discussed by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. on March 9 and 13, 1922. The Politbureau invited the People's Commissariat for Finance to provide the Supreme Economic Council with all the necessary funds for the needs of industry. p. 500

[608] Written on G. Y. Sokolnikov's letter in reply to Lenin's note of February 28 (see this volume, Document 662).

In his letter, Sokolnikov suggested that the trusts, co-operatives and others should be allowed to purchase food abroad. In his opinion, the guarantee that an excess of valuables would not be taken out of the country and that food instead of other goods would be imported in return was these organisations' extreme need of food, and control by the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade and the State Bank, through which all operations should be conducted. p. 500

[609] A reference to a collection of articles by N. A. Berdyaev, Y. M. Bukshpan, F. A. Stepun, S. L. Frank, *Oswald Spengler and the Decline of Europe*, published in Moscow in 1922. p. 500

[610] That same day, Lenin's proposal was adopted by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. It instructed Comrade Voitsik to organise medical treatment and a high-caloric diet for Y. E. Rudzutak. p. 502

[611] In reply to this letter, which was sent to Novonikolayevsk (now Novosibirsk) on March 6, 1922, S. Y. Chutskayev, Chairman of

the Siberian Revolutionary Committee, on March 13, reported to Lenin by direct wire that an inquiry had been appointed into the abuses during the tax in kind collections in Novonikolayevsk Gubernia, and that its results would be reported later.

Chutskayev subsequently informed the C.P.C. that the facts stated in M. A. Bagayev's letter were true and that a number of food agents had been committed for trial. p. 502

[612] This is in reply to a letter from L. M. Khinchuk, Chairman of the Centrosoyuz Board, of March 7, 1922. Khinchuk wrote that the co-operative delegation, consisting of the representatives of the International Co-operative Society, members of the British Co-operative Wholesale Society and representatives of the French and Czechoslovak co-operative societies, which had arrived in Soviet Russia at the invitation of Centrosoyuz, was asking Lenin to receive it. Khinchuk also said that an agreement had been reached with the old Russian co-operators living abroad, who had handed over to Centrosoyuz their valuables and apparatus in Western Europe and America and declared that they were no longer representatives of Russian co-operative societies abroad. "This," Khinchuk wrote, "was in fact the beginning of our recognition abroad." He gave a list of the valuables handed over (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 503

[613] Written in reply to Y. S. Varga's request for an article in the Comintern's *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaft, Politik und Arbeiterbewegung*.

At the top of Varga's letter is this note by Lenin: "To the archives. Replied 9/III.1922. p. 504

[614] See also this volume Document 693.

On Lenin's proposal, Y. S. Varga made a selection of extracts from Lenin's works which was published in German under the title, *Die neue ökonomische Politik*, under the name *N. Lenin*, in *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaft, Politik und Arbeiterbewegung 1922/23*, Hamburg, S. 328-344. In his introduction, Varga wrote that he was guided by Lenin's directives as set out in letters addressed to Varga. p. 504

[615] A similar letter, signed by Lenin, was also sent to G. Y. Sokolnikov, chairman of the commission for the affairs of mixed (credit and joint-stock) companies (see *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*, pp. 449-50). p. 506

[616] On February 28, 1922, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. approved, with slight amendments, Lenin's "Draft Decision of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. on the Tasks of the Soviet Delegation at Genoa", and instructed the delegation to work out in detail the programme which it was to present at the conference (see present edition, Vol. 42, pp. 401-04). In accordance with these directives,

Chicherin worked out the programme and set it out in a letter to Lenin.

Lenin's additions to the programme were taken into account in the draft declaration prepared by Chicherin on March 21. For the amendments and remarks on this draft, see present edition, Vol. 42, p. 410. p. 506

[617] *Two-and-a-Half International* (official name: International Association of Socialist Parties)—an international organisation of Centrist Socialist Parties and groups which had withdrawn from the Second International under the pressure of the revolutionary masses. It was formalised at a conference in Vienna in February 1921.

In May 1923, the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals merged into the so-called Socialist Workers' International. p. 507

[618] *The Versailles Peace Treaty*, in which the imperialist world war of 1914-18 culminated, was signed on June 28, 1919, by the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan and the allied powers, on the one hand, and Germany, on the other.

Lenin assessed the Versailles Treaty in these words: "It is an unparalleled and predatory peace which has made slaves of tens of millions of people, including the most civilised" (see present edition, Vol. 31, p. 326). It was designed to fix the redivision of the capitalist world in favour of the victor powers and to create a system of relations between countries aimed at strangulating Soviet Russia and routing the revolutionary movement throughout the world. p. 507

[619] T. A. Runov, head of Glavzemkhoz, in a telephone message to Lenin, requested the urgent appropriation of 115,000 pre-war rubles to cover the cost of repairing seven machines for land improvement operations, which had been obtained from the Far-Eastern Republic with Lenin's help.

Glavzemkhoz—Central Administration for the Farms of Industrial Enterprises of the Republic—was set up in the spring of 1919.

Among the participants in its exhibition which Lenin mentions were 73 state farms, with over 15,000 dessiatines of farmland, situated closest to Moscow, from Moscow, Ryazan, Tula, Smolensk and Kaluga gubernias. The exhibition was a great success and in a week was visited by over 100,000 persons (see this volume, Document 409). p. 513

[620] On March 20, N. P. Gorbunov received a report from Maisky, head of the financial and accounts department of Glavzemkhoz (see Note 619), saying that the issue of funds to Glavzemkhoz would be examined by the State Bank Board on March 21, 1922.

Sokolnikov's reply has not been found. p. 513

[621] On March 23, 1922, the R.S.F.S.R. Government and "Friedrich Krupp in Essen" concluded a concession agreement on the lease

to the latter of 50,000 dessiatines of land in Salsk District of Don Gubernia for 24 years, "for farming on rational lines". Under the agreement, the concessionaire was to provide the implements, materials, and the necessary structures, and by way of royalty payments was to deliver to the Soviet Government 20 per cent of the total annual crop. It was signed by the company's representative, but the board refused to approve it (see this volume, Documents 601 and 710). p. 513

622 On March 21, 1922, G. Y. Sokolnikov sent Lenin his reply; in his letter Lenin underlined several passages and made these remarks:

"Dear Vladimir Ilyich:

"1. I have read Belov's note. In my opinion there is nothing worth while in it, but much confusion. The purchases in the countryside should be started not before but after the new crop. — Belov needs to be read again.

"2. Our supervision over the collection of cash taxes is very badly organised... — That's the **whole point.**

most taxes have just been announced— there was fumbling over the kerosene and the salt for over two months, now there's the same fumbling over the sugar.... — Now that's dangerous! This must be expedited at all costs!

The main difficulty: the tax revenues are being intercepted by the "localities" to plug their holes.... — NB

"3. The State Bank is studying (in a well organised manner) the business of the trusts which apply to it for credit... two trusts have been examined...; I have ordered the enlistment of leading accountants for this business to act as 'balance controllers'." — Their names should be found out and from their number the *best* "selected", to *have them in reserve.*

"With comradely greetings,
"*G. Sokolnikov*"

At the top of Sokolnikov's letter, Lenin wrote to his secretaries: "Show to Comrades Tsyurupa and Rykov and return to me. 28/III. *Lenin*." p. 514

623 This was written in reply to a letter from L. B. Krasin, People's Commissar for Foreign Trade, of March 18, 1922, objecting to the new composition of the Collegium for the People's Commissariat which was being suggested by the Politbureau of the

R.C.P.(B.) C.C., Krasin insisted that Lezhava should remain in the post of Deputy People's Commissar.

On March 20, 1922, the Politbureau, having discussed the matter, recognised that "it is absolutely necessary both in the interests of foreign trade itself and for considerations of foreign policy to keep Comrade Krasin in the post of People's Commissar for Foreign Trade", and appointed M. I. Frumkin to the post of Deputy People's Commissar. On March 27, the C.P.C. approved the following Collegium: People's Commissar—L. B. Krasin; Deputy People's Commissars—A. M. Lezhava and M. I. Frumkin; members of the Collegium—I. I. Radchenko, P. S. Sorokin, A. V. Barsky and K. M. Begge (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 514

[624] See also this volume, Document 729. p. 515

[625] M. I. Frumkin set out in the letter here mentioned of March 21, 1922, his opinion of the state of affairs in the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade. He held that the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. decision, including him on the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade and appointing Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Trade, was not appropriate for several reasons, chiefly because of his "differences of principle with Krasin on the main question—the nature of the foreign trade monopoly". Frumkin requested that he should be allowed to continue at the People's Commissariat for Food (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 516

[626] An apparent reference to the addition to the draft resolution on the political report of the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) to the Eleventh Party Congress on demarcating the functions of Party and Soviet government organs (the text of the addition has not been found). This question was inserted by Lenin into the plan of the C.C.'s political report presented to the C.C. Plenum which was held on March 25, 1922 (see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 251-53). p. 516

[627] An apparent reference to Trotsky's letter of March 10, 1922, on the question of relations between Party and Soviet government bodies, and the need to demarcate their functions, which was sent to members of the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. in connection with the discussion of Zinoviev's draft theses, "On Consolidating the Party". p. 517

[628] This letter was the result of a protest sent to the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. by K. S. Yeremeyev, editor of the newspaper *Rabochy*, over the directives issued by the Orgbureau of the C.C. of March 6, 1922, to have the size of the paper reduced and its nature, content, etc., changed.

On March 23, the Politbureau confirmed the Orgbureau deci-

sion, and instructed the Central Committee's Department for Agitation and Propaganda to call a conference with the participation of delegates to the Eleventh Party Congress to discuss the publication of a popular newspaper for workers.

Rabochy (The Worker) was published by the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee from March 1, 1922; beginning with No. 98 of July 1 it was called *Rabochaya Gazeta*, and was published until January 1932. p. 518

[629] On March 31, 1922, the R.S.F.S.R. mission in Germany reported that the German Foreign Ministry was prepared to grant V. A. Avanesov a visa immediately, provided his trip was for purely health reasons. p. 518

[630] *The Far-Eastern Republic*, a democratic state founded under Bolshevik leadership during the working people's struggle against the foreign armed intervention in the Far East. It existed from April 6, 1920 to November 14, 1922. The establishment of the Far-Eastern Republic, a "buffer state" with a bourgeois-democratic system, but essentially conducting a Soviet policy, was in Soviet Russia's interests as she was anxious to avoid an open armed clash with the Japanese imperialists and wanted to assure herself of a long breathing-space on the Eastern Front.

Following the expulsion of the Japanese interventionists, the People's Assembly of the Far-Eastern Republic, on November 14, 1922, requested the All-Russia C.E.C. to integrate it with the R.S.F.S.R. and to extend the Soviet Constitution to its territory. On November 15, 1922, the All-Russia C.E.C. declared the Far-Eastern Republic to be an inseparable part of the R.S.F.S.R. p. 519

[631] An apparent reference to the permission for entry into the R.S.F.S.R. issued to the American tractor team organised by the Society of Friends of Soviet Russia (in the United States). p. 520

[632] A reference to a letter from I. K. Yezhov, head of the S.E.C.'s Administration for State Warehouses, to Lydia Fotieva on April 3, 1922, asking her to have a talk with Lenin and secure the passage, at a C.P.C. sitting, of the draft decision, which he had sent in at Lenin's proposal, on the transfer, in accordance with a definite list, of warehouse premises from the charge of local authorities to that of his Administration.

See this volume, Document 461, and also present edition, Vol. 35, Document 299; Vol. 36, p. 548. p. 521

[633] This was written at the bottom of A. M. Krasnoshchekov's letter to the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. and to Lenin on April 3, 1922. He described the state of affairs at the People's Commissariat for Finance and spoke of his differences over some

questions with Deputy People's Commissar G. Y. Sokolnikov, which, however, he did not consider serious enough to warrant his departure from the People's Commissariat. He requested that the decision on his work should be expedited, and that if it was impossible for him to stay on at the People's Commissariat for Finance he should be appointed a member of the S.E.C. Presidium. p. 521

[634] On April 6, 1922, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. adopted the following decision: "a) To instruct the C.C. Secretariat to inform Comrade Krasnoshchekov that it has been decided to send him to work either at the People's Commissariat for Finance or the S.E.C., allowing him a fortnight's leave for his complete recuperation.

"b) To refer the question of reinforcing the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Finance and of using Comrade Krasnoshchekov to the Orgbureau" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

By a decision of the Politbureau on April 13, 1922, Krasnoshchekov was made a member of the S.E.C. Presidium. The Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Finance was determined at the same sitting. p. 522

[635] This letter deals with the exploration of the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly (KMA).

Lenin displayed great interest in this work. His attention to the KMA and his help in its exploration can be seen from these documents and from the reminiscences of contemporaries, among them I. M. Gubkin and V. N. Rozanov (see *Vospominaniya o V. I. Lenine*, Part 2, Moscow, 1957, pp. 357-79, 402-04).

The C.P.S.U. Programme adopted by the Twenty-Second Party Congress provided for the establishment of a metallurgical base in the central European part of the U.S.S.R. using the ores of the KMA. p. 523

[636] V. A. Smolyaninov's notes show that the study of the reports submitted by the local economic conferences was assigned to responsible workers of the State Planning Commission and the Central Statistical Board. Lenin agreed to this with the proviso that the arrangements would be efficient and business-like, and asked for a list of these workers to be submitted to him at once. p. 525

[637] V. V. Adoratsky's book, *Programma po osnovnym voprosam Marksizma*, was published in 1922. p. 526

[638] Written at the bottom of the autobiography of V. V. Adoratsky, who was asking the Central Control Commission to date his Party membership from 1904. His request was met. p. 526

[639] On April 21, 1922, the C.L.D., having recognised "the need, in the interests of supplying electric power to Moscow, to have the Kashira Power Station switched into Moscow's general power supply system as soon as possible", instructed the Supreme Council for Transportation and the People's Commissariat for Railways urgently to provide the Kashira Power Station with fuel to ensure its uninterrupted operation (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). See *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Document 92. p. 529

[640] A reference to the treaty concluded by Soviet Russia with Germany on April 16, 1922, at Rapallo, near Genoa, during the Genoa Conference.

Lenin gave an assessment of the Rapallo Treaty in his "Draft Decision of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee on the Report of the Delegation to the Genoa Conference" (see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 356-57).

The All-Russia C.E.C., in a decision on the delegation's report adopted on May 17, 1922, recognised "only this type of treaty as being normal for the R.S.F.S.R.'s relations with capitalist states" (*III sessia Vserossiiskogo Tsentralnogo Ispolnitelnogo Komiteta IX sozyva*. Bulleten No. 5,19 maia 1922 goda, p. 17). The report on the signing of the Rapallo Treaty was published in *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 85 of April 19. p. 530

[641] A reference to the situation which had taken shape at the Genoa Conference.

On April 11, 1922, the Soviet delegation was handed the "experts' report" worked out at a conference of experts from Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and Japan in London in March (London Memorandum). It contained demands that the Soviet Government should pay all the debts of the tsarist and Provisional governments and all the authorities which had existed in Russia, return to foreigners their former property which had been nationalised by the Soviet state, or compensate them for the damage inflicted on their property, or for the loss of it, and establish economic and legal privileges for foreigners, and a number of other demands which in fact meant abolition of the foreign trade monopoly.

The official reply of the Soviet delegation to the "experts' report" was set out in its memorandum of April 20. The Soviet delegation firmly rejected these demands, qualifying them as an attempt to "introduce in Russia a system of capitulations encroaching on her sovereignty" (*Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR*, Vol. V, Moscow, 1961, p. 235), and put forward counterclaims for compensation of the losses inflicted on Russia by the foreign intervention, stressing that the R.S.F.S.R. Government was prepared to negotiate on compensation of the losses of foreign citizens only on the basis of reciprocity. p. 531

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[642] A reference to the uprising of white miners in Witwatersrand, Union of South Africa, in March 1922, which was sparked off by the mining companies' intensified exploitation of the miners. Following a drop in the world price of gold, the companies tried to maintain their old profit margins by pressing down wages and massive sackings. The workers took over the cities of Benoni and Branpan, and the suburbs of Johannesburg—Fordsburg and Jeppe. The young Communist Party of South Africa took an active part in the uprising. Many Communists, including the strike leaders, Fischer and Spendiff, died as heroes in the armed struggle. p. 531

[643] Lenin's proposal, which is contained in the published document, was adopted by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. on April 19, 1922. That same day, the telegram was sent through the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to G. V. Chicherin and L. S. Sosnovsky, and also to the editorial boards of *Pravda* and *Izvestia VTsIK*. p 532

[644] This telegram of Lenin's sent to Genoa on April 21, 1922, was in reply to G. V. Chicherin's telegram of April 20, objecting to Lenin's assessment of the situation at the conference and saying that it was "in fact mainly Lloyd George himself who had an interest" in the question of compensating foreigners for the losses arising from the nationalisation of their property, "because pressure was being brought to bear on him by the almighty British sharks" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 532

[645] On April 24, 1922, the text of the telegram to G. V. Chicherin proposed by Lenin, was approved by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C.

Lenin's assessment of the stand taken by Lloyd George and other British leaders, given in the telegrams to Genoa (see this volume, Documents 704 and 705), was borne out in the course of the conference. The British delegation subsequently even went back on the understanding that Chicherin's letter of April 20 would be taken as a basis for continuing the talks. In a letter addressed to the conference chairman on April 28, Chicherin pointed out that if the Western Powers repudiated their agreement to consider the points in the April 20 letter as a basis for negotiations, the Soviet delegation would not regard itself as being bound by this letter and would return to the standpoint set out in its April 20 memorandum (see *Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR*, Vol. V, Moscow, 1961, pp. 276-77). p. 534

[646] On the commission to examine the activity of the B.F.S.T. (Bureau for Foreign Science and Technology) were Y. B. Pashukanis, Y. S. Varga (representing the embassy), V. N. Ipatiev,

M. Y. Lapirov-Skoblo, B. E. Stuynkel (representing the S.E.C.) and V. V. Starkov (representing the foreign trade mission).

In its conclusion, the commission described the state of the B.F.S.T., making a number of criticisms, and came out in favour of retaining it but on a much smaller scale. p. 534

[647] The following day, April 28, 1922, C.P.C. secretary Natalya Lepeshinskaya wrote under the text of Lenin's letter: "Sent to Comrade Shklovsky a letter signed by Stalin, inquiring what kind of work he would like to do, and saying that the C.C. would always meet his wishes in this respect."

The register of Lenin's outgoing documents contains the following secretarial entry under the head "Execution": "Replied 17.V.22. Shklovsky is satisfied with Stalin's offer." p. 535

[648] Written in connection with the following proposal introduced by Trotsky in the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. on April 28, 1922: "1) to issue a statement for agitational purposes to the effect that if the Entente governments should confiscate all the capital of the Russian capitalists abroad, the Soviet Government would undertake not to raise any protest, 2) to issue a manifesto to the population in the event of a break-up of the talks at the Genoa Conference." Lenin underlined this sentence from Trotsky's note: "We should ask our delegation to let us have an outline of their main ideas for such a manifesto (otherwise we may well miss some important aspects)" and wrote in the margin: "I agree only with the last sentence."

That same day, the Politbureau adopted this decision: "To send a telegram to Comrades Chicherin and Litvinov to this effect: 'In the event of a break-up we consider it necessary to issue a manifesto to the population on behalf of the C.P.C. or the All-Russia C.E.C. Please outline a draft of the manifesto or the main ideas for one, and send urgently to Moscow'" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

In the subsequent course of the talks, the need for a manifesto disappeared. p. 536

[649] The telegram was drafted by Lenin under the text of a letter from B. S. Stomonyakov, R.S.F.S.R. trade representative in Germany, to the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C., of April 22, 1922. Stomonyakov reported that the directors of "Friedrich Krupp in Essen" had refused to approve the agreement on an agricultural concession in Salsk District, Don Region, which their representative had signed in Moscow on March 23, 1922 (see Note 621). In view of the fact that Krupp plants were working on the railway mission's orders for locomotives for Soviet Russia, Stomonyakov requested that instructions be sent to the head of the mission, Y. V. Lomonosov, to join the trade mission in finding "ways of influencing Krupp and to start applying them".

The same day, the Politbureau decided to send Stomonyakov the telegram here published.

After additional talks with the company, and specification of the terms of the agreement, the C.P.C. on January 16, 1923, approved the agreement with Krupp which was presented by the Chief Concessions Committee, and on March 17, the agreement was signed by Krupp. The concession was in force until October 1934. p. 536

650 The telegram was received by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. on April 30, 1922, and sent on to G. V. Chicherin. It was in reply to Chicherin's telegrams saying that the "Russian question" was to be referred to another conference to be held within three months, and also in reply to Chicherin's telegrams communicating L. B. Krasin's minority opinion on the talks at the Genoa Conference. Krasin suggested some serious concessions.

In reply to Lenin's telegram, Chicherin admitted that another conference within three months was preferable to a complete break-up, but added: "Lloyd George is working for an agreement with us, and three months from now the situation in Britain may be much worse for us." He went on to say that the Allies were prepared to have concrete discussions on granting Soviet Russia a credit only after the Soviet Government agreed to pay compensation to all foreigners who had formerly owned property in Russia (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 536

651 This was written in connection with the receipt from Genoa of a number of communications which aroused the fear that in their talks with the Allied powers Chicherin and Litvinov might make concessions not provided for in the C.C. directives. p. 537

652 On May 2, 1922, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. discussed this proposal. It adopted the following amendments motioned by Stalin to the draft telegram introduced by Lenin: 1) delete the sentence about disavowal; 2) end the telegram with these words: "The C.C. categorically demands fulfilment of this directive." On Stalin's motion, the word "absurdities" in the first sentence was replaced by the word "mistakes". The Politbureau adopted the addition to the telegram without any changes. p. 538

653 By a C.L.D. decision on October 21, 1921, the railway network was classified in three categories with respect to supply.

In reply to Lenin's inquiry, the People s Commissar for Railways, F. E. Dzerzhinsky, sent him on May 4, 1922, a detailed report drawn up at his Commissariat, and also a letter informing him of implementation of the C.L.D. decision. For Dzerzhinsky's letter see *Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 1, 1962, pp. 58-59. p. 538

654 Written on Nadezhda Krupskaya's letter saying that she, in

her capacity as member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Education, had objected to the decision taken by the Budget Conference under the Politbureau on a sizable cut in the People's Commissariat for Education budget, and emphasised the need to provide for the people's school system.

On June 22, 1922, the C.P.C. approved the People's Commissariat for Education estimates in substance. p. 538

[655] A reference to the resolution of the Eleventh Congress of the R.C.P.(B.), "On Financial Policy" (see *KPSS v rezolutsiyakh i resheniyakh syezdov, konferentsii i plenumov TsKa*, Part I, 1954, pp. 613-18). p. 539

[656] In a reply letter to Lenin on May 4, 1922, G. Y. Sokolnikov argued that the issue of a grain loan would facilitate implementation of the effective measures proposed by Lenin to produce a balanced budget, reduce the amount of newly issued money (the bank-note emission), and withdraw a part of the money already in circulation.

On May 13, 1922, the C.P.C. approved the draft decision on the grain loan, and submitted it for examination by the Third Session of the All-Russia C.E.C. The first internal short-term grain loan was issued by the People's Commissariat for Finance, under a decision of the All-Russia C.E.C. of May 20, 1922, to a total amount of up to 10 million poods of rye (in grain) with repayments by the state from December 1, 1922 to January 31, 1923 (see *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 112, May 21, 1922). p. 540

[657] Written in connection with the project to set up a People's Commissariat for Internal Trade.

Having discussed this question on May 3, 1922, the C.L.D. found it necessary to appoint a special commission for internal trade. On May 5, the C.L.D. resolved: "For the purpose of regulating questions of internal trade, to set up under the C.L.D. a three-man commission to be appointed by the C.L.D." This was approved by the C.P.C. on May 9, 1922 (*Sobraniye uzakonenii i rasporyazhenii rabochego i krestyanskogo pravitelstva*, 1922, No. 34, p. 400).

On May 19, 1924, a decision of the Presidium of the C.E.C. of the U.S.S.R. transformed the commission into the People's Commissariat for Internal Trade. p. 540

[658] A reference to the memorandum of the Allied countries of May 2, 1922, presented to the Soviet delegation at the conference on May 3. p. 540

[659] A reference to the draft telegram circulated to Politbureau members in reply to the inquiry from G. V. Chicherin and L. B. Krasin at Genoa about the possible scale of loading and discharge of fuel and scrap metal in connection with talks on trade and concessions agreements.

The reply was sent on May 8, 1922, and was signed by Deputy C.P.C. Chairman, A. I. Rykov. p. 541

660 The telegram, adopted by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. on May 8, 1922, was written in reply to M. M. Litvinov's telegram of May 6, saying that the Allied memorandum of May 2 was not an ultimatum, but left open the possibility of continuing negotiations, and that the Soviet delegation at Genoa was making efforts to avoid a break-up of the talks, and spoke of the need to have Politbureau directives on the line the delegation was to take. p. 541

661 The telegram of May 9, 1922, proposed by Lenin, was adopted by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. and sent to G. V. Chicherin. p. 541

662 Written under the draft list of members of the Narrow C.P.C. circulated to Politbureau members for a vote.

On May 18, 1922, the Politbureau approved the composition of the Narrow C.P.C. It appointed A. G. Goikhbarg to the Narrow C.P.C. with the duties of chairman during the period the chairman, A. S. Kiselyov, and deputy chairman, G. M. Leplevsky, were receiving medical treatment. p. 542

663 Written by Lenin on a letter from Armand Hammer, representing the American Allied Drug and Chemical Corporation (see also Note 424). Hammer said B. Mishell, a director of the company, and he himself were going to Petrograd, and requested a letter of introduction. See also next document. p. 543

664 The telephone message was written at the request of Armand Hammer made on May 11, 1922. Over the text Lenin wrote: "Make a note of *who* is to receive them in **Petrograd**." There is also this secretarial note: "Read over the phone to Zinoviev personally." p. 544

665 V. S. Dovgalevsky informed Lenin the same day that "Prof. Bonch-Bruyevich's radiotelephone would be installed for operation in Moscow in early June", adding that he considered it "desirable and just to give special mention to the work of the Nizhni-Novgorod Laboratory and of Professors Bonch-Bruyevich and Vologdin, and to support the petition of the Nizhni-Novgorod Soviet...".

On September 19, 1922, the Secretariat of the All-Russia C.E.C. resolved: "To award the Order of the Red Banner of Labour to the Nizhni-Novgorod Laboratory and, giving special mention to the services of Professors Vologdin and Bonch-Bruyevich and senior mechanic Shorin, to express gratitude to them on behalf of the All-Russia C.E.C." p. 545

666 The next day, May 12, 1922, People's Commissar for Posts and Telegraphs, V. S. Dovgalevsky, gave a detailed account of

A. M. Nikolayev's removal from the post of head of the technical administration, and described the efficiency of K. V. Trofimov who was appointed instead. He said Nikolayev was charged with general administration, whose functions included finance and organisational questions. p. 546

[667] The funds required for the purchase of equipment abroad to explore the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly were assigned. Academician P. P. Lazarev later reported that the financial side of the undertaking was in order.

On the KMA see also this volume, Document 691, present edition, Vol. 35, Document 316, and *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Document 365. p. 546

[668] This is an addition, headed "From Lenin", to the telegram signed by A. I. Rykov. Rykov reported the difficulties in transporting coal from Donbas because of a shortage of rolling stock and locomotives and the bad state of the railway tracks. He asked that measures should be taken to conclude an agreement with Italian companies for the sale of coal to them at favourable prices. p. 546

[669] The telegram proposed by Lenin was adopted by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. on May 14, 1922, and sent to G. V. Chicherin. p. 547

[670] A reference to the memorandum of the Soviet delegation of May 11, 1922.

In pursuance of the directives of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C., the delegation rejected the demands of the Entente countries, declaring that unless they recognised the principle of reciprocity, Soviet Russia would not make concessions. It proposed that a mixed expert committee should be set up to study the controversial financial matters.

Thus, the negotiations at Genoa were broken off through the fault of the Entente powers, which refused to repudiate their colonialist attitude towards Soviet Russia.

The activity of the Soviet delegation was approved by the All-Russia C.E.C. session, which on May 17 adopted a resolution on A. A. Joffe's report. The resolution was drafted by Lenin (see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 356-57). p. 547

[671] The Riga Peace Treaty was signed on March 18, 1921, by Russia and the Ukraine, on the one hand, and Poland, on the other (see *Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR*, Vol. V, Moscow, 1961, p. 401). p. 547

[672] This letter and also the draft decision of the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. confirming the foreign trade-monopoly (see present edition, Vol. 42, p. 419) were written in connection with Lenin's receipt on May 15, 1922, of material from N. N. Krestinsky, R.S.F.S.R. Plenipotentiary Representative in Germany, tes-

tifying to the negative effect on business negotiations with foreign capitalists exercised by the internal Party differences over the foreign trade monopoly question.

Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Trade, M. I. Frumkin, in a letter of May 10, 1922, proposed that wholesale trade in four or five products should be left in the hands of the state (People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade) on the basis of a firm monopoly, with all the other products freely exported by the mixed companies which were to set aside a part of their profits for the state, without it making any capital outlays. Frumkin argued that state trade was being carried on at a loss, and that under free competition it would be beaten by private trade.

Under the text of Lenin's letter, there is Stalin's reply of May 17, 1922. While not objecting to a formal ban on steps towards a relaxation of the foreign trade monopoly "at the *present* stage," he added that nevertheless "a *relaxation* is becoming inevitable."

On May 22, the Politbureau adopted Lenin's draft decision confirming the foreign trade monopoly. p. 550

[673] Written in connection with a proposal by Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council, P.A. Bogdanov, that the functions of administering trade and industry should be united in one commissariat. He suggested that the Commission for Internal Trade, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade and the S.E.C. should be merged in a Commissariat for Trade and Industry. p. 550

[674] Written on a communication from the Deputy People's Commissar for Finance, G. Y. Sokolnikov, about the issue of banknotes from January to April 1922. See *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Document 399. p. 550

[675] Written on a telegram from L. B. Krasin proposing, in connection with the talks with Italian companies on the sale of coal to them, that one or two shiploads of Donets coal should be sent to Italy to arouse the interest of Italian industrialists.

By its decision of May 17, 1922, the Council of Labour and Defence put the duty on the Central Fuel Administration of the S.E.C. to provide best grades of coal for shipment to Italy.

A preliminary agreement with Italian companies for the sale of coal, signed by L. B. Krasin, People's Commissar for Foreign Trade, in May, was discussed by the C.L.D. on June 2, and was referred for urgent consideration by the Concessions Committee. On June 21, 1922, the agreement was signed. See also this volume, Document 736. p. 551

[676] Written in connection with the following circumstances.

On May 6, 1922, *Selskokhozyaistvennaya Zhizn*, No. 34 (75), the newspaper of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture and the Central Committee of the Land and Forest Workers' Union, carried several articles criticising the decree of the All-Russia

C.E.C. and the C.P.C., "On the Consolidated Tax in Kind on Agricultural Produce for 1922/23" dated March 17, 1922. This attitude on the part of the newspaper drew a protest from the People's Commissariat for Food.

Having discussed on May 11, 1922, the statement by the Secretariat of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. on the campaign being conducted by the People's Commissariat for Agriculture for a reduction of the tax in kind, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. expressed censure of the collegium of the P.C.A., and instructed the Orgbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee to examine the question of the editorial board's composition and "to take steps to prevent such inadmissible editing of *Selskokhozyaistvennaya Zhizn* from recurring in the future" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

Selskokhozyaistvennaya Zhizn (Agricultural Life) was published in Moscow from July 18, 1921 to June 1, 1922, a total of 86 issues appearing. p. 551

[677] The question of reducing the price of literature was discussed by the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) and Soviet government bodies.

The Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Central Committee worked out the following proposals: transfer to the major publishers (Gosizdat, Glavpolitprosvet, etc.) the necessary minimum of printing shops, lift the taxes on foreign paper for political publications, and grant a subsidy to Gosizdat, Glavpolitprosvet and the newspapers to lower the cost of political publications, which they were to expend under special C.C. control. Having examined these proposals on May 12, 1922, the C.C. Secretariat added to them a point about a rebate on the wholesale price of literature for Party organisations, and referred them to the Politbureau for approval as directives to the Soviet government organs concerned. p. 552

[678] *Chuso* (Chusosnabarm)—Extraordinary Representative of the Council of Defence for Red Army and Navy Supplies appointed by a decree of the All-Russia C.E.C. of July 8, 1919, to merge all the supply operations, raise the productivity of factories working for defence, and to secure speedy and correct distribution of the supplied products in the rear and at the front. The office of Chusosnabarm and his apparatus were eliminated by an All-Russia C.E.C. decision of August 16, 1921, while the assets and personnel were transferred to the Supreme Economic Council organs. p. 553

[679] A reference to the appropriations for the Nizhni-Novgorod Radio Laboratory headed by M. A. Bonch-Bruyevich.

On May 22, 1922, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C., on Lenin's proposal, adopted a decision on financing the laboratory (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism

of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). See also present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 360-61. p. 554

[680] Written on a letter from I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov to the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee requesting that he be released from the post of deputy chairman of the Editorial Collegium of Gosizdat, leaving him a member of it, and to allow him a substantial holiday in view of his poor health. He was granted leave by a decision of the C.C. Secretariat. p. 554

[681] Written in connection with preparations for deporting anti-Soviet-minded intellectuals. p. 555

[682] *Novaya Rossiya* (New Russia)—a socio-literary and scientific monthly inclining to the *Smena Vekh* trend (see Note 415), published from 1922 to 1926 under the editorship of I. G. Lezhnev; the first two issues appeared in Petrograd in March and June 1922. Subsequently, from August 1922, it was published in Moscow under the title *Rossiya*. See next note. p. 555

[683] Having examined on May 26, 1922, on Lenin's proposal, the question of the journal *Novaya Rossiya*, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. instructed the Central Press Board "as the highest instance to permit the further publication of the journal *Novaya Rossiya*, rescinding the decision of the Petrograd Executive Committee on its closure" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee).

Dyen (Day)—bourgeois literary daily; published in St. Petersburg from 1912. Among those participating in its publication were Menshevik-liquidators, who secured full control after the bourgeois-democratic revolution in February 1917. It was closed down by the Revolutionary Military Committee of the Petrograd Soviet on October 26 (November 8), 1917. p. 555

[684] *Ekonomist*—a journal of the industrial and economic department of the Russian Technical Society, whose membership consisted of bourgeois technical intellectuals hostile to the Soviet power and former owners of enterprises. It was published in Petrograd from December 1921. In his article "On the Significance of Militant Materialism", Lenin called the journal "an organ of modern feudalists" (see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 227-36). In June 1922, the journal was closed down. p. 555

[685] On the note is the following conclusion written by F. E. Dzerzhinsky: "I consider reduction here inadmissible. The pool has 6 cars and only 12 men. Wage rates normal. Car maintenance—good. No idle running of cars." The conclusion was also signed by A. D. Tsyurupa and A. I. Rykov. p. 556

[686] Written on the reverse side of a letter from A. M. Anikst, Deputy People's Commissar for Labour, of May 18, 1922, asking Lenin,

"in conformity" with their talk, to take steps to have the question of his nominal removal from the Collegium of the P.C.L., in view of his recruitment for local work, left open pending his return after receiving medical treatment. He also asked that his dispatch for medical treatment should be expedited.

On May 27, 1922, the Secretariat of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee confirmed the foregoing decision to send Anikst and his wife for medical treatment to the Caucasus for a period of six weeks. p. 557

[687] On May 23, 1922, the Secretariat of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee decided to meet Lenin's request to send surgeon V. N. Rozanov and his son for a holiday in Riga. Rozanov later recalled this in his reminiscences of Lenin (see *Vospominaniya o V. I. Lenine*, Part 2, Moscow, 1957, pp. 406-07). p. 557

[688] *Nakanune* (On the Eve)—a newspaper published in Berlin with the participation of the *Smena Vekh* group (see Note 415). p. 558

[689] *Russkaya Mysl* (Russian Thought)—a journal published in Prague in 1922 under the editorship of P. B. Struve. p. 558

[690] Written under the text of a note from N. A. Semashko, People's Commissar for Public Health, to members of the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. about "important and dangerous (Lenin's emphasis.—*Ed.*) trends" in the medical world, which had come to the surface at the Second All-Russia Congress of Medical Sections under the C.C. of the Medical and Sanitary Workers' Union (held in Moscow from May 10 to 14, 1922). Reporting the anti-Soviet speeches by some "top" doctors, who were Mensheviks and S.R.s, Semashko said it was necessary to take resolute measures against them.

On May 24, 1922, the Politbureau adopted Lenin's proposal instructing Dzerzhinsky and Semashko "to work out a plan of measures and to report to the Politbureau within a week" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 559

[691] A reference to B. I. Reinstein's report giving detailed information about Dr. J. Hammer and his son Armand Hammer and their Allied Drug and Chemical Corporation. See also this volume, Documents 503 and 690. p. 559

[692] Lenin's proposal was adopted by the Politbureau on June 2. 1922. p. 559

[693] What the reference is to has not been established. p. 560

[694] On August 25, 1922, *Izvestia VTsIK* carried an article entitled "Real Aid from 'Friends of Soviet Russia'", describing the work

of the tractor team organised by members of the American Society of Friends of Soviet Russia, at the Toikino State Farm, Okhan Uyezd, Perm Gubernia (see *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Document 470). It was led by the American Communist Harold Ware. On a newspaper cutting, Lenin underlined the caption and wrote "NB" in the left margin.
p. 561

[695] V. A. Smolyaninov informed Lenin that he had sent a telegram to the Chairman of the Perm Gubernia Executive Committee asking him to acquaint himself with the work of the American tractor team, give his opinion about it, and help the team. Smolyaninov wrote that the talks on modifying the agreement with the Rutgers group were to be held when Rutgers returned from Kuzbas.

Having received the material from Perm, Lenin sent letters to the Society of Friends of Soviet Russia (in the United States), the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, to the Chairman of the Perm Gubernia Executive Committee, and to the Presidium of the All-Russia C.E.C. (see this volume, Documents 776 and 778, and also present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 380, 381).
p. 562

[696] A reference to the talks on a concession for the working and extraction of minerals to the British industrialist and financier Leslie Urquhart, who had been Chairman of the Russo-Asiatic Consolidated Company and an owner of large-scale mining enterprises in Russia (Kyshtym, Ridder, Tanalyk, and Ekibastuz) before the October Revolution. See also Notes 705 and 715.
p. 562

[697] A reference to V. A. Smolyaninov's reply on September 1, 1922, in connection with Lenin's letter addressed to A. I. Rykov (see *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Document 440). p. 563

[698] V. A. Smolyaninov fulfilled Lenin's assignments; he supplied N. A. Zhidelev's address, and sent in the books and an extract from the minutes of Gostekhizdat publishers on the publication of I. M. Besprozvanny's book. p. 563

[699] A reference to Maxim Gorky's letter to Anatole France on July 3, 1922, over the trial of the Socialist-Revolutionaries on charges of counter-revolutionary activity. Gorky missed the essence of the case, and wrote that the trial was a preparation for "the murder of people who had sincerely served the cause of the Russian people's emancipation", and asked France to write to the Soviet Government to tell them that it was "intolerable to allow the crime". Perhaps, "your weighty word will save the valuable lives of socialists". He also sent France a copy of his letter on this question to Deputy Chairman of the C.P.C., A. I. Rykov,

warning that the passage of death sentences on the accused would result "in a moral blockade of Russia by socialist Europe". p. 564

[700] Chairman of the Presidium of the All-Russia Central T.U.C., M. P. Tomsky, asked Lenin to write a letter to the forthcoming Fifth All-Russia Congress of Trade Unions. p. 564

[701] A reference to a draft letter to the Fifth All-Russia Congress of Trade Unions, with the initials of members of the C.C. Politbureau and this note by M. P. Tomsky: "It would be good to bring out the workers in greater relief, and a couple of words about large-scale industry being the basis of socialism." Apparently in connection with this remark, Lenin added to the third sentence this insertion: "and it is precisely that part of industry known as heavy industry which is the main basis of socialism" (present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 370-71).

Lenin's letter was read out at the first sitting of the congress on September 17, 1922. p. 566

[702] On September 27, 1922, A. I. Rykov informed Lenin that the C.L.D. had decided to issue 14,000,000 million rubles for the needs of the main fuel areas (Baku, Grozny and Donbas), that from October on fuel prices for planned supply were to be almost doubled, and that other measures would also be taken. p. 567

[703] In reply to this inquiry, M. K. Vladimirov, Deputy People's Commissar for Finance, sent Lenin reports on the gold stock and the tax revenue from the beginning of 1922 to September 17. He gave the budget deficit for the quarter July to September, and added that the deficit for September would be especially large because of the expenditure on the People's Commissariat for Railways and industry, and would reach 250,000,000 million only in emission, the probable deficit for the quarter October to December was being estimated. Vladimirov also reported the measures being taken to cut back expenditures. p. 567

[704] A reference to Lenin's speech at the forthcoming Fourth Congress of the Communist International.

At the morning sitting on November 13, 1922, Lenin gave a report "Five Years of the Russian Revolution and the Prospects of the World Revolution" (see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 418-32). p. 567

[705] The talks with Leslie Urquhart, which he broke off in October 1921, were resumed in 1922. A preliminary agreement was signed by L. B. Krasin on September 9, 1922 (for the terms see this volume, Document 750). Having acquainted himself with the agreement, Lenin found it to be patently disadvantageous for the Soviet state, and in a letter to Politbureau members on September 12 came out against its approval (see this volume,

Document 754). Lenin wrote about this in the note to Zinoviev here published.

The commission mentioned by Lenin was set up by the Politbureau on August 24, 1922, to specify and put the finishing touches to the draft agreement with Urquhart.

By "American proposals" Lenin apparently means the talks between Krasin and the International Barnsdoll Corporation, with which two agreements were signed on September 20, 1922: one for the exploitation of the Balakhany oil wells in Baku for 15½ years, and the other for the sinking of new wells. See also this volume, Documents 767 and 784, and *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Documents 483 and 485. p. 568

[706] See foregoing note. p. 568

[707] Lenin returned to Moscow from Gorki on October 2, 1922; on October 3, he presided at a meeting of the Council of People's Commissars which adopted a decision motioned by Lenin on organising the work of the C.P.C. See also the two following documents. p. 568

[708] A reference to the first conference in Russia to normalise the organs of administration, which was held in Moscow from September 21 to 23, 1922. In its resolution, the conference noted the unsatisfactory nature of the existing administrative techniques and organisation (dispatch of business, administration, accounting, storage facilities, etc.) and supported the experimental methods of studying administrative questions, and also recognised the need "gradually to develop a network of scientifically based experimental stations and normalisation bureaus under the People's Commissariats and major economic establishments closely connected with the central research organisations on the questions of administration and labour". p. 569

[709] At the time A. D. Tsyurupa was receiving medical treatment abroad. p. 570

[710] On October 2, 1922, G. L. Pyatakov informed C.P.C. secretary Maria Glyasser that he had not replied to Lenin's letter because G. M. Krzhizhanovsky had not yet returned to Moscow.

The register of Lenin's outgoing documents has the following entry under the "Execution" head: "Settled by a personal talk between Vladimir Ilyich and Pyatakov." p. 571

[711] On September 26, 1922, N. V. Krylenko gave a detailed reply to Lenin's letter, informing him that in addition to the already adopted criminal and criminal procedure codes, the next session of the All-Russia C.E.C. to be held in October is to consider the adoption of a code of laws on the judicial system and a code on civil substantive law. p. 571

[712] On September 29, 1922, the C.L.D. approved the programme for a one-day census of Soviet government employees, employees of syndicates, trusts and other state establishments and trade unions in Moscow, which had been worked out at a conference of representatives of the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, the Central Statistical Board and the State Planning Commission. On October 3, the C.P.C., having approved the programme and the census procedure, assigned its implementation to the Central Statistical Board of the R.S.F.S.R. It was held in mid-October 1922. The results were used by Lenin in his speech at the Fourth Session of the Ninth All-Russia C.E.C. on October 31, 1922 (see present edition, Vol. 33, p. 394). Lenin also mentions the census in his "Outline of Speech at the Tenth All-Russia Congress of Soviets" (see present edition, Vol. 36, pp. 588-89). p. 572

[713] The reply telegram said that a detailed indent for October had been sent to the Central Fuel Administration. p. 572

[714] That same day, October 4, 1922, L. B. Krasin replied to Lenin that he had no objections to sending V. S. Yermakov abroad, to give him a chance to go to Italy and receive medical treatment while making a study of the operation of ports, unloading mechanisms, etc. On October 16, Lenin instructed his secretary to check up whether Yermakov had received the money, and was informed by him that all the necessary arrangements had been made. p. 573

[715] On October 5, the Plenum of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee and on October 6, the C.P.C. adopted decisions rejecting the preliminary agreement with Leslie Urquhart (see *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 226, October 7, 1922).

However, Lenin, the Party C.C. and the Soviet Government did not rule out the possibility of returning to the question of granting Urquhart a concession. In this connection Lenin believed it to be necessary once again to verify most thoroughly all the terms of the concession. In particular, he proposed a reduction in area of the concession and the amounts Urquhart was to receive (see this volume, Document 768, and also present edition, Vol. 42, p. 424). p. 573

[716] On October 9, 1922, Lenin saw V. Y. Chubar, head of the State Coal Industry of Donbas.

Lenin attached great importance to the rehabilitation of the Donets Coal Basin, showed a constant interest in its work and did everything to help restore and develop it. On October 6, 1922, V. A. Smolyaninov sent Chubar a letter containing Lenin's request to reply briefly to questions about the supply of Donbas. "Let us know the result of your talks. How much do you want and how much are they giving you?"

To the letter is attached a note from Smolyaninov addressed

to Lenin. It says: "Vladimir Ilyich, I have sent off the letter to Chubar. Perhaps I should send copies to Kamenev and Rykov? 6/X." Below that Lenin wrote: "You should" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U Central Committee). p. 574

[717] The Plenum of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee was held from October 5 to 7, 1922. Lenin attended the October 5 sitting, but not the others because of illness

The register of Lenin's outgoing documents, under the head "Execution", has a secretarial note saying that L. B. Kamenev's reply was received on October 7 and "handed to Vladimir Ilyich" (the reply has not been found). p. 574

[718] Written on the following printed message of greetings sent to Lenin by the editorial board of the Young Communist newspaper of Bauman District of Moscow: "Dear Teacher! We send you our greetings and await a word in reply. *Editorial Board*. October 3, 1922." p. 576

[719] During the discussion of appropriations for the construction of the Zemo-Avchal Hydropower Station near Tiflis, A. S. Svanidze, agent for the People's Commissariat for Finance of the R.S.F.S.R. and the People's Commissariat for Finance of the Transcaucasian Federation, declared that the Tiflis Soviet had enough resources to build the station without Moscow aid. This standpoint was upheld by Stalin and Sokolnikov. In view of the differences on this question, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. on October 12, 1922, instructed N. G. Tumanov, senior controller of the People's Commissariat for Finance, to find out at the Georgian C.P.C. whether local resources would suffice, how much was necessary and how far a loan could be covered by Georgian tea.

This question was finally settled later. On March 1, 1923, the Politbureau, taking into account the protest of the Georgian C.P.C., the Tiflis Soviet and the power-station construction committee, and also G. K. Orjonikidze's proposal, decided to let the Tiflis City Executive Committee have a 750,000 gold-ruble loan to cover the needs of the power station (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 578

[720] Written after a talk with A. V. Shotman, representative of the Karelian Labour Commune, about economic development in Karelia.

The application from the Karelian Labour Commune for a loan to build a pulp mill and work mica deposits was examined by the Narrow C.P.C. on November 15, 1922. It decided the long-term loan was necessary and instructed the People's Commissariat for Finance and the State Planning Commission, with

A. V. Shotman's participation, to determine the exact amount and the terms of repayment.

Through Shotman Lenin conveyed his comradely gratitude to the Congress of Soviets of the Karelian Commune and the Party conference for their message of greetings, and sent his best wishes to the Karelian working people. p. 578

[721] A reference to the agreement between the R.S.F.S.R. Government and a consortium of German firms headed by Otto Wolff, which was concluded in Berlin on October 9, 1922.

The protocol setting up the company was signed in Berlin on November 16, 1922. By the spring of 1923, the company had opened its branches in a number of Soviet cities, among them Moscow, Petrograd and Rostov-on-Don. The conclusion of the agreement with the Wolff consortium and its ratification created a strong impression abroad and produced a favourable atmosphere for talks with other businessmen and companies.

However, the consortium subsequently became remiss in its obligations under the agreement, and in 1924 withdrew from the Russo-German Trading Society. p. 578

[722] The agreement with the Otto Wolff consortium was approved by a C.P.C. decree of October 19, 1922. That same day, Lenin spoke on the agreement in the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C., which decided: "To remove the question, in view of the agreement reached. To circulate the material on the case to Politbureau members for their information."

The communique on the C.P.C.'s approval of the agreement (published in *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 237, October 20, 1922), which is at the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee, contains these resolutions: "Publish in the papers tomorrow, 19.X.1922. C.P.C. Chairman, *V. Ulyanov* (*Lenin*)" and "Telegraph abroad. *Lenin*". p. 580

[723] This telegram was sent out in connection with a conflict between the Transcaucasian Territorial Committee of the R.C.P.(B.), headed by G. K. Orjonikidze, and the P. G. Mdivani group in the Communist Party of Georgia (it included K. M. Tsintsadze and S. I. Kavtaradze, to whom Lenin's telegram is addressed).

The Territorial Committee was conducting a fundamentally correct line, working to bring together the Transcaucasian Republics into the Transcaucasian Federation, and resolutely supporting the idea of uniting all the Soviet Republics into a single state. But Orjonikidze did not always display the necessary flexibility and caution in pursuing the nationalities policy, allowed some peremptory actions and haste in putting through some measures, not always considering the views and rights of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party (Bolsheviks). This was used by the Mdivani group, which took a basically wrong

approach to the most important aspects of the Party's nationalities policy.

Mdivani and his supporters, constituting a majority on the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, virtually slowed down the economic and political union of the Transcaucasian Republics, and were intent, in essence, on keeping Georgia isolated; at first the group opposed the formation of the U.S.S.R., but when the October 1922 Plenum of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee adopted its decision to set up the U.S.S.R., they tried to have Georgia enter the U.S.S.R. directly instead of through the Transcaucasian Federation. This played into the hands of the bourgeois nationalists and the Georgian Mensheviks, and at their congresses, conferences and meetings of Party activists, the Georgian Communists justly regarded this as a deviation towards nationalism.

Tsintsadze and a number of other supporters of Mdivani addressed to the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee a direct wire message, in reply to which Lenin sent the telegram here published. p. 582

[724] A reference to the resolution on relations between the R.S.F.S.R. and the independent republics adopted by the Plenum of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee on October 6, 1922. p. 582

[725] On November 9, 1922, the Presidium of the All-Russia C.E.C. adopted Lenin's proposal and took this decision: "To recognise as model farms the Perm and other outstanding farms led by teams of the American Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia." p. 583

[726] In a letter to Lenin on October 14, 1922, N. Osinsky objected to the refusal of the interdepartmental conference to include the Shatilov Oats Trust estimates in the budget of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture on the grounds that it was operating on a profit-and-loss basis. Osinsky recalled that when the Trust was set up the need was recognised to subsidise it for three to five years, and pointed out that refusal of material support for the Trust would entail the loss of already invested resources. He asked Lenin "to exert his personal influence in the sense of fully supplying the Shatilov Trust". Osinsky also wrote about the selectionist P. I. Lisitsyn, who was in charge of the whole project, and who had abandoned purely academic work in order "to see his oats spread far and wide..." (see *Istorichesky Arkhiv* No. 1, 1962, pp. 60-61). See this volume, Document 639. p. 584

[727] A reference to a letter from I. I. Radchenko, Chairman of the Central Board for the Peat Industry, of October 26, 1922, asking Lenin for help in acquiring abroad an improved peat-extracting machine made by Strohl & Co. in order to mechanise peat operations, and for allocating the necessary funds for its purchase and to cover the cost of sending a commission for

testing the machine on the spot. On October 27, 1922, the Council of Labour and Defence decided to allocate from its reserve fund 7,000 gold rubles for the purpose. p. 584

[728] A reference to the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. decision of October 26, 1922, reducing state subsidies to Proletcult and the academic theatres. p. 585

[729] A reference to the fact that G. L. Pyatakov, in his capacity as Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Commission, signed military estimates for 26,000,000 million rubles (in terms of 1922 banknotes) over and above the amount proposed by the People's Commissariat for Finance. On October 28, 1922, these estimates were approved by the C.P.C. See also this volume, Documents 785 and 786. p. 586

[730] A reference to the C.L.D. decision of October 27, 1922, allocating funds to Armenia to develop cotton growing. p. 586

[731] A probable reference to the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. decision of October 26, 1922, in connection with the proposal to issue a popular pamphlet on the Urquhart agreement. The Politbureau decided to set up a commission "to review and write as soon as possible articles on the Urquhart agreement" consisting of G. L. Pyatakov and B. S. Stomonyakov and approved instructions for the commission in which it defined the content of the articles.

The discussion articles under the general title, "On the Question of the Urquhart Concession Rejected by the C.P.C.", were published in several issues of *Pravda* (October 31, and November 1 to 3, 1922). p. 587

[732] Written on L. B. Kamenev's letter to Lenin of October 30, 1922, proposing, in the event of Lenin's agreement: "1) to ask the Politbureau to rescind the C.P.C. decision, restoring the figure proposed by the People's Commissariat for Finance, i.e., 599,000,000 million minus 26,000,000 million equals 573,000,000 million; 2) suggest that the Politbureau should appoint a special commission to review the allocation of the appropriated funds under the estimates between the various People's Commissariats in order to reduce expenditures in shipbuilding, etc." Under this proposal, Lenin wrote: "I quite agree. 30.X.1922. *Lenin*." There are also remarks by G. Y. Zinoviev, J. V. Stalin and V. M. Molotov saying that they agree, and one by L. D. Trotsky, abstaining (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 588

[733] A reference to the R.S.F.S.R. Government's Note to the Governments of Britain, France and Italy of November 2, 1922 (see *Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR*, Vol. V, Moscow, 1961, pp. 650-53). p. 588

[734] See Note 726.
On November 18, 1922, the C.P.C. Financial Committee, having examined on Lenin's proposal the estimates of Gossemkultura, set it at 2,500,000 million for the quarter from October to December 1922. p. 590

[735] A reference to the C.L.D. decision of October 13, 1922, setting prices for fuel for planned consumers.
In his letters, V. Y. Chubar, head of the State Coal Industry of Donbas, pointed out the discrepancy between the established firm price for coal and the declining rate of the ruble, adding that the State Planning Commission's calculations lagged behind life and placed the industry in an impossible situation. He requested a settlement of this question. p. 591

[736] On Lenin's instruction, the State Planning Commission submitted to the Council of Labour and Defence a report on the financing of Donbas. This question was discussed by the C.L.D. on November 15 and 17, 1922, and by the C.P.C. on November 24. The C.P.C. noted the especial importance of regular operations in the coal and oil industry for the country's economy, and recognised the need "firmly to provide those branches of the fuel industry with the full amount of real funds required for the implementation of their production programme, and for that purpose to establish, by way of exception, special terms of payment for coal and oil" (*Sobranie uzakonenii i rasporyazhenii rabochego i krestyanskogo pravitelstva*, No. 79, 1922, p. 993). p. 591

[737] Written in connection with the following circumstances. On November 1, 1922, a group of fascists armed with pistols and bombs raided the Trade Department of the R.S.F.S.R. Mission in Italy. They broke into the office of the foreign trade agent and at gun point led away one of the officials and shot him on the stairs. p. 592

[738] On November 1, 1922, the R.S.F.S.R. Mission in Italy sent the Italian Foreign Ministry a Note of protest over the raid by a group of fascists on its Trade Department (see *Dokumenty vneshnei politiki SSSR*, Vol. V, Moscow, 1961, pp. 648-49). p. 592

[739] The Fourth Congress of the Comintern discussed the merger of the Communist and Socialist Parties of Italy. The leadership of the Italian Communist Party, at the time in the hands of the sectarian Bordiga group, came out against the merger.
The R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee sent the Italian Communist Party delegation a letter advising it not to vote against the merger resolution which was worked out by a commission. The I.C.P. delegation accepted the advice.
The congress adopted a unanimous decision on the merger and set up a special organising committee to put it through. See this volume, Document 803. p. 593

[740] Written after a reading of the draft resolution of the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, "Outline of Agrarian Action Programme", which had been sent him. In a covering letter G. Y. Zinoviev wrote that he felt that he could not submit the draft for discussion by the congress without Lenin's comment. p. 593

[741] In accordance with Lenin's suggestions, the draft resolution of the Fourth Congress of the Comintern on the agrarian question was rewritten. In his report to the congress on November 30, Y. S. Varga set out the content of the letter here published and said that the commission elected to complete the draft "was guided in its work above all by Comrade Lenin's letter". Changes were introduced into the "Outline of Agrarian Action Programme", the most important of these being the addition of a subtitle, "Instructions on the Application of the Agrarian Theses of the Second Congress of the Communist International", which specified the nature of the resolution (see *Bulleten IV kongressa Kommunisticheskogo Internatsionala*, No. 27, 1922, pp. 11-12). p. 594

[742] Having heard both sides, the All-Russia C.E.C. decided in favour of the People's Commissariat for Railways. p. 595

[743] These are apparently extracts from two letters which have not been found. They must have been written in connection with Lenin's talk on December 2, 1922, with Prof. N. M. Knipovich, head of the scientific and industrial expedition to the Azov Sea. Knipovich was requesting assistance in securing the ship *Besstrashny* for scientific exploration by the Central Administration of the Fishing Industry (Glavryba) under the People's Commissariat for Food.

On December 15, 1922, the Narrow C.P.C. recognised that "it is fundamentally necessary to let Glavryba have the free use of the ship *Besstrashny* for the expedition", and instructed the Budget Commission of the People's Commissariat for Finance to review the question of allocating funds to Glavryba for the purpose. p. 595

[744] I. I. Khodorovsky soon sent Lenin a reply, saying that this had been done by way of experiment only in Novonikolayevsk Gubernia and uyezd (now Novosibirsk Region) and that the question of the rural cells helping out the urban ones had not come up. See his article, "From Reminiscences about Ilyich", published in *Izvestia TsIK and VTsIK* on April 22, 1930.

Lenin used the material received from Khodorovsky in the plan of his speech at the Tenth All-Russia Congress of Soviets (which he did not deliver because of ill health) and also in his article, "Pages from a Diary" (see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 465-66). p. 596

[745] This letter to Charles P. Steinmetz was taken to the U.S.A. by the American Communist Harold Ware, who in 1922 led a tractor

team on the Toikino State Farm in Perm Gubernia. See *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 54, Document 354. p. 597

[746] A reference to the deportation of a once active Menshevik, N. A. Rozhkov. The question of Rozhkov was repeatedly discussed by the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C., which on October 26, 1922, adopted this decision: "Rozhkov to be deported." On December 7, reversing the decision of October 26, the Politbureau decided to postpone his deportation and published in *Izvestia VTsIK* his article on Menshevik activity and announcement of withdrawal from the Menshevik Party, together with comments by the editor Y. M. Steklov (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). See also next document. p. 598

[747] On December 14, 1922, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. rescinded its decision of December 7 and decided to exile Rozhkov to Pskov, and to deport him from Soviet Russia at the first anti-Soviet act. p. 598

[748] On November 30, 1922, the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. instructed the Orgbureau of the C.C. to place at the disposal of the Comintern up to 10 functionaries within a week. p. 598

[749] *Die Neue Zeit*—a theoretical journal of the German Social-Democratic Party, published in Stuttgart from 1883 to 1923. Lenin is referring to the period up to the mid-1890s, when Frederick Engels was helping the journal. p. 599

[750] On the question of the Profintern (Red International of Trade Unions) the Politbureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C., on December 19, 1922, adopted Lenin's proposals as set out in this letter. p. 599

[751] A reference to the resolution of the Fourth Congress of the Comintern (held from November 5 to December 5, 1922) on the Italian question providing for the merger of the Communist and Socialist Parties of Italy (see *Kommunistichesky Internatsional v dokumentakh. Resheniya, tezisy i vozzvaniya kongressov Kominterna i plenumov IKKI. 1919-1932*. Moscow, 1933, pp. 356-60).

At the time, the merger did not take place. In 1924, some groups of socialists which had formed the Left wing of the Italian Socialist Party broke with it and entered the Communist Party (see this volume, Document 794). p. 600

[752] On January 2, 1923, C. Lazzari sent Lenin a reply letter thanking him for the trust placed in him and promising to do everything he could to implement the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the Comintern. However, he objected to the outlined methods for merging the parties and, referring to the services of the Italian Socialist Party, suggested that the unified party should have the old name—Italian Socialist Party (Central Party Archives

of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 600

[753] A reference to a letter from N. N. Krestinsky, R.S.F.S.R. Plenipotentiary Representative in Germany, of December 3, 1922. He gave a positive evaluation to the work of the trade mission in Berlin, reported agreements with some German firms, described the talks being conducted and the great prospects in this respect. He wrote that these would be destroyed with the lifting of the foreign trade monopoly. It is indicative, he added, that "some comrades who have been abroad are becoming supporters of the monopoly (Tsyurupa, Vladimirov, Rykov, Avanesov)". On the strength of the experience gained abroad, Krestinsky took a firm stand in favour of the foreign trade monopoly (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). See also next document. p. 601

[754] A reference to L. D. Trotsky's letter of December 12, 1922.

By "*Avanesov's plans*" Lenin means the "Proposals of the C.P.C. Commission of Inquiry into the Work of R.S.F.S.R. Missions Abroad on the Question of the State Monopoly of Foreign Trade".

Its main conclusion was that the foreign trade monopoly must not be abolished for both economic and political reasons, "either fully or even in part" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). p. 601

[755] In his letter, L. D. Trotsky wrote that there was need for a flexible regulation of foreign trade, adapted to overall economic requirements, and said he believed it was the State Planning Commission's job to do this. p. 601

[756] A reference to the Tenth All-Russia Congress of Soviets. p. 602

[757] A reference to the struggle against violations of the foreign trade monopoly. p. 602

[758] A reference to Lenin's removal to Gorki, as ordered by his doctors in view of a deterioration in the state of his health. p. 602

[759] A reference to the Tenth All-Russia Congress of Soviets. p. 602

[760] For the plan of Lenin's speech at the Tenth All-Russia Congress of Soviets see present edition, Vol. 36, pp. 588-89. Preparing for the speech long before the congress, as far back as November 1922, Lenin began to collect the necessary material: he asked for books and newspaper cuttings, read the report of V. P. Milyutin, Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council, on the state of trade, finance and industry, and wrote a letter to I. I. Khodorovsky asking him for information about the assistance given to each other by urban and rural cells of the Party. Judging by the plan,

he intended to deal with a number of questions which he later analysed in his last articles. p. 603

[761] Lenin's health took a turn for the worse and he was unable to participate in the Tenth All-Russia Congress of Soviets. On the night of December 16, Nadezhda Krupskaya asked the secretary on duty "to inform Stalin, on behalf of Vladimir Ilyich, that he will not speak at the Congress of Soviets" (see *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 45, p. 473).

The Tenth All-Russia Congress of Soviets opened in Moscow on December 23, 1922. It was attended by 2,215 delegates. Lenin was elected honorary chairman; to stormy applause and the singing of *The Internationale* the congress adopted a telegram of greetings to Lenin.

On December 26, the congress heard a report on the unification of the Soviet Republics, and the next day, at its final sitting, adopted a decision declaring the need to establish a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. p. 603

[762] The letter has not been found. The reference is to the foreign trade monopoly. p. 604

[763] This is one of Lenin's letters about the distribution of work between the deputy chairmen of the C.P.C. and the C.L.D., and about the most rational organisation of work of the C.P.C. apparatus (see present edition, Vol. 33, pp. 247-48, 335-43; Vol. 42, pp. 428-29, 430-32, 432-33). p. 605

[764] On December 18, 1922, the Plenum of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee rescinded a decision taken by the plenum in October, and reaffirmed "the absolute need to maintain and effect the organisational strengthening of the foreign trade monopoly" (Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee). The Twelfth Party Congress, held in Moscow from April 17 to 25, 1923, also confirmed that the foreign trade monopoly was not to be tampered with. p. 606

[765] The letter is connected with the "Georgian question".

After the October (1922) Plenum of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee, there was a sharpening of the conflict between the Transcaucasian Territorial Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) and the Mdivani group (see Note 723). Having met with resistance from the Georgian Communists, the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Georgia, on which the Mdivani group had a majority, resigned on October 22 on the plea of its differences with the Transcaucasian Territorial Committee. Mdivani's supporters lodged a complaint with the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee. On November 25, 1922, the Politbureau adopted a decision to send a commission to Georgia, with F. E. Dzerzhinsky at its head, to examine urgently the statements by members of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party who had

resigned, and to work out measures to establish tranquility in the Georgian Communist Party.

Lenin was highly anxious over the "Georgian question". On December 12, Dzerzhinsky reported to Lenin the results of his trip. Lenin was dissatisfied with the work of the commission, believing that it had taken a biased approach to the conflict, and had failed to note the grave errors made by G. K. Orjonikidze. Lenin connected the "Georgian question" with the general question of establishing the U.S.S.R., expressing alarm over whether the principles of proletarian internationalism would be consistently implemented in the unification of the Republics. In his letter, "The Question of Nationalities, or 'Autonomisation'", he censured Orjonikidze's action and the connivance at it on the part of the Dzerzhinsky Commission, and of Stalin. Lenin placed the political responsibility for the whole affair chiefly on Stalin, who was the C.C. Secretary General, with reference to his grave mistakes in unifying the Republics (see present edition, Vol. 36, pp. 605-11).

Lenin, far from supporting, in fact criticised the fundamentally erroneous stand of Mdivani and his supporters on various aspects of the Transcaucasian Federation and the formation of the U.S.S.R. (see this volume, Document 777); but considering that at the time the main danger lay in dominant-nation chauvinism, and that the task of fighting the latter was to be shouldered mainly by the Communists of the formerly dominant nation, Lenin concentrated attention on the mistakes made by Stalin, Dzerzhinsky and Orjonikidze on the "Georgian question". He pointed out that in this matter, especially when, in connection with the unification of the Republics, there was need for "particular circumspection, tact and tractability", and that "in this case it is better to overdo the tractability and mildness in treating the national minorities than to underdo them". That is the context in which to view Lenin's words about his being "on the side of the 'offended' in the 'Georgian conflict'" (see this volume, Document 814, and also *Collected Works*, Fifth (Russian) Edition, Vol. 45, p. 486).

Lenin's letter to Trotsky was written in connection with the forthcoming discussion of the "Georgian question" at a Plenum of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee. p. 607

[766] This letter was read to Trotsky the same day on the phone by Maria Volodicheva, assistant secretary of the C.L.D. and the C.P.C. On the plea of ill health, Trotsky said he could not undertake such an obligation. p. 607

[767] A reference to the following fact. After Lenin, with the permission of his doctors, had, on December 21, 1922, dictated a letter to Trotsky on the foreign trade monopoly (see this volume, Document 811), J. V. Stalin, whom a C.C. Plenum decision of December 18 had made personally responsible for the observance of the medical regimen ordered for Lenin, used offensive language

against Nadezhda Krupskaya and threatened to take the case to the Control Commission for having taken down the said letter. On December 23, 1922, Krupskaya sent Kamenev a letter asking for protection from "the gross interference in my personal life, offensive language and threats".

Nadezhda Krupskaya apparently told Lenin of this fact in early March 1923. Having learned about this Lenin dictated the document here published.

Maria Ulyanova later wrote in a letter to the presidium of the July (1926) Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the R.C.P.(B.), at which the question had been raised by G. Y. Zinoviev, one of the leaders of the "new opposition", that Stalin had offered his apologies. p. 608

[768] See Note 765.

Lenin was unable to prepare the letter and the speech on the "Georgian question". On March 10, 1923, there was an acute deterioration in his condition.

This letter is the last document dictated by Lenin. p. 608

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of the journal *Revolutsia i Kultura* (Revolution and Culture)—126, 413-14

Alsky, *Arkady Osipovich* (1892-1939)—Party member from 1917. After the October Revolution, was on Soviet government and Party work in Voronezh, Lithuania, Byelorussia and Moscow. From 1921 to 1927, Deputy People's Commissar for Finance of the R.S.F.S.R., then of the U.S.S.R. In 1927 was expelled from the Party for anti-Party activity—159, 174, 189, 193, 233, 288, 290, 350, 369, 401, 521-22

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Committee; in 1920-24, Deputy People's Commissar for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, member of the Collegium of the All-Russia Cheka, later, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Trade—48, 53, 203, 206, 223, 225-26, 233, 234, 244, 257, 308, 335, 340, 372, 381, 442, 518, 601-602

Axelrod, *Tovii L.* (1888-1938)—Party member from 1917; earlier, member of the Bund. In 1920-21, head of the Comintern's Press Department. From 1922, worked in the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, later, worked on editorial and publishers' staffs—213, 258, 435

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Babkin, *Ivan Petrovich* (1885-1940)—Party member from 1902. From 1918 to 1921, head of the Labour Department of the People's Commissariat for Food; extraordinary representative of the Council of People's Commissars and the Council of Labour and Defence in the Volga-Caspian area. From September 1921, member of the Presidium of Centrosoyuz (the Central Union of Consumers' Societies)—203, 224, 225, 226

Badayev, *Alexei Yegorovich* (1883-1951)—Party member from 1904. Member of the Bolshevik group in the Fourth Duma. After the October Revolution, Chairman of the Petrograd Food Department, Commissar for Food for Petrograd and the Northern Region, and subsequently held other posts—103, 196, 234

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Beesly, *Edward Spencer* (1831-1915)—English historian and philosopher. On September 28, 1864, chaired the meeting in London at which the International Working Men's Association (First International) was established—80

Béla Kun—see *Kun*, *Béla*.

Belgov, *Vladimir Petrovich* (1884-1936)—Party member from 1905. After the October Revolution, engaged in diplomatic,

administrative and Party work. From 1921, worked in the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade; was trade representative in Persia, director of the U.S.S.R. trade mission in Austria from 1922 to 1924, and held other posts—255

Beloborodov, *Alexander Georgievich* (1891-1938)—Party member from 1907. From August 1920, Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Caucasian Labour Army, Secretary of the South-Eastern Bureau of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C., Chairman of the South-Eastern Economic Council. From the end of 1921, Deputy People's Commissar for Internal Affairs of the R.S.F.S.R.—122, 177

Belov, *A. A.*—head of the State Department Store (GUM). In April-November 1922, member of the Board of the Central Trade Department of the Supreme Economic Council—391, 437, 455, 465, 471, 514

Belyakov, *Alexei Alexandrovich* (1870-1927)—member of the first Marxist study circle in Samara led by Lenin; member of the Party from 1903. From 1920, worked in Moscow in economic administration and the press. A contributor to *Izvestia VTsIK*—140, 314, 415, 472

Berzin (*Berzin*, *Ziemelis*), *Jan Antonovich* (1881-1938)—Party member from 1902. In 1918, head of the Soviet mission in Switzerland. In 1919, People's Commissar for Education in Soviet Latvia. In 1921, plenipotentiary in Finland; in 1921 25, deputy plenipotentiary in Britain—289

Besprozvanny, *Izrail Moiseyevich* (1884-1952)—mechanical engineer, author of articles on scientific organisation of labour at American enterprises. In 1920-25, worked at the Central Institute of Labour—563

Bobrovskaya (*Zelixon*), *Cecilia Samoylovna* (1876-1960)—professional revolutionary, joined the R.S.D.L.P. in 1898. After the October Revolution, engaged in Party and literary work in Moscow and Leningrad—390-91

Bodyakov, *Nikolai Semyonovich*—53

Bogdanov, *Pyotr Alexeyevich* (1882-1939)—Party member from 1905. From 1921 to 1925, Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council and member of the Council of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R.—168, 187, 205, 237, 244, 251, 252, 261, 275, 331, 353, 362, 363, 370, 392, 401, 408, 411, 426, 448, 524, 575, 594

Bokii, *Gleb Ivanovich* (1879-1940)—Party member from 1900. From 1921, member of the Collegium of the All-Russia Cheka, then member of the Collegium of the O.G.P.U. and the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs—153, 159, 192, 248

Bonch-Bruyevich, *Mikhail Alexandrovich* (1888-1940)—radio engineer. From 1918, headed the Nizhni-Novgorod Radio Laboratory—127, 388, 405 545, 554

Bonch-Bruyevich, *Vladimir Dmitrievich* (1873-1955)—Party member from 1895. In 1904, headed the C.C. dispatch department; organised publication of Bolshevik literature (V. Bonch-Bruyevich and N. Lenin Publishing House). After the October Revolution until 1920, Business Manager of the Council of People's Commis-

sars. Later, headed a state farm, Lesniye Polyany, near Moscow and engaged in scientific work—65

Bonomi, *Ivanoe* (1873-1951)—Italian statesman; Right-wing socialist. In 1921-22, headed a coalition government of representatives of bourgeois parties and social-reformists—447, 451

Bordiga, *Amadeo* (b. 1889)—Italian political figure. In 1921, one of the founders of the Italian Communist Party, and member of its governing bodies until 1926; conducted a Left-wing sectarian policy, and came out against the Comintern tactics of establishing a united anti-fascist front—593

Borisov, *Nikolai Yevseyevich* (b. 1899)—journalist, in 1921 worked in Pravda; member of the Executive Committee of the Rogozhsko-Simonovsky Soviet of Workers' and Red Army Deputies in Moscow—214

Borodin (*Gruzenberg*), *Mikhail Markovich* (1884-1951)—Party member from 1903. From 1918 to 1922, worked in the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the R.S.F.S.R. and in the Comintern—210, 230

Borzov, *Alexander Alexandrovich* (1874-1939)—geographer, professor of Moscow University, author of many scientific works. Edited a number of maps, among them the Great Soviet Atlas of the World—194

Braß, *Otto* (1875-1950)—German Social-Democrat, one of the founders of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany. After the latter united with the Communist Party of Germany (December 1920), member of the Central Committee of the United Communist Party of Germany. In February 1921, left the Central Committee; in January 1922, was expelled from the Party for breaches of Party discipline, and rejoined the Social-Democrats—158

Brown, *Walter R.*—251

Bryukhanov, *Nikolai Pavlovich* (1878-1943)—Party member from 1902. After the October Revolution, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Food, then Deputy Commissar, and from 1921, People's Commissar for Food—48, 52, 53, 59, 65, 134, 135, 142, 143, 146, 147, 155, 156, 167, 197, 203, 206, 223, 225, 239, 242, 259, 273, 274, 280, 303, 365, 412, 440, 486, 590

Bukharin, *Nikolai Ivanovich* (1888-1938)—member of the Bolshevik Party from 1906. After the October Revolution, Editor of *Pravda*, member of the C.C. Politbureau, and of the Comintern Executive Committee. Repeatedly opposed the Party Leninist policy: in 1918, headed the anti-Party group of "Left Communists"; in 1920-21, supported the Trotsky group during the discussion on the trade unions, from 1928, headed the Right-wing opposition in the Party; in 1929 was removed from the C.C. Politbureau; in 1937 was expelled from the Party for anti-Party activity—98, 145, 191, 236, 376, 392-93, 425, 444, 459-60, 555, 564, 582, 593

Buniat-zade, *D. Kh.* (1888-1938)—Party member from 1908. In 1920, member of the Azerbaijan C.P.(B.) Central Committee and of the Revolutionary Committee of Azerbaijan. From 1921, People's Commissar for Food, People's Commissar for Agriculture, then

Chairman of the State Planning Commission, Deputy Chairman of the Azerbaijan Council of People's Commissars—109

Burakova, Maria Nikolayevna (b. 1892)—Party member from 1918. In 1920-25, technical secretary of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. Politbureau. Later, engaged in Party, Soviet government and scientific work—453

Bykov—73

C

Calvert, Herbert S.—American worker, member of the Industrial Workers of the World. In 1921, took part in organising an autonomous industrial colony in the Kuznetsk Basin—304, 335

Carm, Adolphe S.—representative of the Socialist Labor Party of America in Soviet Russia in 1921—268

Caroti, A.—agent of the Italian firm of "Cito-Cinema"—401

Carr, John (*Cutterfeld, L.*) (b. 1880)—in 1921, representative of the U.S. Communist Party on the Comintern Executive Committee—402

Chebotaryov, Ivan Nikolayevich (1861-1934)—member of the Narodnaya Volya group, joined the revolutionary movement in 1886, arrested in connection with the case of Alexander Ulyanov; friend of the Ulyanov family in Simbirsk. From 1906 to 1922, taught at the Popovka railway station school—375

Cheiko, I. A. (*Cheika*)—power engineer—387-88, 405

Chekunov, Ivan Afanasyevich (d. 1928)—peasant from Fominka, a village of Vladimir Gubernia. In 1919-21, was repeatedly received by Lenin. From 1921, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture—89, 90, 91, 92

Cherlyunchakevich, Nikolai Alexandrovich (1876-1938)—lawyer; Party member from 1907. After the October Revolution, worked in the Moscow People's Court; later, member of the Collegium of the R.S.F.S.R. People's Commissariat for Justice—302

Chicherin, Georgi Vasilyevick (1872-1936)—R.S.D.L.P. member from 1905; member of the R.C.P.(B.) from 1918. From 1918 to 1930, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, headed Soviet delegations to the International conferences at Genoa and Lausanne. Member of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the U.S.S.R. Central Executive Committee; member of the Party's Central Committee—54, 56, 62, 64, 67, 68, 88, 94, 95, 99, 101, 111, 140, 175, 182, 183, 212, 219, 227, 229, 230, 237, 238, 240, 250, 253, 254, 277, 289, 293, 301, 338, 339, 344, 345, 354, 356, 359, 363, 371, 381 390, 409, 410, 426, 434-35, 447, 449-50, 451, 452, 463, 469, 474, 479, 483-84, 485, 492, 506-12, 520, 532, 533, 536-38, 540, 541, 546-47, 553, 588, 592

Chirkin, Vasily Gavrilovich (1877-1954)—at first Menshevik, member of the Bolshevik Party from 1920. From 1920 to 1922, member of the Presidium of the Southern Bureau of the All-Russia Central Trade Union Council, member of the All-Ukraine Central Executive Committee, Deputy and then Chairman of the All-Ukraine Union of Consumers' Societies—398

Chubar, Vlas Yakovlevich (1891-1941)—Party member from

1907. From 1920 to 1922, Chairman of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Economic Council and member of the Presidium of the R.S.F.S.R. Supreme Economic Council; Director of the Central Board of the Donbas Coal-Mining Industry—349, 388, 572, 574, 591

Chutskayev, *Sergei Yegorovich* (1876-1946)—Party member from 1903. From 1921, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Finance, Deputy People's Commissar for Finance; Chairman of the Commission for Abolishing Cash Taxes; in 1921-22, Deputy Chairman and then Chairman of the Siberian Revolutionary Committee—53, 58, 96, 160, 208, 381, 502

D

Danilov, *Stepan Stepanovich* (1877-1939)—Party member from 1904. After the October Revolution, served in the Red Army; was staff commissar, and from July 1921, member of the Red Army's Revolutionary Military Council—296

Danishevsky, *Karl Khristianovich* (1884-1941)—Party member from 1900. From the end of 1906, was on the C.C. of the R.S.D.L.P. from the Social-Democratic Party of the Lettish region. After the October Revolution, member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic and of the R.M.C. of the Eastern Front, Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Tribunal of the Republic. In 1920, Chairman of the Soviet peace delegation at the Minsk Conference for putting an end to the war and establishing friendly relations between the R.S.F.S.R., the Ukraine and Poland. From March 1921, head of the Chief Timber Committee; later, engaged in executive administrative work—170, 316, 336, 424

Datta, *Bhupendra Nath* (b. 1880)—Indian sociologist, active participant in the Indian national liberation movement. In August 1921, at the invitation of the Comintern visited Soviet Russia and handed to Lenin his article containing theses on the national liberation movement in India—270

Dosser, *Zinovy Nikolayevich* (1882-1938)—oil engineer; Party member from 1917. After the October Revolution, Chairman of the Collegium of the Central Oil Administration of the Supreme Economic Council, manager of the Oil Syndicate, representative of the Syndicate in China, and U.S.S.R. trade representative in Italy—107

Dovgalevsky, *V. S.* (1885-1934)—Party member from 1908. In 1921-24, People's Commissar for Posts and Telegraphs of the R.S.F.S.R., then of the U.S.S.R. Later, engaged in diplomatic work—545

Dzerzhinsky, *Felix Edmundovich* (1877-1926)—Party member from 1895. One of the organisers of the Social-Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania. Carried on Party work in Poland and Russia. Member of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee from the Fourth Party Congress. On the eve of and during the October Revolution, member of the Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee and of the Military Revolutionary Centre for directing

the uprising, which was set up by the Party Central Committee.

After the October Revolution Chairman of the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution and Sabotage (Cheka). In 1921, People's Commissar for Railways, and concurrently People's Commissar for Internal Affairs and Chairman of the Cheka. From 1924, Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council—95, 105, 159, 183, 211, 242, 389, 395, 538, 539, 555-56, 559, 562, 607, 608

E

Eiduk, *A. V.* (1886-1938)—Party member from 1903. In 1919-22, member of the Collegium of the All-Russia Cheka; special representative of the Council of Labour and Defence on the fuel administrations; Soviet Government representative on the American Relief Administration—72, 417, 591

Engels, *Frederick* (1820-1895)—80, 81, 307, 309, 528

F

Falkner, *S. A.* (1890-1938)—economist. In 1918-21, worked in the Economic Research Department of the Supreme Economic Council, on the Council's Price Committee, in the Central Fuel Administration of the Supreme Economic Council, and in the Socialist Academy. From mid-1921 to 1927, worked in the State Planning Commission—107

Ferguson, *A. E.*—368

Fofanova, *Margarita Vasilyevna* (b. 1883)—Party member from 1917. After the October Revolution until 1925, worked in the People's Commissariat for Agriculture—226-27, 439

Fomin, *Vasily Vasilyevich* (1884-1942)—Party member from 1910. From January 1921, Chairman of the Supreme Council for Transportation, Deputy People's Commissar for Railways—127, 167, 410, 432, 454, 466, 594

Fotieva, *Lydia Alexandrovna* (b. 1881)—Party member from 1904. From 1918, secretary of the Council of People's Commissars and the Council of Labour and Defence, and concurrently Lenin's secretary—102, 119, 151, 152, 153, 193, 197, 209, 215-16, 259, 260, 267, 299, 349, 422, 431, 443, 444, 452, 457, 461, 479, 530, 543, 548-49, 558-60, 600, 604

France, *Joseph Irwin* (1873-1939)—American Senator in 1917-23. In the summer of 1921, visited Soviet Russia. Dealt with foreign trade—212

Fröhlich, *Paul* (1884-1953)—member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany from 1919 to 1924. Delegate to the Third Congress of the Comintern from the United Communist Party of Germany. In 1928 was expelled from the Party for factional activities—187

Frumkin, *Moisei Ilyich* (1878-1939)—Party member from 1898. From 1918 to March 1922, member of the Collegium, then Deputy People's Commissar for Food. From April 1922, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Trade of the R.S.F.S.R.—59, 61, 79, 84, 122, 176, 178, 193, 217, 238, 257, 303, 322, 440, 514-16, 549-51, 579, 586, 601, 604

Frunze, *Mikhail Vasilyevich* (1885-1925)—Party member from

1904. During the Civil War, Army Commander, Commander of the Southern group of the Eastern Front, Commander of the Eastern, Turkestan and Southern fronts. After the Civil War, Commander of the Ukrainian and Crimean troops. In 1925, Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic and People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs—66, 111, 145, 245-46

Fulte—Krupp's agent—513

G

Gastev, *Alexi Kapitonovich* (1882-1941)—scientist poet, public figure. In 1917-18, Secretary of the All-Russia Metalworkers' Union Central Committee. In 1920, organised the Central Institute of Labour under the All-Russia Central Trade Union Council, which he headed until 1938—174

Gennari, *Edigio* (1876-1942)—Secretary (from 1918), and then General Secretary (in 1920) of the Italian Socialist Party. Favoured its joining the Comintern. From 1921, when the Italian Communist Party was set up, member of its Central Committee. Delegate to the Third Congress of the Comintern, and member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International—311

Gerbek, *Georgi Gugovich* (b. 1890)—in 1921, Deputy Chairman of the Urals Industrial Bureau under the Supreme Economic Council, and Deputy Extraordinary Representative of the Council of Defence for Red Army and Navy Supplies—305

Getsov, *S. A.* (1883-1937)—in 1920-23, Deputy Chairman of the Central Coal Administration and head of the Moscow Coal Committee—222

Geyer, *Anna*—in 1920-21, headed the press agency of the Communist Party of Germany, editor of *Die Rote Fahne*—158

Gintsburg, *Ilya Iakovlevich* (1859-1939)—sculptor, author of monuments to G. V. Plekhanov and D. I. Mendeleyev in Leningrad—138

Gittis, *Vladimir Mikhailovich* (1881-1938)—colonel of the tsarist army; after the October Revolution, sided with the Soviet power. During the Civil War, Commander of the Western and Caucasian fronts; later, held various commanding posts in the Red Army—84

Gleb Maximilianovich—see *Krzhizhanovsky*, *G. M.*

Glyasser, *Maria Ignatyevna* (1890-1951)—Party member from 1917. From 1917 to 1924, worked on the Secretariat of the Council of People's Commissars—280, 453, 569-70

Goikhbarg, *Alexander Grigoryevich* (1883-1962)—before 1917, Menshevik; from 1919 to 1924, member of the R.C.P.(B.). In 1920-21, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Justice, member, Deputy Chairman and then Chairman of the Narrow Council of People's Commissars—81, 85, 96, 271, 293, 355, 380, 542

Goldberg, *Boris Isayevich* (1884-1946)—Party member from 1902. In 1921, Deputy Chairman of the Chief Public Works Committee, then representative of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic in the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade, and held other posts—170

Goldenberg, *Iosif Petrovich* (1873-1922)—journalist; Social-Democrat, after the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903), Bolshevik. During the 1905-07 revolution, member of the editorial boards of all Bolshevik publications. At one time, he deviated from Bolshevism, but in 1920 was readmitted to the Bolshevik Party—425

Gorbunov, *Nikolai Petrovich* (1892-1938)—Party member from 1917. After the October Revolution, Secretary of the Council of People's Commissars; from August 1918, Manager of the Scientific and Technical Department of the Supreme Economic Council of the R.S.F.S.R. From 1920, Business Manager of the Council of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R. (then U.S.S.R.) and the Council of Labour and Defence, member of the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R.—64, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 122, 126, 135, 149, 150-52, 186, 188, 243, 274, 277-79, 280, 283, 293-94, 299, 300, 302-03, 306, 314, 315-16, 319, 320, 322, 324, 336, 361, 370, 373, 375, 381, 387-89, 393-94, 400, 403, 405, 408, 412, 432-33, 443, 451 452, 455, 461, 464, 465, 470-71, 473, 476, 479, 480, 486, 487-92, 500, 503, 513, 520, 577, 578, 592, 595, 597, 606

Gorbunov, *Pavel Petrovich* (1885-1937)—Party member from 1918. From February 1921 to February 1922, Business Manager of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs and concurrently, from September 1921, member of the Collegium of the P.C.F.A. Later, filled various posts at the People's Commissariat for Finance, the Party Central Committee, the State Bank, etc.—230, 338, 371, 404, 425, 435, 452

Gorky, *Maxim* (*Peshkov*, *Alexei Maximovich*) (1868-1936)—Russian writer, founder of Soviet literature—97, 163, 249, 404-06, 564

Gorsky, *B.*—author of the article "The Danaans Whose Hands Proffer Gifts" published in *Izvestia* on November 23, 1921—385

Graftio, *Genrich Osipovich* (1869-1949)—scientist, power engineer. Member of GOELRO (State Commission for the Electrification of Russia). In 1921-27, Chief Engineer of the Volkhov and then the Nizhni-Svir hydroelectric power stations—277-78, 292

Gribanova, *Lydia Dmitrievna* (b. 1890)—in 1919-21, typist and business secretary of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic. From May 1921 to 1934, technical secretary of the Council of Labour and Defence; later, worked in the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences—189

Grigoryev, *G. I.* (b. 1894)—from January 1921 to October 1922, Deputy Chief of the Central Coal Administration—217

Groman, *Vladimir Gustavovich* (b. 1874)—Social-Democrat, Menshevik. In 1920, Chairman of the Commission for Studying the Losses to Russia's National Economy inflicted by the Imperialist and civil wars; from 1921, engaged in planning and administrative work—56, 130, 355, 380

Grzhebin, *Zinovy Isayevich* (1869-1929)—head of the Publishing House for fiction, scientific lit-

erature and science fiction, organised in 1919 in Petrograd with branches in Moscow and later in Berlin—162-63

Gubkin, *Ivan Mikhailovich* (1871-1939)—geologist, Party member from 1921. From 1918, held key posts in various central departments dealing with oil industry and geological research in Soviet Russia—88, 117

Gylling, *Edward Otto Wilhelm* (1881-1944)—active participant in the Finnish working-class movement. From 1905, member of the Social-Democratic Party of Finland. From 1918, member of the Communist Party of Finland and of its Central Committee. Active participant in the 1918 workers' revolution in Finland. From 1920, member of the R.C.P.(B.). From July 1920 to February 1921, Chairman of the Karelian Revolutionary Committee, then Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Karelian Labour Commune, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Karelian A.S.S.R., member of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.—131

H

Hammer, *Armand J.*—Secretary of the American Allied Drug and Chemical Corporation, which in 1921 obtained an asbestos-mining concession in the Urals—337, 338-39, 346, 362, 368, 412, 523, 542, 543, 544, 559

Hammer, *Julius* (b. 1874)—from 1921 to 1927, Chairman of the Board of a U.S. concession, Alamerico, for developing the Alapayevsk asbestos mine in the Urals—337, 368, 544

Hanecki (*Fürstenberg*), *Jakob* (1879-1937)—prominent figure of the Polish and Russian revolutionary movement. In 1917, member of the R.S.D.L.P. C.C. Bureau Abroad. In 1920-21, plenipotentiary and trade representative of the R.S.F.S.R. in Latvia; in 1921-23, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs—134, 155, 182, 382

Harding, *Warren Gamaliel* (1865-1923)—American statesman, President of the United States from 1921 to 1923—98, 263

Harriman, *William Averell* (b. 1891)—American statesman and businessman—448

Hartwig, *H.*—390

Heckert, *Fritz* (1884-1936)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement. During the First World War, one of the founders of the Spartacus League. Played a great role in setting up the Communist Party of Germany; was a member of its Central Committee. A delegate to the Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth congresses of the Communist International—218

Heywood, *William* (*Bill*) (1869-1928)—prominent figure in the U.S. working-class movement; a founding member and leader of the Industrial Workers of the World. Became a member of the U.S. Communist Party soon after its establishment. Persecuted for his revolutionary activity, emigrated to the Soviet Union in 1921—268, 304, 335

Holtzmann, *A. Z.* (1894-1933)—Party member from 1917. In 1920-21, member of the Presidium of the All-Russia

Central Trade Union Council and of the Commission for the Utilisation of Material Resources of the R.S.F.S.R. under the Council of Labour and Defence. During the discussion on the trade unions, supported Trotsky's platform—104, 130, 186

Hoover, *Herbert Clark* (1874-1964)—American politician, big capitalist; took an active part in the plunderous exploitation of mineral resources in Siberia, and later in organising the anti-Soviet intervention. From 1919, Chairman of the American Relief Administration (ARA). In 1921-28, Secretary of Commerce, and in 1928-33, President of the United States—250-51, 263, 340, 355

I

Ignatov, *K. M.* (1872-1939)—from 1918 to 1924, professor of the Moscow Higher Technical College. From 1921, principal of the College; scientific adviser to the Supreme Economic Council, the People's Commissariat for Labour, and a number of other organisations—128

Ilyushin—83

Ionov, *Ilya Ionovich* (1887-1942)—Party member from 1904. From 1918 to 1926, head of the Petrograd Soviet's Publishing House, later head of the Petrograd Department of the State Publishers—193

Ionov (Koigen, *F. M.*) (1870-1923)—Social-Democrat, a Bund leader. After the October Revolution, member of the R.C.P.(B.). Worked at the Soviet mission in Berlin—238

Ipatiev, *Vladimir Nikolayevich* (1867-1952)—professor of chemistry, academician. In 1921-22, member of the Presidium and Chief of the Chemical Industry Department of the Supreme Economic Council—256, 315

J

Joffe, *Adolph Abramovich* (1883-1927)—Social-Democrat from the end of the 1890s; in the Bolshevik Party from 1917. In 1919-21, head of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection in Petrograd, delegate to the peace conferences with Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Poland. From August 1921, extraordinary representative of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R. in Turkestan, Bukhara and Khorezm—67, 99, 161, 229, 246, 297, 434-35, 447, 547

Jogiches, *Léon*—see *Tyszka*, *Jan.*

Jordansky, *Nikolai Ivanovich* (1876-1928)—Social-Democrat, Menshevik, joined the R.C.P.(B.) in 1921. From November 1921, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Education—447

K

Kaganovich (*Koganovich*), *P. K.* (1887-1942)—Party member from 1905 to 1933. In 1920-21, representative of the People's Commissariat for Food and Chairman of the Siberian Food Committee, member of the Siberian Revolutionary Committee; from May 1921, representative of the People's Commissariat for Food in the Northern Caucasus, and member of the South-Eastern Bureau of the

R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee —177

Kaisarov, V. D. (1878-1942)—author of articles and books on military history and geography. In 1921, Chairman of the Special Scientific Commission for Compiling a Geographic Atlas—193, 282

Kalinin, Mikhail Ivanovich (1875-1946)—Party member from 1898. Member of the first illegal Marxist study circles and the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. At the Sixth (Prague) Conference in 1912, elected candidate to the Central Committee and then became member of the Bureau of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee in Russia. A founder of *Pravda*. During the February revolution of 1917, member of the Executive Commission of the St. Petersburg Committee. After the October Revolution, city mayor, then Commissar of the Municipal Services of Petrograd. From March 1919, Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. After the Eighth Party Congress in 1919, member of the Central Committee, and from 1926, member of the Politbureau of the C.P.S.U.(B.) Central Committee—49, 110, 144, 215, 254, 269, 312

Kalinnikov, Ivan A. (1874-1942)—from 1917 to 1924, professor of the Moscow Higher Technical College; in 1920, its principal; from 1921, member of the Presidium of the State Planning Commission; from 1922 to 1930, Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Industrial Section of the R.S.F.S.R. State Planning Commission, then of the U.S.S.R. State Planning Commission. From January 1925, lecturer at the Red Army's Air Force Academy—127

Kalnin, Ans Ernestovich (1883-1950)—joined the Lettish Social-Democratic Workers' Party in 1904, member of the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party of the Lettish region. Emigrated to Australia in 1912, was a member of the Australian Socialist Party; returned in May 1917, and joined the R.S.D.L.P.(B.). After the October Revolution, Secretary of the Primorye Miners' Union and Commissar for Labour and Industry in the Far-Eastern Council of People's Commissars; Chairman of the Southern Bureau of the Miners' Union in 1920-21, head of the Organising Department of the Miners' Union Central Committee in 1921-24. Later, engaged in administrative work—382, 599

Kamenev (Rosenfeld), Lev Borisovich (1883-1936)—R.S.D.L.P. member from 1901. Joined the Bolsheviks after the Second Congress in 1903. Member of the editorial boards of the newspapers *Proletary* and *Pravda*. Elected member of the Central Committee at the Seventh (April) All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) in 1917. After the February 1917 revolution opposed the Party's course towards the socialist revolution. In October 1917, together with Zinoviev, revealed the C.C. secret decision to start an armed uprising by publishing their statement of disagreement with this decision in the semi-Menshevik newspaper *Novaya Zhizn*, thereby betraying the revolu-

tion. After the October Revolution, Chairman of the Moscow Soviet; Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars; member of the C.C. Politbureau. Repeatedly opposed the Party's Leninist policy. In 1927, was expelled from the Party by the Fifteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.) as an active participant in the Trotsky opposition; then twice reinstated and expelled again for anti-Party activity—86, 93, 95, 103, 110, 118, 120, 209, 211, 215, 234, 249, 250, 253, 254, 266, 299, 339, 371, 375, 384, 389, 394, 407, 413, 416, 418, 424, 425, 428, 440, 443, 450, 457, 460, 462, 466, 479, 483-84, 485, 490, 496, 501, 516, 527, 528, 530, 532, 534, 566, 573-74, 578-80, 585, 586, 587, 593, 603, 607, 608

Kamenev, *Sergei Sergeyevich* (1881-1936)—colonel of the tsarist army. After the October Revolution, sided with the Soviet power. Commander of the Eastern Front from September 1918; Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Republic from July 1919 to April 1924. In 1925-26, Chief of the Headquarters, chief inspector of the Red Army, member of the U.S.S.R. Revolutionary Military Council; from 1927, Deputy People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs—66

Kaminsky, *Grigory Naumovich* (1895-1938)—Party member from 1913. After the October Revolution, Chairman of the Tula Gubernia Party Committee and the Gubernia Executive Committee. Member of the 2nd Army Revolutionary Military Council. From 1920, Secretary of the Party Central Committee of Azerbaijan, Chairman of the Baku Soviet. From 1922, engaged in Party, trade union and Soviet government work—112

Karakhan, *Lev Mikhailovich* (1889-1937)—took part in the revolutionary movement from 1904. Joined the Bolshevik Party in 1917. Secretary and member of the Soviet peace delegation in Brest-Litovsk. From 1918, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, Deputy People's Commissar; plenipotentiary representative of the R.S.F.S.R. in Poland in 1921-22—94, 530

Karpinsky, *Vyacheslav Alexeyevich* (1880-1965)—Party member from 1898. Prominent Party writer and propagandist. In 1918-27, member of the Editorial Board of *Pravda*, editor (with intervals) of the newspaper *Bednota*, and contributor to other newspapers and magazines—220, 395

Kasparov, *Vyacheslav Minasovich* (1883-1917)—Party member from 1904. In 1907-11, member of the Baku Committee. In 1913-14, lived in Berlin, acting as an intermediary through whom the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee carried on secret correspondence with some organisations in Russia. During the First World War lived in Berne was a member of the Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.) Organisations Abroad—414-15

Kasparova-Popova—see *Popova*, *Y. M.*

Kavtaradze, *Sergei Ivanovich* (b. 1885)—Party member from 1903 (with interruption from 1927 to 1940). After the establishment of the Soviet power in Georgia, People's Com-

missar for Justice. In 1922-23, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Georgia. Later, engaged in Soviet government and diplomatic work—582

Kayurov, *Vasily N.* (1876-1936)—Party member from 1900. In 1921-22, Chairman of the Siberian Territorial Commission of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Control Commission on Purging the Party—102, 272

Kerensky, *Alexander Fyodorovich* (1881-1970)—Socialist-Revolutionary. After the February 1917 revolution, Minister for Justice, Minister for the Army and Navy, then Prime Minister of the bourgeois Provisional Government and Supreme Commander-in-Chief. After the October Revolution, fought against the Soviet power, and fled abroad in 1918—414

Kerzhentsev (*Lebedev*), *Platon Mikhailovich* (1881-1940)—Party member from 1904. In 1918-20, deputy editor of *Izvestia VTsIK*, and chief of the Telegraph Agency of Russia. In 1921-23, plenipotentiary in Sweden and, in 1925-26, in Italy. Later, engaged in administrative and scientific work—379, 530

Khalatov, *Artemii Bagratovich* (1896-1938)—Party member from 1917. In 1918-23, member of the food supply department of the Moscow Soviet, Commissar of the Moscow Regional Food Supply Committee, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Food of the R.S.F.S.R., Chairman of the Council of People's Commissar commission on workers' supply—156, 370

Khinchuk, *Lev Mikhailovich* (1868-1944)—Party member from 1920. From 1921 to 1926 Chairman of the Centrosoyuz Board—176, 178, 193, 285, 319, 370, 384, 394, 411, 503

Khodorovsky, *Iosif Isayevich* (1885-1940)—Party member from 1903. In 1921-22, Secretary of the Siberian Bureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee. From 1922, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Education later, Deputy People's Commissar for Education—595

Kilbom, *Karl* (b. 1885)—Swedish Social-Democrat, member of the Communist Party of Sweden, its representative on the Comintern Executive Committee—268

Kirillin, *P. N.* (1888-1955)—in 1918-24, teacher, initiator and organiser of the Yaropolets Electric-Power Station on the Lama River in Volokolamsk Uyezd and of a number of other rural electric-power stations. Later, hydrologist of the Central Rural Electricity Administration—55

Kirpichnikov, *V. D.* (1881-1940)—technologist. In 1920-24, Deputy Chief of the Administration for Hydraulic Peat Extraction of the Supreme Economic Council. Together with R. E. Klasson, worked out a hydraulic method of peat extraction—180, 181

Kiselis, *P. Y.* (1890-1940)—artist; worked in the People's Commissariat for Education. Later, a leader of the Artists' Association of Revolutionary Russia—139

Kiselyov, *Alexei Semyonovich* (1879-1938)—Party member from 1898. In 1921-23, Chairman of the Narrow Council of People's Commissars. Elected

candidate to the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee at the Tenth and Eleventh Party Congresses. At the Twelfth Party Congress, elected member of the Presidium of the Central Control Commission of the R.C.P.(B.). Later, People's Commissar for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection of the R.S.F.S.R. and Deputy People's Commissar for W.P.I. of the U.S.S.R. From 1924 to 1938, Secretary of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee—255, 270-71, 316, 324, 383-84, 391, 455, 517

Kissin, *Abram Ananyevich* (1885-1938)—Party member from 1920. Trade agent, member of the Board and Deputy Chairman of Centrosoyuz—274, 283

Kizas, *Anna Petrovna* (1899-1959)—Party member from 1919 to 1935. From November 1917 to August 1922, worked in the Secretariat of the Council of People's Commissars—134, 155

Klasson, *Robert Eduardovich* (1868-1926)—specialist in electric-power engineering. Took an active part in working out the GOELRO plan, Director of the First Moscow Electric-Power Station. Together with V. D. Kirpichnikov and others worked out a hydraulic method of peat extraction—153, 180, 181, 182, 273

Klette—Krupp's agent—513

Klyshko, *N. K.* (1880-1937)—Party member from 1904. In 1921-22, secretary of the Soviet trade delegation in London—64, 141, 185, 229, 440

Knipovich, *Boris Nikolayevich* (1880-1924)—economist and statistician. From 1917 to 1921, worked in the People's Commissariat for Agriculture; from 1922, in the State Planning Commission. Lecturer at the Timiryazev Agricultural Academy—281

Knipovich, *Nikolai Mikhailovich* (1862-1939)—prominent Soviet zoologist and public figure. In 1911-30, professor of zoology and general biology of the St. Petersburg (First Leningrad) Medical Institute. Head of the Russian school of ichthyologists, organiser of scientific fishery and marine research of the European part of the U.S.S.R.—243, 281-82, 361, 595

Koblents, *Izrail Girshevich* (1882-1935)—in 1922, legal adviser of the People's Commissariat for Justice—470

Koenen, *Wilhelm* (b. 1886)—prominent member of the German and international communist movement. From 1920, member of the United Communist Party of Germany, delegate to the Third Congress of the Comintern—187

Kolchak, *Alexander Vasilyevich* (1873-1920)—tsarist admiral. In 1918-19, a leader of the counter-revolution in Russia. With the support of the imperialists of the U.S.A., Britain and France, proclaimed himself supreme ruler of Russia and headed the military dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and landowners in the Urals, Siberia and the Far East. His troops were routed by the Red Army and the partisan movement. He was taken prisoner and shot on February 7, 1920, under the decision of the Irkutsk Revolutionary Committee—289

Komarov, *N. P.* (1886-1937)—Party member from 1909. During the Civil War, battalion commissar at the Eastern Front, Chairman of the Petrograd

Gubernia Cheka. From 1921, Secretary of the Petrograd Gubernia Executive Committee. Elected member of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee at the Tenth Party Congress. Later, engaged in Party and administrative work—314, 339

Kopp, *Viktor Leontyevich* (1880-1930)—Party member from 1917. From 1919 to 1930, worked in the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.; from May 1921, R.S.F.S.R. representative in Germany on POW affairs—76, 162, 175

Korolenko, *Vladimir Galaktionovich* (1853-1921)—Russian writer and publicist—97

Korolyov, *G. K.* (1884-1927)—Party member from 1905. After the October Revolution, engaged in Soviet government, administrative and trade union work in Ivanovo-Voznesensk. From 1921, worked in the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee—51, 52, 168

Korostelev, *Alexander Alexeyevich* (1887-1937)—Party member from 1905. From May 1921 to April 1922, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection; headed the Commission for Assisting the Economic Bodies. From 1922 held trade union and administrative posts—209, 211

Kotlyarov, *G. I.* (b. 1875)—Party member from 1917, mining foreman by profession—149

Kotovich-Sammer, *Nina Ivanovna* (b. 1907)—daughter of I. A. Sammer—439

Kozlov, *Pyotr A.* (1891-1959)—68

Kozmin, *P. A.* (1871-1936)—technologist. After the October Revolution, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Food, Deputy Chairman of the Special Defence Council. From 1920 head of the production department of the Central Flour Administration. Took part in working out the GOELRO plan—127

Krasikov, *Pyotr Ananyevich* (1870-1939)—joined the revolutionary movement in 1892, Social-Democrat, Bolshevik. After the October Revolution, Chairman of the Committee of Inquiry for Combating Counter-Revolution, then member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Justice of the U.S.S.R. and head of its department dealing with the drafting and enforcement of measures and decrees aimed at the disestablishment of the Church—319, 327

Krasin, *Herman Borisovich* (1871-1947)—prominent inventor and design engineer. In 1920-22, Chairman of the Council of the Administration for Hydraulic Peat Extraction—273, 422

Krasin, *Leonid Borisovich* (1870-1926)—Social-Democrat from the 1890s. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903, joined the Bolsheviks. In 1918, took part in negotiations on economic agreement with Germany, then headed the Extraordinary Commission for Red Army and Navy Supplies; member of the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council, People's Commissar for Trade and Industry. From 1919, diplomat. In 1922-24, People's Commissar for Foreign Trade—54, 64, 101, 107, 111, 112, 141, 142, 162, 163, 171, 175, 177-78, 198, 211, 213, 229, 230, 233, 242, 244, 261, 265, 272, 273, 330-31, 339, 345

354-55, 363, 371, 379, 380, 390, 409, 416, 426, 430, 434, 440-41, 445, 446, 447, 463, 469, 491, 496, 505, 514-16, 536-37, 546, 553, 565, 568, 573-74, 586

Krasinsky, Georgi Davydovich (1890-1955)—in 1921, special representative of the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection in Siberia and the Urals. Later worked in the Central Arctic Route Administration—381

Krasnoshchekov, A. M. (1880-1937)—Party member from 1917. In 1920-21, member of the Far-Eastern Bureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Chairman of the Government of the Far-Eastern Republic. From the beginning of 1922, Deputy People's Commissar for Finance; from April 1922, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council; in 1923, Chairman of the Board of the Industrial Bank of the U.S.S.R. From 1929, worked in the U.S.S.R. People's Commissariat for Agriculture—427 445-46, 450, 495, 519, 522

Krejbich, Karel (b. 1883)—prominent figure in the Czechoslovak and international communist movement; played an active role in setting up the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Delegate to the Third Congress of the Comintern. In 1922, 1924 and 1925, member of the Comintern Executive Committee—213, 258

Krestinsky, Nikolai Nikolayevich (1883-1938)—Party member from 1903. In 1918-21, People's Commissar for Finance; from December 1919 to March 1921 Secretary of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee. From October 1921, plenipotentiary of the R.S.F.S.R. in Germany—57, 60, 84, 85, 86, 97, 278, 331, 341, 403, 405-06, 429, 446, 452, 518, 534, 535, 536, 564, 601

Kritsman, Lev Natanovich (1890-1938)—Party member from 1918. In 1921, member of the Presidium of the State Planning Commission and Chairman of the Commission for the Utilisation of Material Resources of the R.S.F.S.R. under the Council of Labour and Defence—104, 130, 135, 391

Kruchinsky, M. A. (b. 1894)—in 1920, member of the Ukrainian Central Executive Committee. From 1920 to March 1921, Chief of the Central Administration of Horse Breeding under the People's Commissariat for Agriculture; later, engaged in scientific, pedagogical and administrative work in agriculture—78, 222

Krug, Karl Adolfovich (1873-1952)—prominent specialist in electrical engineering. Took part in the working out of the GOELRO plan . From 1905 lecturer at the Moscow Higher Technical College where after the October Revolution he set up the electrotechnical department. In 1921-30, principal of the All-Union Electrotechnical Institute, founded with his participation—475

Krumin, Garald Ivanovich (1894-1943)—Party member from 1908. From 1919 to 1929, executive editor of the newspaper *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*—220, 313, 524

Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, Gustav (1870-1950)—German monopolist, head of the military-metallurgical concern in 1906-43—448, 513, 536

Krupskaya, Nadezhda Konstan-

tinovna (1869-1939)—member of the Party from 1898, associate and wife of V. I. Lenin. Started revolutionary activity in 1890 in the Marxist students' circles in St. Petersburg, then conducted Social-Democratic propaganda among the workers. In 1895, joined the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. In August 1896, was arrested and sentenced to three years' exile. Served her sentence in the village of Shushenskoye, then in Ufa. In 1901, emigrated, worked as secretary of the Editorial Board of *Iskra*. Took part in organising the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. Was secretary of the Editorial Board of the Bolshevik papers *Vperyod* and *Proletary*. After the October Revolution worked in public education bodies—51, 243 267, 397, 399, 607, 608

Krylenko, Nikolai Vasilyevich (1885-1938)—Party member from 1904. Member of the Committee for Military and Naval Affairs under the first Soviet Government. In November 1917, appointed Supreme Commander-in-Chief. From 1918, worked in judicial bodies. In 1922, Chairman of the Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal under the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. Deputy People's Commissar for Justice, and Senior Assistant Procurator of the Republic—571

Krzhizhanovsky, Gleb Maximilianovich (1872-1959)—Party member from 1893; together with Lenin organised the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. After the February revolution of 1917, member of the Bolshevik group in the Moscow Soviet. After the October Revolution, headed the rehabilitation and development of the power economy in Moscow; in 1920, on Lenin's assignment, headed the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia (GOELRO). In 1921-30, head of the State Planning Commission—86, 87, 137, 172, 182, 194, 198, 205, 206-07, 235, 244, 256, 261, 265, 266, 272, 307, 321, 328, 330, 340, 343, 387-88, 391, 400, 442, 453, 455-56, 462, 477, 482, 506, 523, 524, 571, 575, 584, 585, 587, 588, 590-91

Kuibyshev, Valerian Vladimirovich (1888-1935)—Party member from 1904. Active participant in the October Revolution, leader of the armed uprising in Samara. In 1918-19, Commissar and member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Southern Group of the Eastern Front; later, Deputy Chairman of the Commission on Turkestan Affairs set up by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the Council of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R. and R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee; in 1920, R.S.F.S.R. Plenipotentiary with the Bukhara Government; later, member of the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Trade Union Council. In May 1921, became member of the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council and appointed superintendent of the Central Electricity Administration. From April 1922, Secretary of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee. From 1926, Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council. From 1934, Chairman of the Soviet Control Commission

under the C.P.C., First Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and the Council of Labour and Defence of the U.S.S.R.—304, 320, 334, 526

Kun, *Béla* (1886-1939)—founder and leader of the Hungarian Communist Party. In 1919, headed the Soviet Government in Hungary. After the defeat of the Soviet power in Hungary, emigrated to Austria and then to Russia. Member of the Presidium of the Comintern Executive Committee—66, 68, 185, 216, 422, 530

Kurayev, *Vasily Vladimirovich* (1892-1938)—Party member from 1914. From 1920, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council—97

Kursky, *Dmitry Ivanovich* (1874-1932)—Party member from 1904. People's Commissar for Justice of the R.S.F.S.R. from 1918 to 1928. From 1921, member of the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee—144, 252, 293, 302, 319, 353, 361, 368, 380, 469-71, 473, 491, 571

Kurzhner, *Boris Abramovich* (b. 1896)—Party member from 1916. In 1921-22, chairman of the technical commission at the Baltiisky Shipbuilding and Mechanical Plant in Petrograd—402

Kushner, *Boris Anisimovich* (1888-1937)—writer, Party member from 1917. In 1920-21, Deputy Chairman of the Electrotechnical Department of the Supreme Economic Council—307, 402

Kuskova, *Yekaterina Dmitrievna* (1869-1958)—bourgeois public figure and publicist. Took part in the co-operative movement. In 1921, member of the All-Russia Famine Relief Committee; together with some other members of this organisation tried to use it against the Soviet government. In 1922 was expelled from the country—106, 208-09

Kuusinen, *Otto Wilhelmovich* (1881-1964)—prominent leader of the Finnish and international working-class movement, the Communist Party and the Soviet state; a founding member of the Communist Party of Finland. From 1921 to 1939 member and Secretary of the Comintern Executive Committee. From 1940, deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., Chairman of the Presidium of the Karelo-Finnish S.S.R. Supreme Soviet. From 1941, member of the C.P.S.U. C.C.; from 1957, member and Secretary of the Presidium of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee—185

Kuznetsov, *Nikolai Grigoryevich*—railway engineer, author (together with A. I. Odintsov) of the world's first works on diesel engines with electrical transmission and separate traction electrical engines—416

L

Lacis, *Martyn Ivanovich* (*Sudrabs*, *Jan*) (1888-1938)—Party member from 1905. In 1921 member of the Collegium and later Chairman of the Central Salt Administration—315

Lalayants, *Isaak Khristoforovich* (1870-1933)—active participant in the Russian Social-Democratic movement; Bolshevik after the Second R.S.D.L.P. Congress in 1903; C.C. agent in

Russia. At the end of 1913, exiled for life to Eastern Siberia; withdrew from politics until 1922. From 1922, worked in the Chief Committee for Political Education of the R.S.F.S.R. People's Commissariat for Education—289, 348, 431, 466

Lapinsky, Pavel Ludvigovich (*Levinson, Y., Mikhalsky*) (1879-1937)—Polish Communist, economist and publicist member of the R.C.P.(B.) from 1919. From 1920 to 1928, official of the Soviet embassy in Germany—258, 282, 355, 479

Larin, Y. (*Lourie, Mikhail Alexandrovich*) (1882-1932)—Social-Democrat Menshevik; in August 1917, joined the Bolshevik Party. After the October Revolution worked in Soviet government and economic bodies. In 1920-22, Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Council for Transportation, member of the State Planning Commission and member of its Presidium—75, 186, 187, 199, 441, 445, 466

Larkin, James (1878-1947)—active member of the Irish working-class movement. In 1914-23, lived in the United States where he was persecuted for his revolutionary activity. On his return to Ireland, organised the Left-wing Irish Workers' Union, which for a time was in the Red International of Trade Unions—368

Lavrentyeva—274

Lavrik—73

Lazarev, Pyotr Petrovich (1878-1942)—physicist, biophysicist and geophysicist; academician from 1917. In 1912-25, professor of the Moscow Higher Technical College; in 1920-31, Director of the State Biophysical Institute, which was set up on his initiative—389, 405, 546

Lazzari, Constantino (1857-1927)—prominent figure in the Italian working-class movement; a founder of the Italian Socialist Party, member of its Central Committee. Took part in the work of the Second and Third Congresses of the Communist International—377, 600

Lengnik, Friedrich (1873-1936)—Party member from 1898, member of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class; in the early 1900s, in *Iskra*. Participant in the 1905-07 revolution; engaged in Party work in the south of Russia, in Moscow and St. Petersburg. After the October Revolution, worked in the People's Commissariat for Education, the Supreme Economic Council, the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection and in the GOELRO Commission. From 1921, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade—347

Lepeshinskaya, Natalya Stepanovna (1890-1923)—worked in Lenin's Secretariat from 1918 to 1923—134, 155, 286, 490, 505 554, 558, 559

Levi, Paul (1883-1930)—German Social-Democrat. Elected member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany at its Inaugural Congress. In February 1921, was expelled from the Party for breach of Party discipline; subsequently returned to the Social-Democratic Party—124, 186, 231-32

Levin, Lev Grigoryevich (1870-1938)—therapeutist; in 1896-97, worked in Berlin and Paris

clinics, from 1897, in Russia. From April 1920, head of the therapeutic department of the Kremlin Hospital—216, 474

Lezhava, Andrei Matveyevich (1870-1937)—Party member from 1904. After the October Revolution, held responsible government and economic posts. In 1918-20, Chairman of Centrosoyuz; from 1920 to 1925 Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Trade—117, 131, 136, 170, 177, 181, 193, 206, 208, 255, 401, 403, 408, 410, 420, 428, 436-38, 441, 448, 451, 496-97, 514, 515, 579

Lezhnev, Isai Grigoryevich (1891-1955)—journalist, Bolshevik from 1906. In 1918-21, editor of a number of magazines, head of the information department of *Izvestia VTsIK*. In early 1922, founded and edited the magazine *Novaya Rossiya* published in Petrograd and then in Moscow until May 1926—555

Lisitsyn, Pyotr Ivanovich (1877-1948)—selectionist, worked at the Shatilov State Experimental Selection Station in Orel Region from 1908 to 1929—584

Litkens, Y. A. (1888-1922)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1904, of the R.C.P.(B.) from 1919. In 1920, deputy head of the Chief Committee for Political Education; from 1921, Deputy People's Commissar for Education of the R.S.F.S.R.—57, 70, 77, 83, 86, 145, 284, 296, 401, 408, 412, 462, 475

Litvinov, Maxim Maximovich (1876-1951)—Party member from 1898. After the October Revolution, Soviet diplomat; in 1921, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs—331, 355, 367, 379, 409, 410, 428, 435, 441, 445, 447, 485, 530, 537, 541, 553

Lloyd George, David (1863-1945)—British statesman, leader of the Liberal Party. From 1916 to 1922, Prime Minister—356, 426, 469, 532-33, 537, 547

Lobachev, Ivan Stepanovich (1879-1933)—Party member from 1917. From 1920, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Food of the R.S.F.S.R.; from February 1922, People's Commissar for Food in the Ukraine—219

Lomonosov, Yuri Vladimirovich (b. 1876)—railway expert, professor. In 1920-21, headed a mission supervising the fulfilment of orders for locomotives railway and other technical equipment in Sweden and Germany—163, 379, 451, 454, 455-56, 518, 536

Lomov, A. (*Oppokov, Georgi Ippolitovich*) (1888-1938)—Party member from 1903. People's Commissar for Justice from the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets. Member of the Presidium and Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council, Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R.—107, 117

Lozovsky (*Dridzo*), *Solomon Abramovich* (1878-1952)—Party member from 1901. In 1920, Chairman of the Moscow Gubernia Trade Union Council. From 1921 to 1937, General Secretary of the Red International of Trade Unions; later, diplomat—218, 232, 598-99

Lunacharsky, Anatoly Vasilyevich (1875-1933)—took part in the Social-Democratic movement from the early 1890s. After the October Revolution and up to 1929, People's Commissar for Education of the

R.S.F.S.R.; then, Chairman of the Academic Committee under the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.—57, 70, 83, 123, 128, 138-39, 230, 296, 377, 412, 428-29, 552

Lutovinov, *Yuri Khrisanfovich* (1887-1924)—Party member from 1904. From 1920, member of the Metalworkers' Union Central Committee and of the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee; member of the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Trade Union Council. During the discussion on the trade unions in 1920-21, one of the leaders of the anti-Party Workers' Opposition group. In 1921, dismissed from responsible trade union posts and appointed deputy trade representative of the R.S.F.S.R. in Germany—175, 211, 253, 379

Luxemburg, *Rosa* (1871-1919)—outstanding figure in the Polish and German working-class movement, leader of the Left-wing of the Second International. One of the sponsors of the *Internationale* group in Germany, subsequently renamed the Spartacus group and then the Spartacus League. During the November 1918 Revolution, was one of the leaders of the revolutionary German workers. Took part in the Inaugural Congress of the Communist Party of Germany. In January 1919 was arrested and murdered —232

Lyubovich, *A. M.* (1880-1939)—Party member from 1917. After the October Revolution, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Posts and Telegraphs Workers' Union, from March 1920, People's Commissar for Posts and Telegraphs. Later, Chairman of the State Planning Commission and Deputy Chairman of the Byelorussian Council of People's Commissars—53

M

Maffi, *Fabrizio* (1868-1955)—prominent figure in the Italian working-class movement, socialist. In 1921, set up and headed within the Italian Socialist Party the "Third International" group which later merged with the Communist Party. Delegate to the Third Congress of the Comintern from the Italian Socialist Party. From 1924, member of the Italian Communist Party Central Committee—600

Makharadze, *Filipp Yeseyevich* (1868-1941)—Party member from 1903. From March 1921 to February 1922, Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee, People's Commissar for Agriculture in Georgia; from 19-22, Chairman of the Georgian Central Executive Committee—608

Makhno, *Nestor Ivanovich* (1884-1934)—leader of the anarchist and kulak bands in the Ukraine which fought the Soviet power in 1918-21. His bands were routed by the Red Army in the spring of 1921 - 66, 92

Malikov—73

Malyshev, *Sergei Vasilyevich* (1877-1938)—Party member from 1902. After the October Revolution, worked in the People's Commissariat for Labour and the People's Commissariat for Food. In 1918, organised an expedition to the rural areas along the Volga and the Kama to exchange con-

sumer goods for grain. Later, Chairman of the All-Union Chamber of Commerce, official in Centrosoyuz—437

Malzahn, *Heinrich* (b. 1884)—German Social-Democrat, later, Communist. In 1921, delegate to the Third Congress of the Comintern from the Central Committee of the United Communist Party of Germany and delegate to the First Congress of the Red International of Trade Unions from the Central Council of German Trade Unions. The same year was expelled from the Party as a Centrist—218

Mantsev, *Vasily Nikolayevich* (1888-1939)—Party member from 1906. In 1922, Chairman of the Ukrainian C.P.(B.) Central Committee, and member of the Collegium of the All-Russia Cheka. From 1923 worked in Moscow in the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, the Supreme Economic Council and the People's Commissariat for Finance of the U.S.S.R.; from 1936, Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Court of the R.S.F.S.R.—82, 555

Manuilsky, *Mikhail Zakharovich* (1892-1955)—member of the Party from July 1917. From March 1919 to May 1922 worked at Ivanovo-Voznesensk as Gubernia Commissar for Food (until January 1921), Deputy Chairman of the Gubernia Executive Committee and head of the Land Department. In 1921, a member of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee—183

Marchlewski, *Yulian* (1866-1925)—prominent figure in the Polish and international working-class movement. In 1918, came to Soviet Russia; elected to the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. As diplomat, took part in negotiations with Poland, Lithuania, Finland, Japan and China—332

Martens, *Ludwig Karlovich* (1875-1948)—Party member from 1893. From 1921, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council and Chairman of the Central Metal Administration; later, Chairman of the Inventions Committee under the Supreme Economic Council and engaged in pedagogical work—191, 195, 196, 236-37, 240, 337, 338, 346, 355, 362, 378, 520, 522-24

Martinovich, *N. N.* (1883-1937)—orientalist, specialist in Turkic languages; in 1917-22, professor of the Institute of Living Oriental Languages and lecturer at Petrograd University, research worker at the Russian Museum. In 1922, emigrated to Finland, then to the United States—173

Martov, *L.* (*Tsederbaum*, *Yuli Osipovich*) (1873-1923)—a leader of the Mensheviks. Joined the Social-Democratic movement in the 1890s. In 1895 took part in organising the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. At the Second R.S.D.L.P. Congress in 1903, became a Menshevik leader and from then on was head of the Mensheviks' central organs and editor of their publications. In 1920, member of the Moscow Soviet. Later, emigrated to Germany—126

Martynov, *B. S.* (1882-1951)—scientist and lawyer. From 1908 to 1950, worked at Leningrad State University and other higher schools of Leningrad—173

Marx, *Karl* (1818-1883)—80, 81, 309, 527, 528, 529

Maximovsky, *Vladimir Nikolayevich* (1887-1941)—Party member from 1903. After the October Revolution, Secretary of the Moscow Regional Executive Committee, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs. In 1922, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Education, Deputy People's Commissar for Education—585

Mayakovsky, *Vladimir Vladimirovich* (1893-1930)—Soviet poet—138, 139, 327

Mdivani, *Polikarp Gurgenovich* (*Budu*) (1877-1937)—Party member from 1903. In 1922, member of the Presidium of the Georgian C.P.(B.) Central Committee. In 1928 was expelled from the Party for anti-Party activity; in 1931, reinstated, and in 1936, expelled again—582, 608

Meisner, *Valerian Ivanovich* (1879-1938)—fish breeder; from July 1920, Deputy Chief and Chief of the Central Administration of the Fishing Industry—242, 243, 328

Mekhonoshin, *Konstantin Alexandrovich* (1889-1938)—Party member from 1913. In 1921, member of the Collegium of the Central Administration of the Fishing Industry; later, engaged in organising general military training; worked in the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R.—203

Melnichansky, *Grigory Natanovich* (1886-1937)—Party member from 1902. In 1918-24 Chairman of the Moscow Gubernia Council of Trade Unions and member of the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Trade Union Council—284

Mendeleyev, *Dmitry Ivanovich* (1834-1907)—great Russian scientist—575

Menshikov, *Yevgeny Stepanovich* (1883-1926)—engineer and technologist, specialist in peat extraction—464

Menzhinsky, *Vladimir Rudolfovich* (1874-1934)—Party member from 1902. After the October Revolution, People's Commissar for Finance, then Consul-General of the R.S.F.S.R. in Berlin. From 1919, worked in the All-Russia Cheka—87, 202

Meshcheryakov, *Nikolai Leonidovich* (1865-1942)—Party member from 1901. In 1920-24, Chairman of the Editorial Board of the State Publishers and member of the Editorial Board of *Pravda* (1918-22)—227-28, 332

Meshcheryakova, *Anna Ivanovna* (1866-1948)—took part in the revolutionary movement from the 1890s, joined the Bolshevik Party in 1917. After the October Revolution, worked in the People's Commissariat for Education, in the library department of the Chief Committee for Political Education headed the library of the Kremlin Central Club—399

Messing, *Stanislav Adamovich* (1890-1946)—Party member from 1908. After the October Revolution, Secretary of the Sokolniki Executive Committee in Moscow; later, worked in the Cheka, the State Political Administration and the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade—555

Mesyatsev, *P. A.* (1889-1938)—Party member from 1906. In

1921-24, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture of the R.S.F.S.R. Later, worked in the co-operative movement, the Agricultural Bank and the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R.—406

Metelev, *Alexander Denisovich* (1893-1937)—Party member from 1912. In 1921, superintendent of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee houses. Later, engaged in administrative work—390

Mezhlauk, *I. I.* (1891-1941)—Party member from 1918. In 1921, Chairman of Yugostal (the mining and metallurgical trust) Board—405

Michelson, *Vladimir Alexandrovich* (1860-1927)—physicist. From 1894 to 1927, professor of physics and meteorology in the Petrovsko-Razumovskaya Agricultural Academy (now named after K. A. Timiryazev), and head of the Observatory of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences—47

Mikhailov, *Ivan Konstantinovich* (b. 1881)—Party member from 1897. In 1921-22, Chairman of the Special C.L.D. Commission on examining the former Urquhart enterprises in the Altai and the Urals—486, 562, 565-66, 573, 575

Mikhailov (*Yelinson*), *L. M.* (1872-1928)—Party member from 1900. In 1922, plenipotentiary in Norway; in 1923-24, representative of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in Turkestan, member of the Central Asian Bureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee—428

Mikhailov, *Vasily Mikhailovich* (1894-1937)—Party member from 1915. In 1921-22, Secretary of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee. From 1922, Secretary of the Moscow Party Committee, Secretary of the Zamoskvorechye District Committee of the R.C.P.(B.), Chairman of the Moscow Gubernia Council of Trade Unions—344-45, 350, 352, 359, 363, 395

Mikhailovsky, *I. O.* (b. 1876)—engineer and technologist. In 1919-28, head of the Patent Department; Deputy Chairman, then Chairman and chief expert of the Inventions Committee under the Scientific and Technical Department of the Supreme Economic Council—129

Mikhalsky—see *Lapinsky*, *P. L.*

Milyukov, *Pavel Nikolayevich* (1859-1943)—leader of the Cadet Party, historian and publicist, active whiteguard émigré—480

Milyutin, *Vladimir Pavlovich* (1884-1938)—Party member from 1910. From 1918 to 1921, Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council—76, 131, 134

Minor, *Lazar Solomonovich* (1855-1942) — neuropathologist—384

Minor, *Robert* (*Ballister*) (1884-1952)—American socialist, journalist and artist. In 1920, joined the U.S. Communist Party and became one of its leaders, editor of the Party's Central Organ Daily Worker—402

Miroshnikov, *Ivan Ivanovich* (1894-1939)—Party member from 1917. From 1921 to 1937, Deputy Business Manager of the Council of People's Commissars and the Council of Labour and Defence—306, 473-74

Mishell, *B.*—representative of the American Allied Drug

and Chemical Corporation, head manager of the Alamerico concession in Soviet Russia—362, 544, 559

Molotov (*Skryabin*) *Vyacheslav Mikhailovich* (b. 1890)—Party member from 1906. From 1918 engaged in Party and Soviet government work: Secretary of the Ukrainian C.P.(B.) Central Committee, Secretary of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee; from 1926, member of the Politbureau and then of the Presidium of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee, in 1930-41, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of People's Commissars; from 1939, People's Commissar and later Minister for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., First Deputy Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers. In June 1957, by decision of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee Plenary Meeting, he was removed from the C.C. Presidium and the C.P.S.U. Central Committee for factional activity, and in 1962, expelled from the Party—110, 119, 123, 125, 142, 146, 155, 172, 175, 183, 184, 188, 202, 203, 204, 207, 210, 212, 223, 229, 233-34, 240, 250, 253, 266, 273, 274, 284, 286, 313, 316, 320, 330, 335, 351, 376, 380, 381, 383, 386, 395, 402-03, 405, 407, 413, 416-17, 419, 426-27, 428-29, 433, 434, 435-36, 437, 439, 446, 448-50, 456, 458, 461, 467-68, 474, 476, 479, 483, 485, 490, 492, 495, 498, 499, 501, 517, 519, 586, 587, 595

Mordvilko, *A. K.* (1867-1938)—zoologist. From 1911, worked at the Zoological Museum of the Academy of Sciences—173-74

Morosanov, *A. N.* (b. 1892)—Party member from 1918. In 1921-23, Chairman of the Publishing Committee of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture of the R.S.F.S.R. and head of the Novaya Derevnya Publishing House, editor of the newspaper *Selskokhozyaistvennaya Zhizn* (Agricultural Life)—551

Morozov, *Mikhail Vladimirovich* (1868-1938)—Party member from 1901, Bolshevik. In 1922, worked in the Central Peat Administration of the Supreme Economic Council—464, 487-89

Müller, *Richard* (b. 1880)—German worker, Social-Democrat, member of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany, then of the United Communist Party of Germany. Took part in the November 1918 Revolution in Germany. In 1921, came to Soviet Russia for the First Congress of the Red International of Trade Unions as a delegate from the German Metalworkers' Union—218

Muralov, *Nikolai Ivanovich* (1877-1937)—Party member from 1903. From August 1920, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture; from March 1921, Commander of the Moscow and then the North-Caucasian Military District, also held other posts. In 1927, the Fifteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.) expelled him from the Party for his active support of the Trotskyite opposition—86, 315, 406-07

Musabekov, *G. M.* (1888-1938)—Party member from 1918. From the spring of 1920, People's Commissar for Food of the Azerbaijan S.S.R. In 1921,

Extraordinary Commissar of Kuba Uyezd. From 1922, Chairman of the Azerbaijan Council of People's Commissars —122

Mushketov, *Dmitry Ivanovich* (1882-1938)—geologist; from 1919 to 1936, Director of the Leningrad Mining Institute—118

Mussolini, *Benito* (1883-1945)—fascist dictator in Italy (1922-43)—592

Myaskov, *Konstantin Gavrilovich* (1881-1958)—Party member from 1912. After the October Revolution, Commissar for Food in Samara; Chairman of Agricultural Bank of Russia, member of the Presidium of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, member of the U.S.S.R. State Planning Commission; worked in the C.P.S.U. C.C. apparatus—301

Myasnikov, *G. I.* (1889-1946)—Party member from 1906. In 1921, engaged in Party work in Perm Gubernia, then in Petrograd. In 1922 was expelled from the Party for anti-Party activity. Later, emigrated abroad—236, 253, 402, 479-80

N

Nadezhda Konstantinovna—see *Krupskaya*, *N. K.*

Nakoryakov, *Nikolai Nikandrovich* (*Nazar Uralsky*) (b. 1881)—began his revolutionary activity in 1901. After the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. in 1903, a Bolshevik. In 1912-16, editor of the newspaper Novy Mir (New World) published by Russian émigrés in the United States. After the February 1917 revolution, returned to Russia; was deputy military commissar of the Provisional Government in the First Army. Came out against the Bolsheviks. Later, worked in publishing houses in Kharkov, Siberia and Moscow. From 1922 head of the Goslitizdat Publishing House. In 1925, joined the R.C.P.(B.)—427

Nansen, *Fridtjof* (1861-1930)—Norwegian scientist, Arctic explorer and well-known public figure. After the First World War, High Commissioner of the League of Nations for Prisoners of War. In 1921, organised the International Famine Relief Commission—207, 268-69, 290

Narimanov, *Nariman Kerbalai Najaf-ogly* (1871-1925)—Soviet statesman and writer. In 1921, Chairman of the Azerbaijan Council of People's Commissars. From 1922, Chairman of the Union Council of the Transcaucasian Federation, and then a Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R.—65, 109, 111, 310

Nazvanov, *M. K.* (1872-1934)—engineer and technologist in the sugar industry. After the October Revolution, adviser of the Board and Chairman of the Technical Council of the Central Sugar Administration. In 1919-21, adviser in the Production Department of the Supreme Economic Council and later in the State Planning Commission. From 1922, worked in the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade—330, 453

Neopikhanov, *Alexander Alexandrovich* (b. 1884)—engineer and economist. In 1919-21, Deputy Chairman of the Central Committee of the Railway Trans-

port Workers' Union; later, member of the Presidium of the State Planning Commission —199, 200

Nepryakhin, *Mikhail Grigoryevich* (b. 1887)—Party member from 1918. In 1919-21, gubernia commissar for food in Astrakhan. In 1921-22, Chairman of the Gubernia Co-operative Board, Chief of the Transport Department of the Central Administration of the Fishing Industry. From 1922, Chief of the State Fishery Administration—223-24, 234

Nesterov, *Boris Pavlovich* (1894-1937)—Party member from 1918. From 1922, worked in the Managing Department of the R.S.F.S.R. Council of People's Commissars—455, 491

Nikolayev, *Akim Maximovich* (1887-1938)—Party member from 1904. In 1918-24, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Posts and Telegraphs, and Chairman of the Radio Council—126-27, 169, 291, 545

Nogin, *Viktor Pavlovich* (1878-1924)—Party member from 1898. In 1921, member of the International Bureau of the Red International of Trade Unions, member of the Supreme Economic Council Presidium, member of the All-Russia C.E.C. Turkestan Commission, Chairman of the Chief Cotton Committee—147

Noulens, *Joseph* (1864-1939)—French politician and statesman. In 1917-18, ambassador to Russia. After the October Revolution, one of the organisers of the Allied countries' intervention and counter-revolutionary activity in Soviet Russia—277, 290

Novitsky, *Alexander Adolfovich* (b. 1894)—financial worker, R.C.P.(B.) member from 1918. From 1921, head of the R.S.F.S.R. Budgetary Administration, secretary of the gold and currency commission, member of the Narrow Council of People's Commissars, representative of the People's Commissariat for Finance in the Council of Labour and Defence. In 1922, P.C.F. representative in the Ukraine and member of the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars, then of the All-Ukraine Central Executive Committee. From 1923, Chief of the Finance Control Administration of the U.S.S.R. People's Commissariat for Finance —351, 352, 370, 460

O

Oborin, *Vasily Pavlovich* (1887-1939)—Party member from 1904. After the October Revolution, engaged in Party and trade union work in Petrograd. In 1921, secretary of the Collegium of the Electrical Department of the Petrograd Economic Council. At the Fifteenth R.C.P.(B.) Congress in 1927 was expelled from the Party for participating in the anti-Party Democratic Centralism group —286

Oganovsky, *Nikolai Petrovich* (b. 1874)—statistician and economist. Before 1917, Socialist-Revolutionary. In 1921-24, head of the Statistical Department of the R.S.F.S.R. People's Commissariat for Agriculture. Later, worked in the People's Commissariats for Finance and for Trade, on the Supreme Economic Council and on the State Planning Commission—551

Okulov, Alexei Ivanovich (1880-1939)—man of letters Party member from 1903. In 1920-21, Commander of the Eastern Siberia armed forces and member of the Revolutionary Military Tribunal. Later, engaged in Soviet government and literary work—386

Olminsky, Mikhail Stepanovich (1863-1933)—Party member from 1898, took part in the revolutionary movement from the early 1880s. In 1920-24, head of the Party History Department of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee—555

Orakhelashvili, Mamia Dmitrievich (1881-1937)—Party member from 1903. From March 1921, Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of Soviet Georgia, then Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars Secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, Secretary of the Transcaucasian Territorial Committee of the R.C.P.(B.). From December 1922, Chairman of the Transcaucasian S.F.S.R. Council of People's Commissars—582

Orjonikidze, Grigory Konstantinovich (1886-1937)—Party member from 1903. After the October Revolution, Extraordinary Commissar for the Ukraine, then for the South of Russia. During the Civil War, member of the Revolutionary Military Councils of the 16th and 14th armies, and of the Caucasian Front. In 1921-26, Chairman of the Caucasian Bureau of the Central Committee, then First Secretary of the Transcaucasian Territorial Party Committee. From 1926, Chairman of the Central Control Commission of the C.P.S.U.(B.) and People's Commissar for the U.S.S.R. Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. From 1930, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Economic Council and, from 1932 People's Commissar for Heavy Industry—109, 110, 115, 122, 125, 147, 178, 188, 212, 313, 339, 409, 577, 582, 608

Orlov, N. A.— in 1918-19, secretary of the magazine *Izvestia Narkomproda* (News of the People's Commissariat for Food); in 1920-21, assistant editor and editor of the magazine's publishing department; then head of the economic department of the journal *Novy Mir* (New World) published by the Soviet embassy in Berlin—403

Osadchy, Pyotr Semyonovich (1866-1943)—specialist in electrical engineering. After the October Revolution, Deputy Chairman of the R.S.F.S.R. and U.S.S.R. State Planning Commission and Chairman of the Central Electrotechnical Council of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Economic Council—199, 431, 482

Osinsky, N. (*Obolensky, V. V.*) (1887-1938)—Party member from 1907. After the October Revolution, Manager of the R.S.F.S.R. State Bank and Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council. In 1918, sided with the "Left Communists". In 1921-23, Deputy People's Commissar for Agriculture—78, 87, 90, 97, 144, 226, 300, 323, 340, 406-07, 411, 476, 551, 584, 590

Ostryakov, Pyotr Alexeyevich (1887-1952)—radio engineer. In 1918-27, worked in the Nizhni-Novgorod Radio Laboratory; in 1921, headed the construction of the radio station in Moscow—280

P

Paikes, *A. K.* (1873-1958)—Party member from 1918. In 1921-22, plenipotentiary representative in China and later in Lithuania. From 1923, worked on the Supreme Economic Council—178, 183, 332

Pavlov, *Ivan Petrovich* (1849-1936)—prominent Russian physiologist—69

Pavlov, *V. A.* (1890-1942)—radio engineer; in 1921-24, Chief of the Radio Department of the People's Commissariat for Posts and Telegraphs—554

Pavlovich, *Mikhail Pavlovich* (*Veltman*, *M. L.*) (1871-1927)—orientalist. After the October Revolution, Deputy People's Commissar for Education in the Ukraine. In 1921-23, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Nationalities and Chairman of the Scientific Orientalogy Association. Later, principal of the Institute of Orientalogy—194

Peshekhonov, *Alexei Vasilyevich* (1867-1933)—in 1917, Minister for Food in the bourgeois Provisional Government. In 1921, worked on the Central Statistical Bureau of the Ukraine. In 1922 was expelled from the country for participating in the counter-revolutionary League of Regeneration—79, 82, 484

Pestun, *Kh. G.* (1889-1939)—Party member from 1918. In 1920-21, Secretary of the Gomel Gubernia Party Committee. In 1921-22, representative of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee in Bashkiria—280-81

Peters, *Jan Khristoforovich* (1886-1938)—Party member from 1904. From 1920, member of the Turkestan Bureau of the Central Committee, then member of the Collegium of the Joint State Political Administration, of the Central Control Commission, of the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, Chairman of the Moscow Control Commission of the C.P.S.U.(B.), member of the Party Control Commission under the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.)—297

Petrov, *Grigory Semyonovich* (b. 1886)—chemical technologist, an organiser of production of plastics in the country. From 1932, professor of the Moscow Chemical and Technological Institute—129

Petrovsky, *Grigory Ivanovich* (1878-1958)—Party member from 1897. From 1919 to 1938, Chairman of the All-Ukraine Central Executive Committee, Deputy Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Central Executive Committee—111, 145

Pilyavsky, *Stanislav Stanislavovich* (1882-1937)—Party member from 1903. From October 1921, worked in the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs as a member and rapporteur of the C.P.C. Commission dealing with negotiations on debts—383

Plekhanov, *Georgi Valentinovich* (*G. V.*, *X.*, *Nemets*) (1856-1918)—outstanding figure in the Russian and international working-class movement, first propagandist of Marxism in Russia; in 1883, founded in Geneva the first Russian Marxist organisation, the Emancipation of Labour group. In the early 1900s, member of the Editorial Board of *Iskra* and the journal *Zarya*.

From 1883 to 1903, Plekha-

nov wrote a number of works which played an important part in the defence and propaganda of the materialist outlook. After the Second R.S.D.L.P. Congress in 1903, he adopted a conciliatory stand towards the opportunists, and afterwards joined the Mensheviks. In 1907-14, he came out against the Machist revision of Marxism and against liquidationism, and headed the group of pro-Party Mensheviks. During the First World War, took a social-chauvinist attitude. He disapproved of the October Revolution, but did not take part in fighting the Soviet power—138

Poincaré, *Raymond* (1860-1934)—French politician and statesman. From 1893, was repeatedly a member of the French government. In 1912, Prime Minister; from 1913 to 1920, President of France. After the October Revolution, one of the organisers of the foreign military intervention against Soviet Russia. In 1922-24 and 1926-29, Prime Minister of France—469

Pokrovsky, *Mikhail Nikolayevich* (1868-1932)—historian, Party member from 1905. From November 1917 to March 1918, Chairman of the Moscow Soviet. From 1918, Deputy People's Commissar for Education of the R.S.F.S.R.—67, 69, 77, 83, 93, 128, 139, 370, 412, 552

Polyakov, *Mikhail Kharitonovich* (1884-1938)—Party member from 1918. In 1921, Chairman of the Crimean Revolutionary Committee—404

Popov, *I. K.* (1887-1918)—in February 1918, sent to Vladivostok by the All-Russia C.E.C. and the Council of People's Commissars to organise the unloading of the port. Shot by the Japanese interventionists—414

Popov, *Pavel Ilyich* (1872-1950)—statistician. From 1918, head of the Central Statistical Board, member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. State Planning Commission—48, 200, 260, 262, 342, 484, 524

Popova (*Kasparova*), *Yevgenia Minasovna* (1888-1963)—took part in the revolutionary movement from 1903, Party member from 1919. In 1918-22, head of the Housing Department of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee; later, Executive Secretary of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. State Planning Commission—414-15

Potyaev, *A. I.* (b. 1888)—Party member from 1917 to 1923. In 1920-21, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Food, Chief of the Central Administration of the Fishing Industry. Later, worked in the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade—135, 203, 223-24, 225-26, 234, 242, 328

Pravdin, *Alexander Grigoryevich* (1879-1943)—Party member from 1899. After the October Revolution until 1923, Deputy People's Commissar for Internal Affairs. Later, Deputy People's Commissar for Railways, Chairman of the Northern Railways Board, Chief of the Transport Group of the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection—297

Preobrazhensky, *Alexei Andreyevich* (1863-1938)—from 1902, worked on the Samara-Zlatoust Railway; from 1918, chief of the office; from 1919, business manager and then head of the

administration of the railway. In 1922, on Lenin's recommendation, was appointed business manager of the Gorki state farm—404

Preobrazhensky, Yevgeny Alexeyevich (1886-1937)—Party member from 1903. From March 1921, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Finance, then Chairman of the Central Administration for Vocational Training under the People's Commissariat for Education. During the discussion on the trade unions in 1920-21 backed Trotsky—106, 127, 321, 341, 364-66, 421, 427, 445, 450, 495, 540

Prokopovich, Sergei Nikolayevich (1871-1955)—bourgeois economist and publicist. Took part in the co-operative movement. In 1921, member of the All-Russia Famine Relief Committee; together with some other members of the organisation tried to use it for counter-revolutionary aims. In 1922 was expelled from the country for anti-Soviet activity—106, 269

Pyatakov, Georgi Leonidovich (1890-1937)—Party member from 1910. After the October Revolution, member of the Ukrainian Soviet Government. From 1920, engaged in business and Soviet government work: Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Commission and the Supreme Economic Council, trade representative in France, Chairman of the Board of the U.S.S.R. State Bank. Repeatedly opposed the Party's Leninist policy. In 1927 was expelled from the Party for factional activity; reinstated and once again expelled in 1936—111, 121, 217, 264, 381, 393, 411, 457, 458-59, 482, 487-89, 499, 500-01, 570, 574, 584-85, 586, 587-88

R

Rabinovich, F. Y. (1885-1937)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1902, Menshevik; from 1919, Bolshevik. In 1920-22, Business Manager of the Secretariat of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade, deputy representative of the Council of Labour and Defence and of the P.C.F.T. in Transcaucasia. In 1922-25, member, then chief, of the "Arcos" Association Board, deputy trade representative in Britain—178

Radchenko, Ivan Ivanovich (1874-1942)—Party member from 1898. From 1918, organiser and leader of the peat industry in the U.S.S.R. In 1921-22, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade. In 1927-30 and in 1934-35, principal of the Scientific Research Institute for the Peat Industry—116, 151, 170, 179, 181, 273, 322, 331, 347, 362, 365, 370, 373, 412, 464, 514-16, 585

Radek, Karl Berngardovich (1885-1939)—member of the Bolshevik Party from 1917. After the October Revolution, worked in the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs; Secretary of the Comintern Executive Committee; contributor to *Pravda* and *Izvestia*. Repeatedly opposed the Party's Leninist policy. Expelled from the Party for anti-Party activity—158, 251, 267-68, 282, 310, 311, 409, 446, 447, 456, 479, 589

Rahja, Eino (1886-1936)—Party member from 1903. Participant

in the revolutionary movement in Russia and Finland. In July 1917, helped to arrange Lenin's passage to Finland to escape persecution by the bourgeois Provisional Government, and back again to Russia in October. In 1918, commanded Red Guard detachments during the workers' revolution in Finland. In 1919, commander of the troops fighting Yudenich. Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland —87

Rakosi, *Mátyás* (b. 1892)—member of the Communist Party of Hungary from 1918. After the establishment of the Soviet power in Hungary in 1919, member of the revolutionary government. From 1920 to 1924, worked in the Comintern Executive Committee; in 1921, was elected its Secretary—267-68, 310

Rakovsky, *Khristian Georgievich* (1873-1941)—Party member from 1917. From 1918, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukraine; from 1923, engaged in diplomatic work in Britain and France. Active member of the Trotskyite opposition, for which was expelled from the Party—89, 94, 96, 145, 246, 302, 340, 349, 381, 447

Ramzin, *Leonid Konstantinovich* (1887-1948)—heat engineer From 1920, professor of the Moscow Higher Technical College. In 1921, member of the State Planning Commission later, principal of the Moscow All-Union Thermal Technical Institute—200-01, 307, 334, 454, 466

Reine, *T. Y.*— engineer. In 1919, head of the Bureau of Accounting and Supply, and member of the Collegium of the Mining Council under the Supreme Economic Council—171

Reinstein, *B. I.* (1866-1947)—Bolshevik from 1918. Worked mainly in the Comintern and the Red International of Trade Unions—267, 268, 337, 338, 346, 362, 368, 523, 559

Remeiko (*Tikhomirov*), *A. G.* (1894-1938)—Party member from 1914. In 1920-23, head of the Organising Department of the All-Russia Central Trade Union Council; member of the Presidium of the All-Russia Miners' Union Central Committee; Chairman of the Kursk and Odessa Gubernia Councils of Trade Unions—382

Reske, *Nikolai Alexandrovich* (1887-1956)—in 1921, representative of the Council of Labour and Defence, the All-Russia Central Executive Committee and the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection in the Northern Caucasus; in 1921-22, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. Later, extraordinary representative of the All-Russia C.E.C. and the People's Commissariat for Food in conducting the tax in kind campaign in Gomel, Bryansk and Kaluga gubernias—281

Ringo, *I. A.* (1883-1946)—engineer; in 1918-22, head of the Moscow Gubernia Electrical Department; later, director of the electrical assembly office of the Moscow Economic Council and the department of local electrification under the Supreme Economic Council—55

Rothstein, *Theodore* (1871-1953)—Party member from 1901.

In 1890, emigrated to Britain, where he took an active part in the labour movement and in establishing the Communist Party of Great Britain in 1920. Wrote for the Russian and foreign socialist press. In 1920, returned to Russia, and from 1921 to 1930, engaged in diplomatic work—212, 254, 599

Rozanov, *Vladimir Nikolayevich* (1872-1934)—surgeon. From 1910, head of the surgical department of the Soldatenkovskaya Hospital (now named after S. P. Botkin). Took part in the treatment of Lenin. Founder and editor of a number of magazines on surgery—557

Rozengolts, *Arkady Pavlovich* (1889-1938)—Party member from 1905. During the October Revolution, member of the Moscow Military Revolutionary Committee. During the Civil War, member of the Revolutionary Military Councils of a number of armies and fronts; later, was engaged in military, diplomatic and government work. In 1922, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Finance. In 1937 was expelled from the Party for anti-Party activities—561

Rozhkov, *Nikolai Alexandrovich* (1868-1927)—historian and publicist, Menshevik. During the foreign military intervention and the Civil War fought against the Soviet power. Later, broke with the Mensheviks and was engaged in teaching, scientific and administrative work—457, 598

Rudzutak, *Jan Ernestovich* (1887-1938)—Party member from 1905. From 1919, member of the Turkestan Commission. From 1920, member of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee; member of the Presidium and General Secretary of the All-Russia Central Trade Union Council. In 1921-24, Chairman of the Central Asian Bureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee. In 1924-30, People's Commissar for Railways. From 1932, Chairman of the C.P.S.U.(B.) Central Control Commission and People's Commissar for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection of the U.S.S.R.—72, 161, 247, 419, 502, 533, 599

Rukhimovich, *M. L.* (1889-1939)—Party member from 1913. In 1921, Chairman of the Donets Gubernia Executive Committee and Manager of the "Donugol" and "Khimugol" trusts. From 1925, Chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Economic Council; later, Deputy Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Economic Council. From 1930, People's Commissar for Railways; from 1936 People's Commissar for the Defence Industry—264, 265, 321, 332-34, 381

Runov, *Tikhon Alexandrovich* 1886-1941)—agronomist. From 1919, Chairman of the Central Administration for the Farms of Industrial Enterprises of the Republic. In 1921, one of the organisers of the first All-Russia Agricultural Exhibition in Moscow; worked on land improvement in the Moscow area—268-69, 315, 513

Rutgers, *Sebald J.* (1879-1961)—Dutch engineer, Communist. In 1921-26, headed the international autonomous industrial colony in the Kuznetsk Basin—304, 320, 334-35, 338, 339, 412, 522, 562

Ruthenberg, *Charles Emile* (1882-1927)—a founder and leader of the Communist Party of the United States. Member of the Comintern Executive Committee. In 1921, elected Secretary of the U.S. Communist Party's Central Committee—368

Ryazanov (*Goldendach*), *David Borisovich* (1870-1938)—Social-Democrat, Menshevik; joined the Bolshevik Party in August 1917. After the October Revolution, worked in the trade unions; during the discussion on the trade unions in 1920-21, took an anti-Party stand and was removed from trade union work. From 1921, Director of the Institute of Marx and Engels. In 1931 was expelled from the Party for his support of the Mensheviks' counter-revolutionary activity—80, 309

Rykov, *Alexei Ivanovich* (1881-1938)—Party member from 1899. After the October Revolution, People's Commissar for Internal Affairs, Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council, Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and the Council of Labour and Defence. In 1919-20, Extraordinary Representative of the Council of Defence for Red Army and Navy Supplies; Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and the R.S.F.S.R.; member of the C.C. Politbureau. Repeatedly opposed the Party's Leninist policy. In 1937 was expelled from the C.P.S.U.(B.) for anti-Party activities—65, 75, 96, 104, 107, 114, 115, 116, 123, 170, 203, 219, 221, 226, 268, 349, 396, 517, 520, 521-23, 529, 534, 538-39, 550, 551, 552, 554, 556, 558, 560, 561, 566, 571, 605

Rykunov, *M. V.* (1884-1937)—Party member from 1903. In 1921-22, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade; from 1922, Deputy People's Commissar for Agriculture and Chief of the Water Economy of Turkestan and later Chief of the Central Asia Water Resources Administration and deputy representative of the Council of Labour and Defence in Central Asia—192, 365

S

Safarov, *G. I.* (1891-1942)—Party member from 1908. In 1921, member of the Turkestan Bureau of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee, then member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, head of the Eastern Department of the Comintern. At the Fourteenth C.P.S.U.(B.) Congress, joined the New Opposition, then the Trotsky-Zinoviev bloc. In 1927 was expelled from the Party; in 1928, reinstated and in 1934 expelled again for anti-Party activity—246, 297, 417-18, 535

Samarin, *V. I.*—378

Sammer, *Ivan Adamovich* (1870-1921)—joined the revolutionary movement in 1897; Social-Democrat, Bolshevik. From 1919, worked in Centrosoyuz; later, President of the All-Ukraine Union of Consumers' Societies and representative of the Ukrainian People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade—179, 440

Sapronov, *Timofei Vladimirovich* (1887-1939)—Party member from 1912. After the October Revolution, Chairman of the Moscow Gubernia Executive

Committee, Chairman of the Kharkov Gubernia Revolutionary Committee. In 1920-21, Chairman of the Building Workers' Union Central Committee; Chairman of the Chief Public Works Committee, Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council. During the discussion on the trade unions, headed the anti-Party Democratic Centralism group. Later, repeatedly opposed the Party's Leninist policy. In 1927 was expelled from the Party by the Fifteenth C.P.S.U.(B.) Congress—168, 187, 275

Scheidemann, *Philipp* (1865-1939)—a leader of the extreme Right-wing of German Social-Democracy—80

Scheinman, *Aron Lvovich* (b. 1886)—Party member from 1903. From 1920, worked in the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade. In 1921, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Finance and the State Bank Board, then Deputy People's Commissar for Finance of the U.S.S.R.—228, 331, 428, 455, 490

Schmidt, *Otto Yulyevich* (1891-1956)—Party member from 1918; scientist, Arctic explorer, public figure. In 1921-22, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Finance. From 1932 to 1939, head of the Central Arctic Route Administration—77, 445

Schmidt, *Vasily Vladimirovich* (1886-1940)—Party member from 1905. In 1918-28, People's Commissar for Labour, Secretary of the All-Russia Central Trade Union Council—114

Schwarz, *Isaak Izrailevich* (1879-1951)—Party member from 1899. In 1921, Chairman of the All-Russia Miners' Union Central Committee—381

Semashko, *Nikolai Alexandrovich* (1874-1949)—Party member from 1893. Participant in the 1905-07 revolution and the October Revolution. In 1918-30, People's Commissar for Public Health of the R.S.F.S.R.—65, 67, 69, 89, 97, 128, 208, 298, 337, 384, 502, 557, 559

Senin, *V. I.* (1886-1943)—in 1918-23 uyezd commissar for food, chief of the grain and fodder administration and the state purchases administration of the People's Commissariat for Food; later, chief of the farming department of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture—105

Serebrovsky, *Alexander Pavlovich* (1884-1943)—Party member from 1903. In 1920-26, Chairman of the Board of the Azerbaijan Oil Committee in Baku; Chief of Glavzoloto, and Deputy People's Commissar for Heavy Industry—109, 112, 147, 178-79, 188

Sereda, *Semyon Pafnutyevich* (1871-1933)—Party member from 1903. After the October Revolution, People's Commissar for Agriculture of the R.S.F.S.R. (1918-21); from 1921, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council and the State Planning Commission, Deputy Manager and Manager of the Central Statistical Board of the R.S.F.S.R. From 1930, Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Commission—47, 52, 53, 340

Sergo—see *Orjonikidze*, *G. K.*

Serrati, *Giacinto Menotti* (1872-1926)—a leader of the Italian Socialist Party, later,

Communist. In 1915-23, Director of the Socialist Party's Central Organ, the newspaper *Avanti!*—124, 311, 377, 422, 600

Shafransky, Ivan Osipovich (1891-1954)—Party member from 1917. In May-June 1921, Executive Secretary of the Samarkand Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Turkestan; later, Chairman of the Samarkand Regional Party Control Commission—195

Shapiro, L. G. (*Shanin, M.*) (1887-1957)—took part in the revolutionary movement from 1902; in 1903, joined the Riga organisation of the Bund; Menshevik; from 1918, Bolshevik Worked in the People's Commissariat for Education, and did political work in the Red Army. From 1920 to 1921, member of the Presidium of the Chief Committee for Political Education. Later, worked in the People's Commissariat for Finance of the R.S.F.S.R —397, 400

Shaposhnikov, Alexei Romanovich—peasant from Beketovo Village, Bulgakov Volost, Ufa Uyezd-in early March 1921 came to Moscow, together with some other peasants, on Lenin's invitation to discuss the substitution of a tax in kind for surplus grain appropriation—101-02

Shapovalov, Alexander Isidorovich (1871-1942)—a veteran of the revolutionary movement in Russia, member of the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class from 1895. After the October Revolution, engaged in Soviet government and Party work—308

Shatilov, Iosif Nikolayevich (1824-1889)—from 1864, President of the Moscow Farming Society, a founder of the Petrovskaya Agricultural and Forestry Academy (now named after K. A. Timiryazev); founder of the experimental station in Tula Gubernia (now Shatilov State Selection Station in Orel Region)—584

Shatunovsky, Yakov Moiseyevich (1876-1932)—Party member from 1918. From 1920, member of the Transport Commission under the Council of Labour and Defence, member of the Industrial Section of the State Planning Commission—137

Shaw, George Bernard (1856-1950)—English playwright and publicist—404

Shcherba, Lev Vladimirovich (1880-1944)—Soviet linguist. In 1916-44, professor of Leningrad University—173

Shchurkevich, Pantelei Antonovich (1873-1942)—professor of the Leningrad Electrotechnical Institute—173-74

Shelekhes, Yakov Savelyevich—248

Shklovskaya, Dvosya Zelikovna (1880-1956)—wife of G. L. Shklovsky—70, 71, 88

Shklovsky, Grigory Lvovich (1875-1937)—Party member from 1898. In 1918, adviser of the R.S.F.S.R. plenipotentiary at the Swiss Government in Berne. In 1919-21, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture; Party worker in Moscow; representative of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in Petrograd and in the Northern area of the R.S.F.S.R.; member of the trade mission of the R.S.F.S.R. in Germany —71, 88, 162, 175, 176, 211, 535

Shlyapnikov, *Alexander Gavrilovich* (1885-1987)—Party member from 1901. After the October Revolution, People's Commissar for Labour. In 1919-22, Chairman of the Central Committee of the All-Russia Metalworkers' Union; from May 1921, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council. In 1920-22, organiser and leader of the anti-Party Workers' Opposition group. Expelled from the C.P.S.U.(B.) during the Party purge in 1933—114, 253

Shotman, *Alexander Vasilyevich* (1880-1989)—Party member from 1899. In 1922, Chairman of the Economic Conference of the Karelian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic—578

Shpektorov, *N. L.* (1890-1937)—Party member from 1920. From 1918, served in the Red Army. In 1922-25, member of the Political Department of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic—130

Shvedchikov, *Konstantin Matveyevich* (1884-1952)—Party member from 1904. In 1918-24, representative of the Council of People's Commissars for the paper industry and the printing industry. Later, worked in the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade—369

Sklyansky, *Efraim Markovich* (1892-1925)—Party member from 1913. In 1918-24, Deputy People's Commissar for Military Affairs and Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic—48, 65, 66, 83, 88, 138, 166, 171, 172, 189, 298, 466

Skobelev, *Matvei Ivanovich* (1885-1939)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1903, Menshevik. After the February revolution, Minister for Labour in the bourgeois Provisional Government. After the October Revolution, broke with the Mensheviks and worked in the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade. From 1921 to 1925, representative of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade in France—277

Skvortsov—see *Skvortsov-Stepanov*, *I. I.*

Skvortsov-Stepanov, *Ivan Ivanovich* (1870-1928)—Party member from 1896. In 1921, Deputy Chairman of the Editorial Board of the Slate Publishers. Author of many economic and historical works, translator and editor of the three volumes of Capital and other works of Marx and Engels—213, 284, 307, 327, 350, 552, 554-55

Šmeral, *Bohumir* (1880-1941)—prominent figure in the Czechoslovak and international working-class movement, a founder of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, member of its Central Committee; member of the Comintern Executive Committee—213, 258

Smilga, *Ivar Tenisovich* (1892-1938)—Party member from 1907. After the October Revolution, representative of the R.S.F.S.R. Council of People's Commissar in Finland. In 1920-21, member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic and of the R.M.C.s of the Western, Southern and Caucasian fronts; Chairman of the Council of the South-Eastern Labour Army. From 1921 to 1923, Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council and Chief of the Central Fuel Administration—84, 116, 170, 205, 207, 263, 265, 334, 411, 452, 479, 566, 568

Smirnov, *Alexander Petrovich* (1877-1938)—Party member from 1896. From 1919, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Food; later, Deputy People's Commissar for Food, etc.—324

Smirnov, *Ivan Nikitich* (1881-1936)—Party member from 1899. In 1920-21, Chairman of the Siberian Revolutionary Committee. In 1921-22, worked in the Supreme Economic Council; later, People's Commissar for Posts and Telegraphs—88, 96, 183, 208, 381, 530

Smirnov, *N. N.* (b. 1880)—oil engineer. After the October Revolution, worked in the oil industry; later, professor of the Moscow Oil Institute and the Mining Academy—63, 88

Smirnov, *V. M.* (1887-1937)—Party member from 1907. After the October Revolution, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council; in 1921-22, member of the Presidium of the State Planning Commission; from March 1921, member of the Commission for the Utilisation of Material Resources of the R.S.F.S.R. under the Council of Labour and Defence. In 1923 joined the Trotskyite opposition, and was expelled from the Party for factional activity—104, 550

Smith-Falkner, *Maria Natanovna* (1878-1968)—economist and statistician, Party member from 1918. After the October Revolution, worked in a number of research institutions. From 1939, Associate Member of the U.S.S.R Academy of Sciences—107

Smolyaninov, *Vadim Alexandrovich* (1890-1962)—Party member from 1908. From April 1921, Deputy Business Manager of the Council of Labour and Defence on economic matters; later, Business Manager of the Council of People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R.—140, 148-49, 152, 154, 167, 180, 208, 217, 220, 221-22, 234, 240, 244, 251, 273, 274, 275-77, 279, 281-82, 283, 285, 295, 316, 349, 366, 372, 381, 394, 421, 422, 436, 438, 442-43, 452, 453-55, 491, 503, 506, 524, 543, 546, 547, 550, 552, 560, 563, 568-70, 572

Sokolnikov (*Brilliant*), *Grigory Yakovlevich* (1888-1939)—Party member from 1905. From August 1920 to March 1921, Commander of the Turkestan Front and Chairman of the Turkestan Commission of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee; from November 1921, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Finance, from 1922, People's Commissar for Finance; from 1926, Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Commission; later, Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs. In 1936 was expelled from the Party for anti-Party activity—161, 387, 417-18, 427, 429, 444, 450, 460, 465, 476, 478, 480, 490, 495, 496-97, 499-500, 512, 513, 514, 521, 539, 552, 577, 591

Solovyou, *N. I.* (1870-1947)—Party member from 1900. In 1921, head of the Statistical Department of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee—287

Solovyov, *V. I.* (1890-1939)—Party member from 1913. In 1920, member of the Commission Working Out a Project for Reorganising the People's Commissariat for Education. In 1921, Deputy Chairman of the Chief Committee for Political

Education. Later, engaged in diplomatic and other work—57

Solts, *Aron Alexandrovich* (1872-1945)—Party member from 1898. From 1920, member and, from 1921, Chairman of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Control Commission; later, member of the Supreme Court—176, 210, 267, 413, 414, 517

Sorokin, *Pyotr Sergeyevich* (1886-1933)—member of the R.C.P.(B.) from 1918. From 1921 to 1923, Moscow Gubernia food Commissar. Later, worked in the Moscow Consumers' Commune, the People's Commissariat for Home Trade, and Centrosoyuz—228

Sosnovsky, *Lev Semyonovich* (1886-1937)—Party member from 1904, journalist. In 1918-24, editor of the newspaper *Bednota* (The Poor). In 1921, head of the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee. Later was expelled from the Party for his activity in the Trotskyite opposition—314, 352, 369, 532, 583

Spandaryan, *Suren Spandarovich* (1882-1916)—Party member from 1902. At the Prague Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. elected member of the Central Committee and the Bureau of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee in Russia. Worked on the newspaper Zvezda. In 1912 was exiled to Siberia for life and there died—184-85

Stalin (*Jugashvili*), *Joseph Vissarionovich* (1879-1953)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1898. After the October Revolution was elected to the Council of People's Commissars, where he headed the People's Commissariat for Nationalities. During the foreign intervention and Civil War was active on several fronts as a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic. In 1922, was elected General Secretary of the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.). As of 1941 he was Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, later, also of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers. During the Great Patriotic War (1941-45) was Chairman of the State Committee for Defence, People's Commissar for Defence, and Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet Armed Forces.

In the position of General Secretary of the Party C.C., which he held for a long time, Stalin, together with other leading functionaries, exerted great efforts for the building of socialism, and played a major role in smashing various anti-Party trends, especially Trotskyism and Right opportunism.

At the same time, associated with his name are the distortions in the life of Soviet society, which the Communist Party qualified as manifestations of the personality cult alien to Marxism-Leninism.

The C.P.S.U. decidedly condemned the personality cult and took measures to prevent similar mistakes and distortions in future—65, 95, 100, 127, 136, 257, 265, 266, 268, 311, 313, 314, 322, 334, 348, 355, 359, 381, 384, 407, 409, 427, 431, 440, 443, 450, 454, 460, 466, 474, 479, 484-85, 490, 493, 496, 501, 516, 530, 532-33, 535, 537, 539, 540, 549, 554, 556-57, 559-61, 562, 565, 566, 570, 577, 578, 587, 588, 593, 598, 602, 607, 608

Starkov, *V. V.* (1869-1925)—took part in the Social-Democratic movement from the early 1890s. After the October Revolution, worked in the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade, deputy trade representative of the R.S.F.S.R. in Germany—153

Stasova, *Yelena Dmitrievna* (1873-1966)—Party member from 1898. From February 1917 to March 1920, Secretary of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee. In 1920-21, engaged in Party work in Petrograd and Baku—184-85

Steinberg, *P. B.*—Russian capitalist, émigré; in 1922-24, one of the founders and Manager of the Joint-Stock Company for Domestic and Export Trade in Hides and Skins in the R.S.F.S.R.—370, 384-85, 436-38

Steinmetz, *Charles Proteus* (*Karl* August Rudolf) (1865-1923)—prominent American scientist in the field of electrical engineering—597

Steklov, *Yuri Mikhailovich* (1873-1941)—in Social-Democratic movement from 1893, Bolshevik after the Second R.S.D.L.P. Congress in 1903. After the October Revolution, member of the All-Russia and the U.S.S.R. Central Executive Committee, editor of the newspaper *Izvestia VTsIK*—220, 266-67, 415, 555

Stinnes, *Hugo* (1870-1924)—German businessman and financier, founder of the Stinnes industrial concern in Germany—390

Stomonyakov, *Boris Spiridonovich* (1882-1941)—Party member from 1902. From 1920 to 1925, Soviet trade representative in Berlin—162, 175, 197, 211, 213, 216, 222, 379, 406, 516, 536, 579, 601

Strizhov, *I. N.* (b. 1872)—geologist. From July 1920, deputy manager of the technical department of the Central Oil Administration; later, technical director of the Grozny Oil Committee and held other posts in the oil industry. From 1923, professor of the Moscow Mining Academy—88

Strumilin (*Strumillo-Petrashkevich*), *Stanislav Gustavovich* (b. 1877)—prominent Soviet economist and statistician, member of the Party from 1923. In 1921-37, worked on the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences lecturer at Moscow University and other higher schools—200, 372, 467

Stučka, *Pyotr Ivanovich* (1865-1932)—Party member from 1903. In 1918-19, Chairman of the Soviet Government in Latvia; later, Deputy People's Commissar for Justice of the R.S.F.S.R. Member of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and its representative in the Comintern—182

Styunkel, *Boris Ernestovich* (1882-1938)—electrical engineer. From 1920, member of the GOELRO Commission, working on the project for electrifying the Central Industrial area. In 1920-22, Chairman of the Technical Council and member of the Collegium of the Central Metal Administration of the Supreme Economic Council—456

Sukhanov, *N.* (*Gimmer*, *Nikolai Nikolayevich*) (b. 1882)—economist and publicist, Menshevik. After the October Revo-

lution, worked in Soviet economic establishments—447

Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925)—outstanding Chinese revolutionary democrat and statesman—452

Sverdlov, Yakov Mikhailovich (1885-1919)—prominent leader of the Communist Party and the Soviet state, member of the Party from 1901. Took an active part in preparing and carrying out the October Revolution. Member of the Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee and the Military Revolutionary Centre for directing the uprising set up by the Party's Central Committee. In 1917-19, headed the Central Committee Secretariat. From November 1917, Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee—414

Sviderskу, Alexander Ivanovich (1878-1933)—Party member from 1899. From May 1921 member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. Repeatedly elected to the All-Russia and the U.S.S.R. Central Executive Committee—60, 61, 62, 156, 281, 570, 596

Syromolotov, Fyodor Fyodorovich (b. 1877)—Party member from 1897. After the October Revolution, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council, member of the Narrow Council of People's Commissars, the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. State Planning Commission—421

Syrtsov, Sergei Ivanovich (1893-1938)—Party member from 1913. In 1920-21, Secretary of the Odessa Gubernia Party Committee. During the discussion on the trade unions in 1920-21, supported Trotsky's platform. In 1921-26, worked in the Central Committee's apparatus. In 1929, Chairman of the R.S.F.S.R. Council of People's Commissars—111

T

Taratuta, Viktor Konstantinovich (1881-1926)—Party member from 1898. In 1919-26, Business Manager of the Supreme Economic Council, Deputy Chairman of the Chemical Department of the S.E.C., Chairman of the Mossukno Trust Board; Chairman of the Board of the Foreign Trade Bank—178

Teodorovich, Ivan Adolfovich (1875-1940)—started his revolutionary activity in 1895, Bolshevik. From 1920, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture—134, 190, 226, 380, 406-07, 417, 551, 584, 589-90

Ter-Gabrielyan, Saak Mirzoyevich (1886-1937)—Party member from 1902. After the February 1917 revolution, member of the Presidium of the Baku Soviet of Workers' Deputies from the Bolshevik group. Later, worked in Moscow as a member of the Collegium of the Central Oil Administration, member of the Revolutionary Committee of Armenia and of the All-Russia Cheka. From 1921, permanent representative of Armenia and then of the Transcaucasian S.F.S.R. in Moscow. From 1928 to 1935, Chairman of the Armenian Council of People's Commissars—62

Teumin, Isaak Vladimirovich (1872-1936)—Party member from 1920. From July 1921, representative of the Peo-

ple's Commissariat for Foreign Trade in Byelorussia; later, in the Kirghiz Republic—329

Thalheimer, *August* (1884-1948)—German Social-Democrat, publicist. In 1918-23, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany and editor of its Central Organ, *Die Rote Fahne*. From 1923, one of the leaders of Right-wing opportunists. In 1929 was expelled from the Party—187

Tikhanov, *A. S.* (1865-1940)—from 1917 to 1932, professor of the Institute of Civil Engineers and other higher institutions in Leningrad. From 1920, worked at the State Institute for the Designing of Metalworking Plants—174

Tikhomirov, *Vladimir Alexeyevich* (1895-1955)—Party member from 1919. In 1921-24, member of the Centrosoyuz Board—503

Tikhvinsky, *M. M.* (1868-1921)—chemical engineer. After the October Revolution, professor of the Petrograd Technological and Mining Institute and head of the Laboratory Department of the Central Oil Administration under the Supreme Economic Council. Took part in a plot against the Soviet power in 1921—283

Timiryazev, *Kliment Arkadyevich* (1843-1920)—Russian naturalist, prominent botanist and physiologist—584

Tomsky, *Mikhail Pavlovich* (1880-1936)—Party member from 1904. After the October Revolution, Chairman of the Moscow Council of Trade Unions. From 1919, Chairman of the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Trade Union Council. Member of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee from the Eighth Party Congress (March 1919), later, member of the R.C.P.(B.) C.C. Politbureau. Repeatedly opposed the Party's Leninist policy. In 1928-29, a leader of the Right-wing opportunist deviation in the Party—114, 135, 161, 246, 297, 564, 566, 599

Trifonov, *V. A.* (1888-1938)—Party member from 1904. From June 1921, Deputy Chief of the Central Fuel Administration under the Supreme Economic Council and Chairman of the Board of the All-Russia Oil Syndicate—84, 336, 361, 411

Trofimov, *K. V.* (1894-1937)—Party member from 1917. From 1921, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Posts and Telegraphs—545

Trotsky (*Bronstein*), *Lev Davydovich* (1879-1940)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1897, Menshevik. Returned from emigration after the February revolution in 1917, joined the Mezhraiontsi group with whom he was admitted to the Bolshevik Party at the Sixth R.S.D.L.P.(B.) Congress in 1917. However, Trotsky did not adopt the Bolshevik stand and continued to lead an open and secret fight against Lenin and the Party's policy. After the October Revolution, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs, People's Commissar for Railways, Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic, member of the Central Committee Politbureau and of the Comintern Executive Committee. In 1920-21, headed the opposition in the discus-

sion on the trade unions; from 1923, fought against Lenin's programme for building socialism and argued the impossibility of winning socialism in the U.S.S.R. In 1927 was expelled from the Party and in 1929 deported from the U.S.S.R. for his anti-Soviet activity. Abroad, continued his fight against the Soviet state and the international communist movement—48, 55, 92,100, 108, 110, 114, 137, 233, 250, 266, 321, 339, 390, 411, 420, 424, 443-45, 456, 482, 517, 530, 532, 567, 593, 601-04, 606-08

Troyanovsky, *Alexander Antonovich* (1882-1955)—R.S.D.L.P. member from 1907, Bolshevik. In 1917-21, Menshevik. In 1923 rejoined the R.C.P.(B.). From 1921, worked in the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection; later was engaged in the diplomatic service and held other posts —521

Tsereteli, *Irakly Georgievich* (1882-1959)—a Menshevik leader. From May 1917, Minister for Posts and Telegraphs and then Minister for Internal affairs in the bourgeois Provisional Government. Later, a leader of the counter-revolutionary Menshevik government in Georgia. From 1921, whiteguard émigré —126

Tsevchtnsky, *A. I.*— specialist in the oil industry and trade. From 1889, worked for the Nobel Brothers' Association. From 1918 to 1929, worked at the Chief Oil Committee under the Supreme Economic Council, Central Administration of the Oil Industry, Oil Trade Administration and Oil Syndicate—88

Tsintsadze, *Kote Maximovich* (1887-1930)—Party member from 1904 to 1927. After the establishment of the Soviet power in Georgia, Chairman of the Georgian Cheka, member of the Georgian C.P.(B.) Central Committee, member of the Georgian Central Executive Committee—582

Tsyurupa, *Alexander Dmitrievich* (1870-1928)—Party member from 1898. After the October Revolution, Deputy People's Commissar and, from early 1918, People's Commissar for Food. From the end of 1921, Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and the Council of Labour and Defence—60, 89, 90, 94, 96, 97, 103, 104, 114, 123, 396-97, 403, 429-30, 437, 440, 442, 455, 462, 465, 471, 473, 476, 477-78, 480, 487-89, 490, 491, 498-99, 517, 520, 522, 523, 529, 534, 538-39, 550, 556, 558, 560, 569, 570

Tsyurupa, *Georgi Dmitrievich* (1885-1940)—electrical engineer. In 1919-26, Chief Engineer of the Kashira Hydroelectric Power Station; from May 1921, Deputy Chairman of the Chief Public Works Committee—168, 197, 213, 366, 430, 436, 442

Tukhachevsky, *Mikhail Nikolayevich* (1893-1937)—Party member from 1918. Prominent military leader and statesman, Marshal of the Soviet Union. In 1921, as Commander of the Tambov Military District, assigned to liquidate the Antonov bands—171

Tumanov, *Nikolai Gavrilovich* (1887-1936)—Party member from 1917. In 1922-23, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Finance of the R.S.F.S.R., then Peo-

ple's Commissar for Finance and member of the Central Executive Committee of the Transcaucasian S.F.S.R. Chairman of the U.S.S.R. State Bank Board, member of the Presidium of the State Planning Commission and of the Supreme Economic Council, trade representative to France and Manager of the U.S.S.R. Industrial Bank—578

Tyszka, *Jan* (*Jogiches*, *Léon*) (1867-1919)—prominent figure in the Polish and German working-class movement: one of the founders of the Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, an organiser of the Spartacus League. After the November 1918 Revolution in Germany, took part in establishing the Communist Party of Germany and was elected Secretary of its Central Committee—232

U

Uglanov, *Nikolai Alexandrovich* (1886-1940)—Party member from 1907. In 1920-21, member then Secretary of the Petrograd Gubernia R.C.P.(B.) Committee, Secretary of the Petrograd Council of Trade Unions—314, 339

Ukhanov, *Konstantin Vasilyevich* (1891-1937)—Party member from 1907. From the February 1917 revolution, member of the Moscow Soviet. In 1921, Chairman of the Rogozhsko-Simonovsky Soviet in Moscow—214

Ulrikh, *Anna Ivanovna* (b. 1892)—Party member from 1909. In 1921-24, worked in the Secretariat of the Council of People's Commissars and the Council of Labour and Defence—547-48

Ulyanov, *Alexander Ilyich* (1866-1887)—Lenin's elder brother, revolutionary, member of the Narodnaya Volya group. Took part in preparing the attempt upon tsar Alexander III's life. Executed in 1887—375

Ulyanov, *Dmitry Ilyich* (1874-1943)—Lenin's younger brother, member of the Party from 1894, physician. In 1920-21, member of the Crimean Regional R.C.P.(B.) Committee and Deputy Chairman of the Crimean Council of People's Commissars. From 1921, worked in the People's Commissariat for Public Health of the R.S.F.S.R.—117

Ulyanova, *Maria Ilyinichna* (1878-1937)—Lenin's younger sister, Party member from 1898. From March 1917 to the spring of 1929, member of the Editorial Board and executive secretary of *Pravda*—220, 568

Unschlicht, *Iosif Stanislavovich* (1879-1938)—Party member from 1900. From April 1921 to the autumn of 1923, Deputy Chairman of the All-Russia Cheka (later, of the State Political Administration). Subsequently, worked on the Supreme Economic Council and the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R. headed the Central Civil Air Force Administration—167, 173, 201, 202, 211, 267-68, 330, 374, 378, 383, 384, 432, 443, 454, 457-58, 484, 500-01

Uralsky, *Nazar*—see *Nakoryakov*, *N. N.*

Urquhart, *John Leslie* (1874-1933)—British financial magnate and industrialist. In 1921-22, held negotiations with the Soviet Government to obtain concessions on his former enterprises in Russia—261, 339, 354-

55, 359, 371, 426, 481, 562, 565, 567, 573-75

V

Vainstein, *A. L.* (b. 1892)—economist, statistician. In 1918-21, head of the Statistical Department of the Moscow Gubernia Economic Council, deputy head of the Statistical Department of the Supreme Economic Council. In 1921-23, head of the Economic Department of the Planning Administration of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture of the R.S.F.S.R. Later, engaged in scientific work and teaching—551

Vainstein, *S. A.* (1876-1923)—Menshevik. After the February revolution in 1917, member of the Presidium of the Petrograd Soviet Executive Committee. During the Civil War, fought against the Soviet power, then emigrated—398

Vanderlip, *Washington B.* (b. 1866)—engineer, representing U.S. industrial circles; in 1920, came to Soviet Russia to negotiate oil and coal concessions in the Kamchatka—98

Varga, *Yevgeny Samoylovich* (1879-1964)—economist, member of the Hungarian Social-Democratic Party from 1906. After the victory of the Soviet power in Hungary in March 1919, Varga was People's Commissar for Finance, and then Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council. After the downfall of the Soviet power in Hungary, Varga, who had joined the Communist Party, went to Austria and in 1920 to Soviet Russia, where he joined the R.C.P.(B.). Worked in the Comintern. From 1927 to 1947, headed the Institute of World Economy and Politics of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences—504, 525, 534, 593, 594

Vashkov, *Nikolai Nikolayevich* (1874-1953)—electrical engineer. In 1920-21, head of the Electrical Department of the Supreme Economic Council, member of the Central Electrotechnical Council and of the GOELRO Commission. From 1921, member of the State Planning Commission—235, 256

Vasilyev, *V. A.* (b. 1885)—Party member from 1905. In 1921, military commissar of Boguchary Uyezd and then Korotoyak Uyezd of Voronezh Gubernia—172

Vetchinkin, *Nikolai Sergeyevich* (1886-1960)—highway engineer. In 1921-27, worked in the Central Production and Economic Administration of the Supreme Economic Council, then in the State Planning Commission of the U.S.S.R. Engaged in scientific work and in teaching—337

Vishnyak, *Yakov Izrailevich* (1886-1948)—electrical engineer. Party member from 1917. After the October Revolution, engaged in military work in Siberia and the Crimea. In 1921-24 and in 1928-30, worked in Soviet trade missions abroad—289, 366

Vladimirov (*Sheinfinkel*), *Miron Konstantinovich* (1879-1925)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1903; in the Bolshevik Party, from 1917. In 1921, People's Commissar for Food, and then People's Commissar for Agriculture in the Ukraine; in 1922, People's Commissar for Finance of the R.S.F.S.R.; from November 1924, Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Eco-

nomic Council of the U.S.S.R. —167, 245-46, 258, 259, 302, 561, 567

Vladimirsky, *Mikhail Fyodorovich* (1874-1951)—Party member from 1895, Bolshevik. After the October Revolution, member of the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, Deputy People's Commissar for Internal Affairs of the R.S.F.S.R., Secretary of the Ukrainian C.P.(B.) Central Committee—48, 121, 131, 293, 535

Voikov, *Pyotr Lazarevich* (1888-1927)—from 1903, Menshevik; from August 1917, Bolshevik. After the October Revolution, Chairman of the Urals Factory Conference. From 1919, C.P.C. representative on the Centrosoyuz Board. From 1920, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade, head of the Severoles trust. From October 1924, plenipotentiary representative of the U.S.S.R. in Poland—129, 130, 178

Volkov, *Yevgeny Zakharovich* (b. 1883)—Party member from 1920. From September to October 1921, head of the information subdepartment of the Central Famine Relief Commission under the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. At the same time, headed the Library-Science Section of the State Planning Commission under the Council of Labour and Defence —304

Vologdin, *Valentin Petrovich* (1881-1953)—prominent scientist, one of the founders of the Nizhni-Novgorod Radio Laboratory where he worked in 1918-23. From 1939, Associate Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences—545

Vorobyov, *Boris Yevdokimovich* (b. 1887)—electrical engineer, scientist, took part in working out electric-power station projects, worked on the GOELRO Commission and the Public Works Committee of the Northern area, in the Leningrad Power Administration etc. —174

Voroshilov, *Kliment Yefremovich* (1881-1969)—Party member from 1903. Active participant in the October Revolution and the Civil War. In 1918-19, Commander of the Tsaritsyn Front, Deputy Commander and member of the Military Council of the Southern Front, Commander of the 10th Army. In December 1918, People's Commissar for Internal Affairs in the Ukraine, then Commander of the troops of the Kharkov Military District; Commander of the 14th Army and the internal Ukrainian Front. In 1919-21, member of the Revolutionary Military Council and one of the organisers of the First Mounted Army. From 1925, People's Commissar for Military and Naval Affairs and Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the U.S.S.R.; later, People's Commissar for Defence. From 1953 to May 1960, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.—138

Vorovsky, *Vatslav Vatslavovich* (1871-1923)—Party member from 1894, professional revolutionary. In 1917-19, plenipotentiary representative of the Soviet Republic in the Scandinavian countries; in 1919-20, head of the State Publishers, in 1921-23, on diplomatic work in Italy—118, 379, 435, 447, 546, 592

Voyevodin, *Pyotr Ivanovich* (1884-1964)—Party member from 1899. In 1921, headed the Photography and Cinema Department of the Chief Committee for Political Education under the People's Commissariat for Education of the R.S.F.S.R.; later, engaged in publishing and library work—401, 408

Vyshinsky, *Andrei Yanuaryevich* (1883-1954)—member of the R.S.D.L.P. from 1903, Menshevik; from 1920, Bolshevik. In 1921, Chief of the Allocation Administration of the People's Commissariat for Food of the R.S.F.S.R. Later, worked in education and law. From 1931, Procurator of the R.S.F.S.R.; from 1935, Procurator of the U.S.S.R. In 1939-53, Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., Deputy Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.—156, 157

W

Wallenius, *Allan* (1890-1942)—Finnish Communist. Participant in the 1918 revolution in Finland. Took part in the Third Congress of the Comintern, and soon was elected member of the Comintern Executive Committee, where he worked until 1925. From May 1925 to 1939, lived and worked in America and the Scandinavian countries, and was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. From 1930, headed the Scandinavian Department of the Communist University of the National Minorities of the West and held other posts—268

Ware, *Harold* (1890-1935)—agronomist, member of the U.S. Communist Party. In the summer of 1922, visited Soviet Russia as head of a tractor team (21 tractors) he had organised. The money for the tractors was collected by American workers. The team worked on the Toikino State Farm, Perm Gubernia. Ware later visited the Soviet Union several times as consultant on the organisation of big state farms—581, 583

Wells, *Herbert George* (1866-1946)—English writer. In the autumn of 1920, visited Soviet Russia and interviewed Lenin—404

Weydemeyer, *Joseph* (1818-1866)—prominent figure in the German and American workers' movement, friend and associate of Marx and Engels. Took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany. After its defeat, emigrated to the United States. Started the propaganda of Marxism in the U.S.A.—307

Winter, *Alexander Vasilyevich* (1878-1958)—prominent Soviet scientist and specialist in the construction of electric-power stations. After the October Revolution, headed the construction of the peat-fired Shatura District Electric-Power Station, and then the Dnieper Hydroelectric Power Station. In 1932, was elected member to the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences—152, 187

Wrangel, *Pyotr Nikolayevich* (1878-1928)—tsarist army general. During the Civil War and foreign military intervention, one of the leaders of the counter-revolution in the South of Russia and henchman of British, French and American imperialists. In April-November 1920, Commander-in-Chief of the whiteguard

"armed forces of the South of Russia"—48

Y

Yakhontov, *Valerian Ivanovich* (1877-1926)—Party member from 1917. From 1922, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Justice, member of the Narrow Council of People's Commissars—491

Yakovenko, *Vasily Grigoryevich* (1889-1938)—Party member from 1917. From 1920 to 1922 Chairman of the Kansk Revolutionary Committee and the Uyezd Executive Committee Deputy Chairman of the Krasnoyarsk Gubernia Executive Committee. In 1922 and 1923, People's Commissar for Agriculture of the R.S.F.S.R.—413, 417, 419, 472, 551

Yakovlev, *Nikolai Nikolayevich* (1870-1966)—geologist, scientist. In 1921, professor of the Geological Institute—267

Yaroslavsky, *Yemelyan Mikhailovich* (1878-1943)—Party member from 1898. Took part in the October Revolution. In 1921, Secretary of the R.C.P.(B.) Central Committee. Author of a number of works on the history of the Communist Party and the revolutionary movement in Russia—129, 332, 419

Yemelyanov, *Nikolai Alexandrovich* (1871-1958)—worker, Party member from 1904. In July-August 1917, fulfilled Party assignment to hide Lenin at Razliv from the Provisional Government's secret police. At the end of 1921 worked in the R.S.F.S.R. trade mission in Estonia—347-48 379, 420

Yemshanov, *Alexander Ivanovich* (1891-1941)—Party member from 1917. In 1920-21 People's Commissar for Railways and in 1921-22, Deputy People's Commissar for Railways —108

Yenukidze, *Avel Safronovich* (1877-1937)—Soviet statesman, Party member from 1898. In 1918-22, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee—184, 185, 228, 276 395, 398-99, 400, 431, 462 466, 498

Yenukidze, *Trifon Teimurovich* (*Semin*) (1877-1937)—Party member from 1899. From 1919 Director of Goznak (the Administration of Factories for the Issue of Bank-Notes) —367

Yermakov, *Vladimir Spiridonovich* (b. 1888)—Party member from 1917. Commissar of the Southern Front in 1919, and of the Eastern Front in 1920; representative of the Council of Defence Special Committee on Effecting Martial Law on the Railways and a special agent in the campaign against banditism in the south in 1922. In 1922-25, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade—573

Yesin, *Vasily Zakharovich* (1888-1960)—electrician, Party member from 1913. Participant in the October Revolution and the Civil War. In 1920-21, member of GOELRO Commission and the State Planning Commission. From 1921 to 1957, worked in Soviet government and economic agencies—86, 87

Yezhov, *Ivan Kallinikovich* (b. 1885)—Party member from 1918. In 1918-24, head of the Central Administration for State Warehouses of the

Supreme Economic Council—352, 521

Yurovsky, Y. M. (1878-1938)—Party member from 1905. In 1921-23, worked in the State Depository of Valuables—184

Z

Zaks, Berngard Genrikhovich (b. 1886)—in 1918, worked in the People's Commissariat for Finance, in 1921-22, Deputy Business Manager of the Council of Labour and Defence—487-89, 491, 547-48, 549, 576-77

Zalutsky, Pyotr Antonovich (1887-1937)—Party member from 1907. In 1921, member and Secretary of the Presidium of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee. Later, held responsible Party posts. From 1925, an active participant in the Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition. Expelled from the Party by the Fifteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.) in 1927; reinstated in 1928, and expelled again in 1934—339, 395, 413-14, 424

Zasulich, Vera Ivanovna (1849-1919)—prominent participant in the Narodnik and later the Social-Democratic movement in Russia. Took part in the establishment and the activity of the Emancipation of Labour group. From 1900, member of the Editorial Board of *Iskra* and *Zarya*. After the R.S.D.L.P. Second Congress in 1903, a Menshevik leader—138

Zechgau—representative of Krupp—513

Zetkin, Clara (1857-1933)—outstanding leader of the German and international working-class and communist movement, a founder of the Communist Party of Germany. Elected by the Third Congress of the Comintern to its Executive Committee, headed the Comintern's International Women's Secretariat—124, 158, 231-32

Zheltov, I. I. (1890-1939)—Party member from 1917. After the October Revolution, Chairman of the Bauman District Soviet in Moscow, director of a plant in Bezhitsa (Bryansk), Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Uzbekistan, member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Labour of the U.S.S.R., etc.—373

Zhidelev, Nikolai Andreyevich (1880-1950)—Party member from 1903. In 1921-23, worked on responsible assignments from the Council of People's Commissars, then an economic executive—563

Zinoviev (*Radomyslsky*), *Grigory Yevseyevich* (1883-1936)—Party member from 1901. From 1908 to April 1917, an émigré; member of the Editorial Board of the Party's Central Organ, *Sotsial-Demokrat*, member of the Central Committee. During the preparation and carrying out of the October Revolution, hesitated and opposed the armed uprising. Together with Kamenev, revealed the secret C.C. decision to start an armed uprising by publishing a statement of disagreement with this decision in the semi-Menshevik newspaper *Novaya Zhizn*, thus betraying the revolution. After the October Revolution, held responsible posts. Repeatedly opposed the Party's Leninist policy; an organiser of the New Opposition in 1925; a leader of the anti-Party Trotsky-

Zinoviev bloc in 1926; in November 1927 was expelled from the Party for factional activity, twice reinstated and expelled again—51, 131, 137, 138, 158, 175, 183, 186, 203-205, 216, 218, 231-32, 234, 251, 262, 266, 291, 310, 311, 313, 377, 407, 414, 457, 458-59, 496, 501, 531, 535, 542-44, 559-60, 566-67, 587, 593, 598, 603, 607-608

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СОЧИНЕНИЯ

Том 45

На английскот языке